

REPORT

OF THE

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INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

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CHICAGO LABOR DISPUTES OF 1900

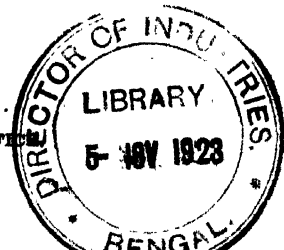
WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO

THE DISPUTES IN THE BUILDING AND
MACHINERY TRADES.

VOLUME VIII

OF THE COMMISSION'S REPORTS.

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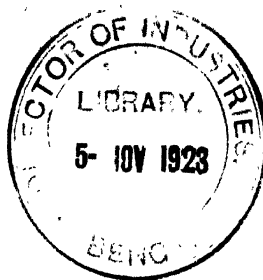
E. DANA DURAND, *Secretary*.

[Extract from act of Congress of June 18, 1898, defining the duties of the Industrial Commission and showing the scope of its inquiries.]

SEC. 2. That it shall be the duty of this commission to investigate questions pertaining to immigration, to labor, to agriculture, to manufacturing, and to business, and to report to Congress and to suggest such legislation as it may deem best upon these subjects.

SEC. 3. That it shall furnish such information and suggest such laws as may be made a basis for uniform legislation by the various States of the Union, in order to harmonize conflicting interests and to be equitable to the laborer, the employer, the producer, and the consumer.

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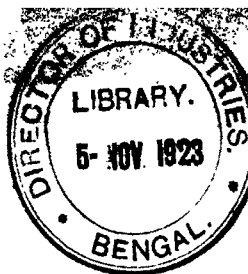
LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

TO THE FIFTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS:

I have the honor to transmit herewith, on behalf of the Industrial Commission, a report to Congress on the subject of the Chicago labor disputes of 1900, with especial reference to the disputes in the building and machinery trades. This report is prepared in conformity with an act of Congress of June 18, 1898. It contains testimony showing the history, causes, and results of the two great labor disputes in Chicago, together with a review and a digest of the evidence.

Respectfully,

ALBERT CLARKE,
Chairman.



REVIEW OF EVIDENCE.

INTRODUCTION.

A special subcommission of the Industrial Commission went to Chicago in March, 1900, and took the testimony of a large number of witnesses, chiefly concerning the great disputes in the building trades and the machine shops which were then in force there. Representatives of both employers and employees were heard, and also a number of witnesses who were neither employers nor employees. The strike of the machinists was settled in May, 1900, and two witnesses, representing the employers and employees respectively, gave testimony at Washington soon after regarding the conditions of the settlement. The building trades lock-out was much more prolonged, but was practically ended by an agreement between the contractors and the carpenters' unions in February, 1901. At that time a representative of the contractors gave evidence in Washington, and Professor Taylor, of the Chicago Commons, who had been active in attempts to bring about a settlement of the dispute, also appeared as a witness. The representatives of the employees at this time declined to present further evidence.

The testimony herewith presented gives a detailed picture of the conditions and differences leading to the two great disputes, the policies and practices of the organizations of workmen and of employers in Chicago, the methods of both parties during the disputes, the negotiations for settlement, and the final outcome. It must be remembered in reading the testimony, as well as the review of evidence and the digest, that most of the witnesses testified during the existence of the strikes. Later events would, of course, have modified their statements materially. In the digest of testimony these statements of witnesses are mostly summarized in the present tense.

A small amount of testimony was also taken by the subcommission at Chicago concerning the lockout of the journeymen tailors then in force, concerning the conditions of labor in the clothing trades, and concerning more general matters. Such of these statements as appear of sufficient importance are summarized in the following review, while the others are covered by the digest of testimony.

INAUGURATION AND CAUSES OF MACHINISTS' STRIKE.

It appears from the testimony that in January, 1900, the officers of the Chicago local lodge of the International Association of Machinists asked the machinery manufacturers to meet the representatives of the association, to discuss an agreement as to wages, hours, and conditions of labor generally. On the date fixed for this meeting few of the manufacturers appeared. One witness asserts that this was not due to any desire to disregard the request of their employees, but rather to unwillingness to deal with business agents with whom they were unacquainted. Another manufacturer, however, thinks that the employers were at fault in disregarding these first demands.¹

¹ Reid, p. 178; Chalmers, p. 8; Webster, p. 148.

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About March 1, 1900, a form of written contract was drawn up by the association of machinists and presented to the various machinery manufacturers. Most of them refused to sign the agreement, whereupon the employees of all but one or two of those who refused struck, and at the time when the first testimony before the commission was given, in the latter part of March, almost none of the strikers had returned to work. The total number of machinists on strike was estimated at about 8,000. Members of several other organizations represented in the machine shops also struck. A few of the establishments were able to continue working with their old nonunion employees, and with others obtained after the strike, but most of them either closed or worked on a very limited scale. The manufacturers claimed that the strike was destroying all prospects for a prosperous year in the machinery trade of Chicago.¹

It was claimed by two or three witnesses that at the beginning of the strike not more than a third or a half of the machinists were members of the union, but that pressure was brought to bear to compel the others to join the union or to strike, which many did against their inclination.²

DISCUSSION OF DEMANDS OF MACHINISTS.

The chief demands included in the proposed contract were: Recognition of the union; a minimum rate of wages; payment of overtime at one and one-half times the regular rate, and on Sundays and holidays and after midnight at double rates; the 9-hour day; limitation of apprentices in the proportion of not more than 1 to 5 machinists, with a 4 years' term; arbitration of difficulties which could not be settled by conference.³

The most important demand of the machinists' union, according to several employers, was that only members of the union in good standing should be employed to do machinists' and die and tool work. These employers stated, with practical unanimity, that they have no objection to dealing with the representatives of their men, and most of them are willing to deal with the officers of the unions. They admitted the necessity of proper representation of their employees. They declared, however, that they would not surrender their independence and would not do an injustice to many of their old employees by agreeing to employ only union men. They all agreed in asserting that this demand was unjust and selfish. They were unwilling, also, to allow the union to interfere with the discharging of union members.⁴

Mr. Reid, national organizer of the International Association of Machinists, said that that organization believes that exclusive employment of union members tends to produce harmony and faithful service and to prevent strikes, and is, therefore, beneficial to employers. On the other hand, he asserted that the machinists did not insist absolutely on the exclusive employment of the members of the union, but that the manufacturers broke off negotiations before the willingness of the organization to make these concessions could be made known. He pointed to the fact that an agreement had been made with Siemens & Halake, in which the company agreed that it would give a shop committee of its employees 48 hours in which to furnish competent men for vacancies, after which time the company should have the right to hire union or nonunion men at pleasure. Mr. Reid said further that the organization had not interfered with the discharging of men unless it was obviously done on account of membership or activity in the union.⁵

¹ Reid, pp. 178, 187; Chalmers, pp. 8, 15; Webster, pp. 144, 147; Ryan, pp. 290-296; Gates, pp. 12, 13, 26; Board, pp. 30, 47; Walser, pp. 371, 374; Barton, pp. 296, 298; Rountree, pp. 28, 29, 32.

² Rountree, pp. 28, 29, 32; Board, pp. 30, 47; Walser, p. 374.

³ Reid, pp. 178, 187.

⁴ Webster, pp. 147, 148; Barton, pp. 299-301; Walser, p. 376; Chalmers, p. 8.

⁵ Reid, pp. 179, 181, 188.

The proposed contract also demanded that the minimum rate of wages for skilled machinists should be 28 cents per hour, and for die and tool men 32½ cents per hour. Mr. Reid declares that these are very moderate rates in view of the high skill required, that there was no attempt to insist on a uniform rate of wages, and that the minimum fixed was practically no higher than the usual rate of wages previously paid to machinists in Chicago.¹ The most of the employers say, also, that their employees presented no real grievances as regards wages or hours, that in fact the minimum wage of skilled mechanics has been practically the same as that fixed in the proposed contract. They add that the regularity of work in the trade makes a rate of 25 or 30 cents per hour really a higher wage, taking the entire year into consideration, than is earned by the bricklayers, carpenters, etc.²

The machinists also demanded that the hours of labor be fixed at 9. Mr. Reid said that there was no desire to obtain 10 hours' pay for 9 hours' work; the wages demanded per hour were not greater than those already paid. He thinks that the work of machinists involves a severe mental strain, and that their physical and social welfare would be greatly increased by the reduction of hours.³ Two or three employers also expressed themselves in favor of a reduction of hours in the machinery trade and generally. They thought that the improvements in machinery make it possible to reduce hours, and perhaps even necessary in order to prevent unemployment, and they believed that the superior efficiency of American workmen would enable them to compete successfully against European workmen having longer hours and lower wages.⁴ Two or three other witnesses, however, declared that they could not afford to run 9 hours, leaving their expensive machinery idle one-tenth of its normal time, especially because their product comes into competition with that of Eastern manufacturers of machinery, where the prevailing hours are 10.⁵

There was practically no discussion as to the other demands of the union. One manufacturer says that there has been a tendency on the part of the organization to limit the amount of work which a man shall do, one rule in particular providing that no man should work more than one machine at a time.⁶ Mr. Reid and Mr. Wilson, however, deny that the organization has ever attempted to limit the amount of work.⁷

NEGOTIATIONS FOR SETTLEMENT OF MACHINISTS' STRIKE

According to the testimony the negotiations which finally led up to the satisfactory settlement of the Chicago machinists' strike, in May, 1900, were very complicated. Shortly before the inauguration of the strike an organization of employers had been formed, taking its origin in New York City, and known as the National Metal Trades Association. Its chief purpose was to protect employers from unreasonable demands of employees. This organization had few members in Chicago. A local association of manufacturers was formed after the strike began, but, so the representatives of the machinists declare, this organization refused even to discuss the first clause of the contract proposed by the union, that regarding the recognition of the International Association of Machinists. Later, on March 17, the national officers of the Metal Trades Association met a committee of the International Association of Machinists and presented a plan for arbitration, since known as the "Chicago agreement." One clause of this

¹ Reid, pp. 179, 189-191.

² Chalmers, pp. 7, 8; Barton, pp. 298, 297; Rountree, pp. 22, 33; Board, pp. 372, 375; Ryan, p. 302.

³ Pp. 179, 180.

⁴ McGarry, pp. 306, 308; Ryan, p. 322; Webster, pp. 147, 148, 150; Barton, pp. 296, 301.

⁵ Chalmers, p. 7; Walsler, pp. 372, 373.

⁶ Board, p. 47.

⁷ P. 183.

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agreement demanded that the existing strike should be declared off pending arbitration on the points at issue. The representatives of the machinists declare that they at that time refused to sign the agreement because the National Metal Trades Association embraced such a small proportion of the machinery manufacturers of Chicago, and the others would not be bound by any decision which the arbitrators might give. The machinists accordingly demanded that the employers should extend the scope of their organization. The representatives of the employers, on the other hand, assert that the reason for the failure to agree was the unwillingness of the strikers to settle the dispute with reference to the conditions of the trade in the entire country, and also the inability of the International Association of Machinists to control the local organization in Chicago; that the employers wished the machinists' association to show its strength by calling off the existing strike pending arbitration, but that the officers were unable to do it. These witnesses assert also that, owing to the competition which Chicago manufacturers encounter from those in other cities, it is essential that practically the same wages, hours, and other conditions of labor should prevail in Chicago as elsewhere, and that negotiations therefor must be carried on between national organizations and upon a national basis.¹

About two weeks after the failure of the conference of March 17, the International Association of Machinists consented to the Chicago agreement, upon the promise of certain leading manufacturers that they would endeavor to influence the proposed arbitration committee to recognize certain principles. The strike was immediately declared off. In accordance with the provisions of the agreement, a joint arbitration committee was formed, consisting of the presidents of the respective organizations of employers and employees and of two other persons on each side appointed by them. This committee met in New York in the latter part of April, and after a conference of 8 days reached an agreement for settling the conditions of labor.

This agreement provides for the continuance of the system of joint arbitration already established. It does not prescribe the rate of wages, leaving that to local arrangement, but it defines a "competent machinist," and makes the employer the sole judge whether an employee conforms to the definition. This provision is considered of importance in view of the possible demand, especially by local unions, for a minimum rate of wages for competent machinists. The agreement further provides for special rates for overtime. It regulates the apprenticeship system in accordance with the rules of the machinists' association, one apprentice being allowed to every five journeymen. The most important provision is that by which the hours of labor per week are to be reduced from 60 to 57 after 6 months and to 54 after 12 months. It is further declared that employers shall make no discrimination between union and nonunion men, but that on the other hand they shall be allowed to employ either at will, and also that no restriction shall be put upon the amount or the methods of work.

Witnesses representing both the employers' organization and that of the employees express themselves as well satisfied with the terms of this agreement and with the friendly relationship which they believe will grow out of it. A representative of the employers, however, questions whether the rank and file of the machinists understand some of the concessions which they have made in the agreement, and consequently is uncertain as to the ability of the International Association of Machinists to compel all its members to live up to it.²

¹ Reid, pp. 181, 185; Chalmers, pp. 11, 13, 14; Webster, pp. 146-149; Walseer, pp. 372, 376.

² Wilson, pp. 490-492; Devens, 504-512.

GENERAL HISTORY OF BUILDING TRADES DEADLOCK.¹

It appears from the testimony that the Building Contractors' Council of Chicago published a statement in November, 1899, to the effect that certain rules of certain of the labor unions would not be recognized by the contractors after January 1, 1900. The evidence as to the existence and nature of these practices to which objection was made is summarized below, p. xv. By the intervention of Mr. Madden, a prominent material dealer, committees from the two sides were brought together in December, and agreed upon a settlement. This settlement was promptly ratified by the contractors' council. By the Building Trades Council, the central organization of the employees, it was referred to the constituent unions. The contractors believe that the trades council did not act in good faith; that its purpose was to secure delay, until the opening of the building season should place the contractors at a disadvantage. Some of the employers even suspect that a secret intimation was sent to the unions that the agreement should not be ratified. The representatives of the unions maintain that the trades council acted in entire good faith; that the reference to the constituent unions was required by its constitution and its rules; that the proceedings were hastened as much as possible, and that if the contractors had allowed the unions a few days more, the proposed agreement would have been ratified. It is stated that all the unions which voted on the question voted in the affirmative, and that any unions which should have failed to vote within the specified time would have been counted in the affirmative.

The contractors state that they did wait beyond the time which the labor representatives said at first would be necessary, and that a request for a specific settlement by a fixed date, 10 days from the date of the request, received no answer whatever.

Under these circumstances the contractors' council adopted a resolution, setting forth the wages which they were prepared to pay during the coming season, and the conditions under which they would conduct their business. The wages were in all cases the same which the union men had received during the previous year, except that time and one-half was to be universally allowed for overtime, for which several of the unions had had double pay. The hours of work were to be 8 with a Saturday half holiday during the summer months. Five grievances, which some or all of the contractors felt that they were justified in raising against the unions, were to be remedied. These were the limitation of the amount of a day's work, the restriction of the use of machinery, the forbidding of the use of nonunion-made material, the control of foremen by the unions, and dictation by the unions as to the hiring and discharging of men. It was announced that all who should work for the association contractors on and after February 5 should be considered as working under these rules. The representatives of the unions regard the adoption of these rules as a plain violation of several existing agreements between individual unions and their employers, and as constituting an unprovoked lockout of the union men. They are unwilling that the dispute should be considered a strike. On the other hand some employers assert that, under the circumstances, the term lockout, as implying an initiation of the dispute by employers, is scarcely just. The dispute is perhaps most generally considered a lockout.

The mayor of Chicago afterwards undertook to bring about an arbitration between the employers and the workmen. The workmen consented, but the employers refused, on the ground that one settlement by arbitration had already been made, and the workmen had then failed to ratify it and live up to it. The attitude of both parties toward arbitration, as stated at the time itself, is discussed in another paragraph.

¹Falkenau, pp. 312-321; Woodbury, pp. 459, 460, 464; Gubbins, pp. 230-232, 240; Madden, pp. 109, 111.

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On April 30, 1900, the building contractors' council issued another "ultimatum." In connection with it a proposed form for joint agreements, to be adopted by organizations of employers and employed in the respective trades, was drawn up. This contained practically the same provisions against the obnoxious rules of the labor organizations which had been demanded in the contractors' statement of November, 1899. In addition there was a provision that there should be no interference in the carrying out of the agreement on the part of any outside organization or person. Moreover, union men were to agree not to refuse to work because of the employment of nonunion men in their own trade or in other trades, on the same job or on other jobs. Finally, the contractors demanded that the various unions should withdraw from the building trades' council and should bind themselves not to join any similar organization in the future. It was made clear by the evidence before the Industrial Commission in March that the contractors had already at that time determined to break up the building trades council, and this intention was made manifest by the ultimatum of April 30, 1900.¹

After the issue of this ultimatum there were other attempts at bringing about a peaceful settlement of the whole dispute by arbitration and conciliation, but the contractors insisted on all their demands and no agreement was reached. Thus, when in May, 1900, a committee was established by a convention of the trades unions of the city to cooperate with a committee of the Chicago real estate board, with Professor Taylor as its chairman, in an investigation as to the causes of the difficulty and an endeavor to bring about an agreement, the contractors refused to have anything to do with the movement. Later, in June, there was a conference of the representatives of the building contractors' council and of the building trades' council at which the matters in dispute were thoroughly discussed, but no agreement was reached.²

Owing to the great prolongation of the dispute in the building trades many union men left Chicago to obtain employment elsewhere.³ Not a few men also withdrew from their unions, and some of these formed new labor unions and made agreements with the contractors. It is admitted, however, that these new unions were not generally recognized among workingmen as legitimate labor organizations.⁴ Finally, all the bricklayers' unions withdrew from the building trades' council and made an agreement with the employers, June 27, 1900. This agreement followed quite closely the terms of the contractors' ultimatum of April 30, constituting practically a complete surrender on the part of the unions.⁵ A representative of the contractors states that, on account of the importance of the bricklaying trade, the making of this agreement rendered it possible to resume building operations to a very considerable extent, the work of other trades being performed by nonunion men and, to some extent, by union men who worked either without the knowledge of their organizations or, in some instances, by their approval.⁶

Several other less important unions withdrew from the building trades council during the latter part of the year 1900 and made agreements with the contractors. In some of these agreements, however, the contractors receded from certain of their more extreme demands. Thus the agreement with the structural iron workers in October provided for withdrawal from the existing building trades council, but added that the union might become affiliated with a new central organization, provided only representatives of the mechanic trades actually employed in the construction of buildings should be admitted.⁷

¹ For copy of ultimatum see p. 568; also evidence of Mr. Miller, p. 517.

² Taylor, pp. 533-537.

³ Taylor, p. 580.

⁴ Miller, p. 522.

⁵ For copy of this agreement see p. 525.

⁶ Miller, pp. 517, 521.

⁷ Taylor, p. 532; Miller, p. 517.

Finally, in February, 1901, the carpenters' executive council, representing the several carpenters' unions, made an agreement with the associations of master carpenters, and withdrew from the building trades council. This event virtually ended the effectual resistance of that organization, since only 6,480 members remained in the unions affiliated with the council, while the membership of the 13 unions which had withdrawn, at the time of their respective withdrawals, was 12,945.¹

The carpenters' agreement,² which is perhaps likely to become a precedent for the regulation of the relations between employers and employees in various other Chicago building trades, marks a compromise between the demands of the contractors and the former rules and practices of the labor organizations. The contractors receded from their demand that there should be no central organization of the building trades' unions, the agreement containing the same provision as to the character of the new central organization which was found in the agreement with the structural iron workers. The agreement also permits union men to refuse to work with nonunion men in their own trade on the same building, but prohibits refusal to work on account of the employment of nonunion men in other trades or on other jobs. The original demands of the employers regarding obnoxious rules are for the most part met by the terms of this agreement. It forbids limitation of the amount of work to be done in a day, restrictions on the use of machinery, restrictions on the use of manufactured material, except prison made, and prohibition of the use of apprentices. It provides that workmen may work for whomsoever they see fit, and that employers may employ and discharge whomsoever they see fit, subject to the limitation regarding the employment of nonunion men. Foremen under this agreement become agents of the employer and are not subject to the rules of the unions. No representative of the unions shall interfere with the workmen during their regular hours, and the men on each job shall be represented in dealings with employers by a steward, selected by the journeymen. The employees retain the advantage of a Saturday half holiday throughout the year.

Though there is no detailed evidence as to the precise terms of the agreements in the other trades, it seems that the above-named restrictions upon the obnoxious practices of the unions were incorporated in practically all of them. The agreements differ among themselves in regard to the provisions concerning the employment of nonunion men, and some of them provide for Saturday half holidays only during the summer. The rate of wages under most of the new agreements is the same as had existed prior to the lockout, the contractors disclaiming any desire to force down wages. In the case of the carpenters the agreement provides for a rate of 42½ cents per hour until April, 1902, and 45 cents per hour thereafter. Most, if not all, of the agreements contain provisions for arbitration of disputes arising under them, in accordance with a system proposed by the contractors in April, 1900. Thus the carpenters' agreement establishes a board of arbitration and conciliation, consisting of eight members from each side, with an independent umpire, who shall be called upon in case of failure of the other members to agree. Pending the action of this board there may be no strike or lockout, and when its decision is rendered it is binding upon all parties. Especially interesting are the provisions to secure the enforcement of the agreement and of the awards of the board of arbitration. Fines of from \$10 to \$200 may be imposed upon individuals violating the agreement. If not paid by the offender the fine shall be paid by the organization to which he belongs, or in lieu thereof it may suspend him. Moneys received from fines are to be divided between the two organizations.³

¹ Taylor, p. 531.

² See p. 528.

³ For discussion of the carpenters' agreement see testimony of Professor Taylor, pp. 531-533.

THE CONTRACTORS' COUNCIL AND THE BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL.

Having thus sketched the general history and outcome of the building trades lockout, we may go back to consider in detail the causes of the dispute and the practices of employers and employees regarding which complaints were made.

It is declared by a considerable number of witnesses, both representatives of the unions and representatives of the employers, that the great cause of the strike or lockout was the determination of the employers to destroy the building trades council.¹ Representatives of the employers regard the course of this body as one of progressively increasing arbitrariness and injustice toward the contractors. They declare that by sympathetic strikes the council was able to enforce its demands, however extreme. The rules of the building trades council contained a provision that in case of any dispute affecting a particular trade the business agent of the union should try to settle it, and if he failed to do so, should lay the matter before the building trades council, or before the board of business agents representing the various unions in the council. With the approval of either of these authorities the business agent might order a general strike of all the trades engaged on the job or building. The vote of the council or board of business agents in such a case was by unit rule; that is, each union had equal voice, and a majority could order a strike. Under this rule, one of the contractors points out, strikes could be ordered without the action of the members of the individual unions. Contractors state that it was to gain the power of resisting such injustice that the contractors established the building contractors' council in April, 1899. The contractors admit that they are unwilling to abandon their own central organization, while they intend to compel the workmen to abandon theirs. Many acts and rules of particular unions are referred to as contributing to the sum of grievances which the employers have against their men. These are more particularly described below. The employers felt, however, that the possibility of enforcing such unjust demands depended upon the existence of the building trades council, and they considered it essential that that body be destroyed before any negotiations were entered upon for the removal of particular grievances. They asserted that they had no wish to diminish wages or to increase hours of labor.

Some representatives of the unions believed that it was the real purpose of the employers to destroy the individual unions as well as the building trades council. If that were done, or even if the sympathetic strike were done away with, the promise of the contractors to maintain wages and hours would be, it is said, of little value. Several contractors, however, denied that they had any desire to destroy the individual unions.

It appears from the testimony that the Chicago building trades council was formed in January, 1891. Nine unions composed it at first and 34 were affiliated with it at the time of the strike. The membership was stated by the officers at the beginning of the strike at from 45,000 to 60,000. Employers, however, considered this number exaggerated, and the official records of the council showed in February, 1901, that 6,480 members remained, while the membership of the unions which had withdrawn was, at the date of withdrawal, 12,945. However, as was pointed out, many members had previously left the city to find work.² Each affiliated union sent delegates to the council in proportion to its own membership. The representatives of the council affirm that the contractors and the public had an exaggerated idea of its powers and a wrong idea of its policy. It

¹ Falkenau, pp. 324, 329; Woodbury, pp. 400, 403; Carroll, 233, 237; McGarry, p. 311; Long, pp. 199, 203; Preese, pp. 476, 477; Gubbins, pp. 223, 229, 230, 241; Miller, p. 521; Taylor, p. 542.

² Taylor, p. 531.

employed no business agents, made no agreements with employers, and did not dictate the agreements which its affiliated unions should make. It had no control over the unions, but simply declined to sanction any rules which it did not approve of, and declined to use its power in enforcing them. It never indorsed any of the rules which the contractors have most complained of. In particular, it never approved the limitation of the amount of the day's work.¹

It also appears from the testimony that there are in Chicago a considerable number of associations of contractors in particular branches of the building trades, and that some 14 or 15 of these associations are now affiliated with the building contractors' council. The several associations are represented in the council by delegates, each being entitled to two delegates and one additional for each additional 50 members of the association, and a fee of \$20 for each delegate is paid to the council.

Some witnesses on behalf of the contractors hold that the whole movement of employers toward association was due to the prior association of workmen in unions. Representatives of the unions, replying to the criticism that the unions restrain the liberty of their members, assert that the associations of employers restrain the liberty of their members quite as sharply. The conduct of the master plumbers' association is particularly cited. It is also asserted by an independent builder and by representatives of the labor unions that the associations of contractors, with the help of their contracts with unions and with material dealers' combinations, have driven almost all of the contractors into their ranks.² (See below, p. xxiv.)

Representatives of the unions think that the ill feeling between the employers and the employed was partly due to the increased influence of the smaller class of contractors in the contractors' organizations, and partly to the sinister efforts of paid agents of the employers' organizations, who are believed to find their own profit in the fomenting of strife.

It was also maintained by some of the union men that the press assumed an attitude unjustly hostile to the labor organizations, and by this means contributed to the ill feeling which resulted in the strike.

AGREEMENTS BETWEEN BUILDING TRADES UNIONS AND CONTRACTORS, AND VIOLATIONS OF THEM.

Another cause which is said by both employers and employees to have contributed to the friction in the building trades was the violation of joint agreements by one party or the other.

Nature of agreements.—A considerable number of witnesses refer to these agreements, which several of the building trades unions have heretofore made with their employers, either from year to year or for longer periods. They cover wages, hours, and other conditions of employment with various degrees of elaboration. They are sometimes signed by individual employers and sometimes by associations of employers. During the sway of the building trades council the unions customarily submitted them to that body for approval. If they were not approved by the council by a two-thirds vote of the trades, the unions concerned were at liberty to maintain them by their own force, but they would not be sustained by the building trades council.³

Violations of agreements.—Many members of the unions assert that the contractors habitually failed to live up to their agreements. Some say that the building trades council would never have been formed if the contractors had

¹ Carroll, pp. 268, 267, 274, 276; Gubbins, p. 241; Ponchot, p. 426; Woodbury, p. 430.

² Falkenau, p. 314; Miller, p. 248; Wells, pp. 380-382; Harding, pp. 168-170; Stiles, pp. 341, 342; Long, pp. 190, 203, 204.

³ Ryan, pp. 282, 284.

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followed an honorable course. The strike or lockout was also attributed to the bad faith of the employers. The ultimatum which the employers issued before the strike is declared to have involved the violation of existing contracts with several unions. One contractor admits this with regard to the carpenters' agreement, but justifies it on the ground that the contractors signed the agreement under duress, the power of the union being such that they could not go on with carpenter work unless they signed it.¹

The most of the complaints of bad faith do not refer to open action, but to secret evasions of the union wage scales. Complaints on this score are made by many union men, and the justice of them is admitted by several contractors.²

Representatives of the contractors, on the other hand, accuse some of the unions of high-handed breaking of agreements with their employers, by the introduction of new and harder terms, with respect to wages, the employment of apprentices, the use of machinery, and other conditions. The plumbers and the stonemasons are particularly complained of.³

Neither the employers nor the workmen consider that violations by either side can be effectively prevented or redressed by the courts.⁴

Exclusive alliances.—An interesting feature of this system of joint agreements is the former existence, to which many witnesses testify, of agreements between particular unions and the employers' associations in their several trades, by which in return for the exclusive employment of union men, the unions provided that their members should work for no one outside of the employers' associations. Several employers express their disapproval of such agreements, though one or two, while considering them objectionable in themselves, justify the employers in entering into them as long as they are compelled to employ only union workmen. A plumbing contractor asserts that the journeymen plumbers never lived up to their exclusive agreement with the masters. The general opinion of the workmen who testified is against such agreements, on the ground that they strengthen the employers' associations, with the result of encouraging the employers to attacks upon the unions. The union men also say that such agreements built up alliances between the contractors' associations and the combinations of material dealers, which resulted in the raising of prices to the general public, as well as the embarrassment of any person outside of the associations of contractors who might wish to build without employing members of the associations.⁵

ATTITUDE OF WORKMEN AND EMPLOYERS TOWARD ARBITRATION.

The representatives of the building trades unions universally asserted during the early part of the lockout that all the unions were desirous of arbitrating all differences between them and their employers. They generally objected to the idea of a central arbitration board, on the ground that the men of one trade are unfamiliar with the conditions of other trades and unfit for the determination of questions that arise in them. One or two suggested a central board of appeal to which questions should be referred which the masters and men of any particular trade should find themselves unable to settle. Two or three unions were stated to have made efforts for arbitration agreements with their own employers, but to have been repulsed or ignored. The representatives of the contractors, while usually speaking well of arbitration as a general principle, declared in many cases

¹ Carroll, p. 272; Ryan, pp. 455, 460; Pouchot, pp. 439, 440; Long, p. 204; Falkenan, p. 328.

² Woodbury, p. 456; Pouchot, p. 430; Ryan, p. 296; Bliss, p. 263.

³ Smith, pp. 408-409, 411, 412; Struble, p. 354.

⁴ Gubbins, p. 238; Ryan, pp. 283, 286-288; Smith, 411.

⁵ Employers: Bonner, pp. 385-387; Smith, pp. 410, 411; Wells, p. 379; Hindele, p. 370. Union men: Mangan, pp. 443, 445; Carroll, p. 267; Ryan, pp. 281, 288, 289; Gubbins, pp. 219, 220; Lillian, pp. 114, 115.

that they were unwilling to have any further dealings with the building trades council in the light of their past experience with it, and that they were even unwilling to arbitrate with any particular labor union as long as it is affiliated with the building trades council. Some of them also considered that particular questions, especially the right of the employer to hire and discharge men as he chooses, could not properly be made subjects of arbitration.¹ Reference has already been made to the fact that in May, 1900, the contractors' council refused overtures for conciliation on the ground that it could not recede from any of its demands and had nothing to arbitrate. Professor Taylor, testifying virtually at the close of the dispute, expressed opinion that the workmen had throughout been more ready to arbitrate than the employers, but that there was unnecessary ill feeling and harshness in the actions of both parties throughout the strike.²

EFFECTS OF DISPUTES.

Several witnesses, especially employers and contractors, spoke during the continuance of the two great disputes of the extremely serious effect produced on the general prosperity of Chicago, and especially on the conditions of the machinery and building trades. It was declared that were it not for these difficulties Chicago would be enjoying a period of unusual prosperity. It has the facilities to become perhaps the greatest manufacturing center in the country. The extreme attitude of labor unions, however, it was claimed, has tended for some time past to prevent new establishments from being started in Chicago, and some manufacturers, it was stated, are seriously considering the wisdom of removing their works to other cities or to suburban towns where there will be less difficulty with labor. It was maintained also that, especially where Chicago industries come into competition with those of other regions, the excessive demands of labor make it impossible for them to compete successfully.³

It was stated especially by various witnesses that the lockout in the building trades almost altogether stopped the erection of buildings in Chicago and have caused great inconvenience and loss. Were it not for the dispute there would have been a greater amount of building during the year 1900 than for several years before. Several specific instances were mentioned by contractors in which they had been compelled to leave unfinished or to not begin buildings for which contracts had already been made. The difficulties regarding the construction of buildings also resulted, it was claimed, in preventing the establishment of various manufacturing enterprises. One contractor, in February, 1901, estimated the losses of employers and employees roughly at \$5,000,000.⁴

RULES AND PRACTICES OF UNIONS.

A more detailed consideration of the rules and practices of the various unions, concerning which employers made complaint, may now be taken up. The most numerous complaints relate to the building trades unions, but others are directed against the machinists' unions particularly.

Nonunion men.—It was complained by employers and nonunion men, and generally affirmed also by representatives of the unions, that it was the policy of the unions to prevent the employment of any but their own members, on all work

¹ Carroll, pp. 268-274; Preece, pp. 477-479; Price, p. 362; Stiles, pp. 340, 341; Ryan, pp. 281-284; Klein, pp. 155-156; Gubbins, pp. 220-225, 240-245; Lillien, pp. 114, 115; Madden, p. 110; Nicholson, pp. 80, 81.

² Taylor, pp. 533, 543.

³ Offield, p. 83; Board, pp. 41, 44; Rountree, p. 84; Chalmers, pp. 6, 15; A. R. Clark, p. 401; Corboy, p. 415; Price, pp. 322, 363.

⁴ Madden, pp. 108, 109; Gindele, p. 267; Nicholson, pp. 89, 92, 94; A. R. Clark, p. 401; F. W. Clark, p. 417; Griffiths, p. 337; Harding, p. 124; Carroll, p. 268; Miller, p. 521.

which belongs to their trades, so far as their strength enabled them to do it. The employers and the nonunion men regard this policy as a tyrannical interference with natural liberty. The nonunion men, it is said, have no wish to interfere with any surrender by the union men of their right of free action, but they claim for themselves the right to guide their own conduct by their own desires, without subjecting themselves to the dictation of union leaders or of others. It is asserted that the unions have no right to try to force men into their ranks who do not wish to join them, and that they have no right to demand of employers that their shops be made agencies of compulsory recruiting for the unions. The employers generally denied that they had any ill feeling toward the unions as such, or any wish to discriminate against the members of the unions. They generally objected, however, to the demand that they discriminate against nonunion men; though one or two employers regarded the attitude of the unions as necessitated by their situation, and therefore justified. One contractor stated that union and nonunion men work together in the building trades in Boston and Baltimore, and asserted that this condition does not result in any tendency to cut wages.¹ The employers cited several instances of individual hardship brought about by driving from employment the men not in good standing in the unions.²

The representatives of the unions argued that they had no antipathy to nonunion men as individuals, and desired them as individuals to have employment. What they ask is that the nonunion men take up their share of the common burden. If the unions are to exist and perform their functions, it is necessary that they represent all the men employed in their trades. They are doing a work for all, and those who refuse to help it on are either ignorant or traitorous. The union men have their rights as well as the nonunion, and among them is the right to refuse to work with those who will not cooperate in securing objects which are important to all workmen alike.³

The contractors' ultimatum of April 30, 1900, contained a demand that there should be no refusal to work on account of the employment of nonunion men, and this provision was incorporated in the agreements made with the bricklayers and with some other organizations. The carpenters' agreement of February, 1901, however, permitted union men to refuse to work with nonunion carpenters on the same job, although prohibiting refusal to work on account of the employment of nonunion men otherwise.⁴

Nonunion-made material.—By an extension of the principle of excluding nonunion men, it appears that the building trades unions made it a practice to refuse, so far as they were able, to make use of the products of nonunion labor. This rule is stated to have been applied in Chicago to the products of sash, door, and blind mills, to various sorts of ironwork, and in one instance to brick, though the president of the bricklayers' union stated that there was no rule forbidding the members of that union to work on a building where material was used that was produced by nonunion labor. The attitude of the employers, on the one hand, and that of the union workmen, on the other, appear to be substantially the same on this question as upon the general question of nonunion labor.⁵

The employers, from the inauguration of the building trades' dispute, insisted that there should be no restriction by the unions on the use of material of any sort, except prison-made material, and clauses to this effect were ultimately incorporated in the agreements by which the dispute was brought to a close.

¹ Miller, p. 549; Haver, pp. 171, 173, 175; Jones, pp. 194-196; Rountree, p. 38; Webster, pp. 198, 199; Falkenau, p. 324; Stiles, p. 342.

² Stiles, p. 340; Clark, p. 401; Behl, pp. 397, 398.

³ Long, pp. 312-316; Biano, p. 64; Pouchot, p. 437; Mangas, p. 442.

⁴ For copies of these agreements, see pp. 525-529.

⁵ Falkenau, pp. 322, 323, 325, 329; Nicholson, pp. 90, 99; Ryan, p. 450; Clark, p. 402; Pouchot, p. 430; Sproul, p. 481; Gubbins, p. 432; Griffiths, p. 385.

Attempted monopolization of certain classes of work.—Distinguishable in principle from the rules and practices above referred to was the tendency of individual unions in the building trades to extend the borders of their own fields, and rigidly to exclude such men as they considered trespassers, even such as were in equally good standing in the union world at large. The rules of several unions provided carefully against the performance of certain kinds of work by unskilled laborers, even though they were union laborers.¹ Several contractors gave instances of trouble which had arisen from the application of these rules, and of additional expense, unnecessary from the point of view of the contractors, which had been caused by the necessity of employing high-priced men to do work which low-priced men could just as well have done.²

Of similar character were the disputes which arose between unions as to the limits of their respective fields. Several contractors gave instances of strikes and delays, injurious to the contractors and owners, and expensive, as they said, to the men, which were caused by such disputes. Two or three representatives of the unions also referred to some particular cases mentioned by contractors, explaining some statements and denying some details, but not denying the occasional occurrence of troublesome disputes between unions as to the boundaries of their jurisdictions. One employer suggests that these difficulties arose largely from misunderstanding of rules, due to their multiplicity and hasty formulation.³

The stonecutters' union undertook to secure the cutting of all stone for Chicago work within the city. The representative of the union stated that this effort had never been successful; but a marble dealer testified to an instance in which the union protested against, and was able to prevent, the bringing in of stone already cut by union men in Georgia.⁴

Hiring and discharging of men.—Several of the representatives of the unions denied, both for their own unions and generally, any desire or tendency to dictate to employers as to the employment or discharge of individuals, beyond the protection of union men from discharge because of union membership or activity. Several contractors, however, affirmed that the demands of the unions went beyond this, and particular instances were given in which, it was alleged, employers have been compelled to reinstate men discharged for incompetency, and one instance in which an employer was compelled to hire several men whose services he was in no need of.⁵

The contractors' ultimatum of April 30, 1900, contained a demand that men should be permitted to work for whomever they pleased and that employers be permitted to employ whomever they please, and that the foremen on jobs should be considered agents of employers, not subject to the rules of the unions. Clauses containing these various provisions were incorporated in most, if not all, of the agreements adopted after the lockout.

Piecework, subcontracting, and work by employers.—The rules of several unions absolutely forbade subcontracting, piecework, or lumping of work.⁶

A general antipathy appears to the performance of physical work by persons engaged in independent business in the building trades. Some unions provided in their rules that not more than one member of any firm should work with tools, or not more than one member of a firm on any job controlled by it.⁷ The sheet-metal workers permitted an employer to work in his shop, but not on outside

¹ Painters, p. 344; carpenters, p. 336; structural iron workers, p. 39.

² Clark, pp. 416, 417; Falkenau, p. 326; Bliss, pp. 250, 251; Mangan, p. 446.

³ Griffiths, pp. 335, 336; Wells, p. 377; Boyle, pp. 336, 338; Buchanan, pp. 470, 474, 475; Ryan, p. 449; Clark, p. 418; Falkenau, p. 326; Price, pp. 301, 302.

⁴ McCullough, p. 213; Bagley, pp. 390, 391.

⁵ Gubbins, p. 232; Chalmers, p. 6; Bliss, p. 254; Boyle, p. 330; Griffiths, pp. 335, 336.

⁶ Carpenters, p. 36; painters, p. 344; stonecutters, p. 360.

⁷ Carpenters, p. 36; structural-iron men, p. 39; bricklayers, p. 234; plumbers, Smith, pp. 405, 406.

work.¹ Other unions forbade work by employers altogether.² The painters permitted employers to work, but required that in that case they belong to the union.³

The representatives of the unions argued that if the employers were permitted to work freely it would be possible for single men in some trades, and larger numbers forming firms in others, through assuming the position of independent contractors, to cut the prices of work, and practically to effect a reduction of the union wage scale. It was argued on the other side that the severer restrictions, at least the actual prohibition of work by employers, are injurious in making it impossible for a workman to start a small independent business. Complaints were also made of the inconvenience and loss which employers have been occasionally put to in consequence of the impossibility of getting a man of a particular trade, on short notice, to do a job, when the employer could do it himself, if he were not prevented by the rules of the unions, backed by the sympathetic strike.⁴

Minimum rate of wages and its effects.—It was stated or implied by the witnesses who referred to the subject that the general policy of the unions in the building trades has been to fix a minimum rate of wages, without forbidding members of the unions to get more if they can. The representatives of the unions declare that this minimum rate is meant to apply to the less efficient workmen, and that the employers are expected to grade up the wages of the more efficient according to their ability. It is claimed that in times of business activity the more efficient men do, in fact, get considerable additions to the union rate, and while it is admitted that this condition does not continue when times are dull, it is pointed out that the unions are able to maintain their uniform rates even through periods of depression. It is also said that the unions have not been able to find any other effective method of regulating wages.⁵

On the side of the contractors it is declared that the effect of the minimum rate is to place good workmen and bad upon a level, and to take away the incentive to good workmanship. The general level of mechanical skill has been depressed by it. On the other hand, it excludes the weaker workmen from employment except in the most prosperous times, and induces such workmen to form secret agreements with unprincipled employers, by which the union scale is evaded. Honest employers and honest workmen, who live up to their obligations, are placed at a disadvantage. The honest employer finds himself underbid by the employers who secretly depart from the wage scale. The honest workman walks the streets while his less scrupulous companion finds employment. The tendency to evade the scale is deplored also by representatives of the unions, but they emphasize especially the unscrupulousness of some employers.⁶

Use of machinery and improved tools.—Several witnesses referred to the antipathy of the unions to the use of improved appliances. The specifications referred almost exclusively to stonecutting. It was stated by the contractors, and admitted by the representatives of the stonecutters' union, that this union has objected to the use of machinery for dressing stone, and succeeded, after a struggle of several years, in excluding machine-cut stone from use in Chicago. One witness testified, however, that 85 per cent of the cut-stone contractors signed a paper to the effect that they were not in favor of the use of machines, and Professor Taylor asserts that it was the general opinion that this limitation was due to the influence of contractors themselves. It appears also that the same union had forbidden the use of stone-scraping machines. A wholesale marble dealer testified that the

¹ Pp. 487, 498.

² Gasfitters, Long, p. 198; Smith, p. 406; tile setters, Bonner, p. 385.

³ Bliss, pp. 250, 253.

⁴ Gubbins, p. 234; Long, p. 198; Bonner, p. 385; Smith, p. 406.

⁵ Woodbury, p. 461; Preece, p. 420.

⁶ Gindale, p. 387; Havey, pp. 171, 172; Bliss, p. 254; Corboy, pp. 414, 415.

marble-cutters' union had succeeded in stopping the use of the pneumatic tool for carving—a tool which is used all over the world, it was alleged, and which is almost indispensable for delicate work. One or two minor indications of the same general trend of feeling in other unions were referred to.¹

The contractors from the outset of the dispute demanded that there should be no limitations on the use of machinery or tools, and provisions to that effect were incorporated in the various agreements reached after the lockout.

Limitation of amount of work.—Representatives of the employers complained of a general tendency among the unions to lessen the amount of work to be done, especially in the building trades, in a day. Several contractors attributed this tendency to the workings of the Building Trades Council; but they did not make it clear that the Building Trades Council, as an organization, was to blame. It was admitted by them that all particular rules for the limitation of work had been made by the individual unions; their idea was that the Building Trades Council had been active in enforcing such rules, or at least that it was in fault in refusing to discipline unions which had established such rules. On the part of the unions it was denied that a sympathetic strike had ever been called by the Building Trades Council to enforce those rules of the plumbers' and gas fitters' unions which have caused the most complaint.²

Among the unions which formerly had formal and specific rules fixing the amount of work which a man might perform in a day the plumbers are spoken of oftenest and most bitterly. It is asserted that in some branches their allotted quota was not more than a third of a reasonable day's work, and that a particularly good plumber could do four times as much. On the other hand, there were other specifications which a man could not perform in a day. It was asserted that the officers of the plumbers' union had admitted that the rules were absurdly uneven, and had promised ever since the rules were adopted, July 1, 1899, to reconsider and modify them, though they failed to do so. On the side of the unions it was said that the Building Trades Council and the other individual unions had not approved or enforced the plumbers' rules, and that the plumbers themselves were ready to meet their employers in a conciliatory way and discuss and modify any rules which might appear to be unreasonable or unjust.³

Other unions as well as the plumbers' had formal and specific limitations of the day's work. A business agent of the gas fitters' union spoke with pride of the fact that this union was the first to introduce such a limitation, and declared that some of the contractors congratulated him on the working of it when it had been a little while in force. A representative of the lathers' union stated that its members were expected to put on 25 bundles of laths in a day, and were not permitted to put on more; but that this is as much as an average man can do.⁴

With regard to work in other lines, several employers made more or less definite complaints of limitations which they believed to exist. Such limitations were believed, in most cases, to take the forms of a general discouragement of activity and threats of trouble for foremen who undertook to hasten the work. The carpenters had rules for fining any member who was guilty of excessive work, or any foreman who "rushed" his men. It was thought by many contractors that such rules show a spirit of injustice to employers, and a desire to avoid doing a fair day's work. The same spirit was believed to exist in many other unions.⁵

It is argued on behalf of the carpenters, and repeatedly argued on behalf of the

¹ Struble, pp. 356, 357; Sullivan, pp. 447, 448; Gubbins, p. 221; Bagley, p. 391; Woodbury, p. 464; Falkenau, p. 329; Taylor, p. 542.

² Webster, p. 150; Clark, p. 419; Falkenau, pp. 313, 322; Griffiths, pp. 335, 337, 338; Pouchot, p. 429; Carroll, p. 237; Woodbury, p. 460.

³ Smith, pp. 407-410; Falkenau, p. 313; Harding, p. 170; Corboy, p. 414; Davis, p. 422.

⁴ Long, pp. 198, 205; Regan, p. 211.

⁵ Bonner, p. 386; Stiles, p. 341; Bliss, p. 250; Clark, p. 401; Wells, p. 373.

general principle which their action illustrates, that some employers pick out one or two of the hardiest and swiftest men, and induce them, perhaps by an additional payment, to set a pace which the average man is unable to keep up with. Then it is demanded, it is said, that the whole body of workmen maintain the pace set by these specially able and specially paid leaders.¹

Representatives of the bricklayers and one or two other unions not only denied that their unions attempted in any way to limit the amount of a day's performance, but asserted that their members were particularly active; even so active that it was impossible for the ordinary man to follow the trade and hold the pace for any considerable number of years.²

The employers insisted throughout the dispute that there should be no future limitations on the amount of work to be done in a day, and provisions to that effect were incorporated in the various agreements by which the dispute was brought to an end.

Apprenticeship.—Several representatives of the employers complained of the restrictions upon apprenticeship which the unions formerly enforced. One witness declared that in the great majority of the building trades unions of Chicago a contractor could not even permit his own son to learn his own trade. There was no detailed evidence to show absolute prohibition of apprentices on the part of most unions. It appeared that there were prohibitions by the plumbers and the tile setters. On behalf of the tile setters it was stated that their helpers regularly rose into the position of journeymen of the trade. It was testified that the carpenters' union did not restrict the number of apprentices. Other unions fixed the number who might be employed in proportion to the number of employing firms or to the number of journeymen in service. The limitation of the number of apprentices was considered by representatives of the employers, and also by at least one nonunion workman, as involving a serious limitation of the opportunities of American young men, contributing to the overcrowding of clerical and mercantile employments, and compelling the recruiting of the ranks of skilled trades with men trained in Europe. It was stated on behalf of the unions that too great freedom in this regard resulted in the employment of so many apprentices by some of the contractors that justice could not be done either to the apprentices or to the journeymen who ought to be employed. One employer regarded the apprenticeship system as outgrown, and would not have it restored, even if the unions would permit it. He would replace it with an efficient system of trade schools.³

Complaint was also made of the restriction of age for apprentices, particularly in the case of machinists. It was stated that they prohibited the engaging of any man over 21 years old as an apprentice, and that this barred out from the practical work of machine shops the graduates of colleges and manual training schools, who would soon become the most efficient employees, and would have the greatest fitness for the higher positions in the work.⁴

Boycotting.—The boycott against the Gormully and Jeffery Company, makers of Rambler bicycles, was recounted fully by Mr. Jeffery. He stated that it resulted from an effort to reduce the extravagant cost of polishing in the factory, and that it was prosecuted by the labor unions all over the country, by means of posters and circulars, many of which contained false statements about the quality of the Rambler bicycle, and about the cause of the boycott itself.

Other employers mentioned instances of actual or threatened boycotting on a smaller scale, and also cases in which the action of property owners toward

¹ Murphy, p. 464; McCullough, p. 215; Taylor, p. 542; Brennock, p. 466; Woodbury, p. 457.

² Gubbins, pp. 233, 234; Ryan, p. 279; McCulloch, p. 215.

³ Harvey, p. 172; Falkenau, p. 313; Smith, pp. 404, 405, 409; Bonner, pp. 335, 336; McCullough, pp. 216, 225; rules of painters, p. 544; rules of carpenters, p. 96; Gubbins, p. 235; rules of architectural iron workers, p. 451.

⁴ Chalmers, p. 12.

marble-cutters' union had succeeded in stopping the use of the pneumatic tool for carving—a tool which is used all over the world, it was alleged, and which is almost indispensable for delicate work. One or two minor indications of the same general trend of feeling in other unions were referred to.¹

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Limitation of amount of work.—Representatives of the employers complained of a general tendency among the unions to lessen the amount of work to be done, especially in the building trades, in a day. Several contractors attributed this tendency to the workings of the Building Trades Council; but they did not make it clear that the Building Trades Council, as an organization, was to blame. It was admitted by them that all particular rules for the limitation of work had been made by the individual unions; their idea was that the Building Trades Council had been active in enforcing such rules, or at least that it was in fault in refusing to discipline unions which had established such rules. On the part of the unions it was denied that a sympathetic strike had ever been called by the Building Trades Council to enforce those rules of the plumbers' and gas fitters' unions which have caused the most complaint.²

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⁵ Bonner, p. 386; Stiles, p. 341; Bliss, p. 250; Clark, p. 401; Wells, p. 373.

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tain work be finished with unnecessary nicety. Such accusations appeared against the steam fitters, the plasterers, and the plumbers. A representative of the steam fitters denied that the rule of his union which was complained of was wrong or unnecessary.¹

A representative of the carpenters' union referred to a rule of that union for fining foremen and timekeepers who steal 3 or 5 minutes from the men in the morning, at noon, and at night. He said that this fine had never been levied, though doubtless it should have been levied many times.²

PICKETING AND VIOLENCE DURING THE DISPUTES.

Many witnesses representing the employers declared that both in the machinists' strike and in the building trades lockout there had been numerous instances of violence toward employers and toward nonunion men. It appeared clear that the practice of picketing had been carried on systematically in the case of most of the establishments or buildings struck against. Although it was rather against the violence and intimidation practiced by pickets that most of the complaints were made, the practice of picketing itself, even where carried on peaceably, was opposed by several employers. One in particular complained of the injustice of the decision of one of the judges in Chicago, who refused an injunction to prevent strikers from placing pickets, claiming that they had a perfect right to do so provided the number of pickets was limited and provided no violence was permitted. Such decisions, another asserted, went contrary to the rulings of the highest courts in various States.³

Representatives of labor admitted the universality of the practice of picketing and upheld it as necessary. It was claimed that employers often advertised for workmen, frequently importing them from a long distance, without informing them of the existence of a strike. Strikers should then be permitted to inform those who seek to take their places as to the nature of the grievances, and to try to persuade them not to take the work.⁴

Numerous specific instances were mentioned, both in connection with the machinists' strike and with the building trades strike, in which nonunion men had been threatened, called "scab" and other taunting names, stoned and "slugged." Various cases of such violence in connection with earlier labor difficulties, especially in the building trades, were also mentioned. It was claimed, broadly, by several witnesses that the safety of nonunion men was decidedly threatened by such action. It was pointed out also that to call out to a man "scab," to surround a man with a large number of strikers, or to seek to injure a nonunion man in his social life, as was frequently done, amounted to a form of coercion scarcely less effective than physical violence.⁵ Complaint was also made that the property of employers had been destroyed in various instances by union men.⁶

Representatives of the unions did not deny that there had been cases of violence against nonunion men and employers, although they asserted that they were much less numerous than alleged by employers, and Professor Taylor thought it surprising that there was so little violence, although he strongly deplored the existence of any at all.⁷ One union man, while not justifying "slugging,"

¹ Clark, p. 400; Woodbury, pp. 456, 457; Bliss, p. 380; Falkenau, p. 321; Behel, p. 385; Smith, p. 409; Mangan, p. 448.

² Woodbury, p. 458.

³ Robert Ryan, p. 232; Walser, pp. 371, 374; Rountree, p. 32; Miller, pp. 353, 516, 522; Chalmers, p. 8.

⁴ Darrow, p. 67; Blinn, pp. 55-58.

⁵ Chalmers, p. 7; Barton, p. 297; Walser, pp. 371-374; Le Vin, pp. 258, 261; Havey, pp. 175, 176; Miller, pp. 347, 348; Bonner, pp. 354, 355, 358; Stiles, p. 340; Davis, p. 431; Clark, p. 400; Bliss, pp. 350, 351; Harding, pp. 180, 182, 185; Behel, pp. 383, 387; Wells, pp. 378-388.

⁶ Davis, p. 430; Bonner, p. 358.

⁷ Taylor, pp. 535, 540.

thought that the methods of labor unions might rightly be adapted more or less to the justice of their claim against the employer. Under the conditions of modern industry, it was urged, employees have some right to continue in employment, and acts of war on the part of their employers may justify retaliation. In extreme cases it may be justifiable for labor unions to defy the law and to follow nonunion men with threats and taunts, and to persecute them in their social relations and otherwise.¹ The more common argument of the representatives of the unions, however, was that the organizations as such were distinctly opposed to all acts of violence (although they considered peaceable picketing entirely justifiable); but that they were unable in certain cases to control the acts of individual members who had been especially angered by ill treatment on the part of the employers. It was also claimed by several witnesses that the employers had instigated violence with a view to influencing public opinion in their favor, and also in certain cases for the sake of injuring prominent labor union men, against whom they had a spite. Two or three specific instances were brought forward to show such action on the part of employers, but the evidence was not altogether clear.² Several employers declared that it could not be proved that they had in any way stirred up violence.³

THE POLICE AND THE STRIKERS.

Quite a large number of witnesses on behalf of the employers complained that the Chicago police had not during the machinists' and building trades strikes furnished fair and efficient protection to the property and business of employers and to nonunion workmen. It was claimed that the police refused to make arrests except for the most open acts of violence; that they even winked at "slugging" and similar acts, frequently turning their backs and going around the corner in order to avoid seeing what was done. The manufacturers declared that they had been forced to employ special police officers to protect their property and workmen.⁴

It was claimed also by several of the witnesses not only that policemen themselves were prejudiced in favor of the strikers, but that the higher city authorities leaned the same way. They asserted that the police had their instructions not to interfere except in case of absolute necessity, and several specific instances were cited to show that this was the case. It was claimed that this attitude of the city authorities, which showed itself also in the actions of the police justices and other inferior courts, was due to political influence, especially to the desire of the party in power to cater to the large vote of the laboring classes at the coming election. These witnesses held that strikes in Chicago have often been especially numerous just before elections, and that both parties have been disposed to make political capital out of labor difficulties.⁵

One contractor, testifying later, said that after the session of the subcommission in Chicago in March, 1900, the city authorities, having occasion to borrow money temporarily, applied to the banks for a loan. The banks replied that the credit of the city was in the hands of its administration, and that they would not advance money unless Mr. Carroll were removed from the civil-service commission and unless the police were instructed to enforce the laws against violence. This witness declares that under this pressure the city authorities changed their

¹ Bisco, pp. 55-58.

² Gubbins, pp. 223, 232; Wilson, pp. 422, 423; Ryan, p. 222; Le Vin, pp. 257-262; Reid, pp. 122, 123, 126; Long, pp. 206, 207; Carroll, pp. 223, 275.

³ Bonner, p. 338; Behel, p. 233; Griffiths, p. 330.

⁴ Board, pp. 40, 41; Walser, pp. 373, 374, 375; Bountree, p. 37; Falkous, pp. 322, 323; Chalmers, pp. 9, 12; Mrs. Robb, p. 80; Harding, p. 122; Gindels, p. 222; Bliss, p. 232; Clark, p. 420.

⁵ Board, pp. 40, 41, 44; Davis, p. 422; Offield, p. 85; Bountree, p. 37; Chalmers, pp. 9, 12; Harding, p. 122; Bliss, p. 232.

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policy; that assaults and violence almost ceased immediately, and were thereafter not one-tenth as prevalent as before.¹

Several witnesses on behalf of the labor organizations, however, while admitting that the police made arrests only in case of overt acts, claimed that this was the correct attitude to take, and that the police force had acted fairly and efficiently throughout the disputes. The contractors and the employers had no right, it was urged, to invoke the aid of the police to destroy the labor unions.² In this connection several representatives of the workmen complained that arbitrary arrests had been made by the police, and especially by the special officers hired by the employers.³

MATERIAL DEALERS' COMBINATIONS.

A considerable number of witnesses testified to the existence of combinations of dealers in building material, in alliance with the associations of contractors. It was asserted in particular that the price of common brick had been raised \$1 a thousand by such a combination, and that members of the contractors' association received this amount as a rebate on their purchases. One large property owner and builder stated that he was compelled by this arrangement to do all his important brickwork through members of the contractors' association, and that he had arranged to buy any small amount of brick that he might need through a member of the association and divide the rebate with him. The same witness stated that he could not buy any plumbing materials in Chicago, and that he was in consequence compelled to contract for the most of his plumbing. One labor representative asserted that he had himself seen a statement of sales, sent to the contractors' association by a lime company, with a check for a commission or rebate in favor of the association. One witness whose firm is a member of the contractors' association stated that when the firm went last year to get prices on brick it found that the price was one thing to members of the association and quite a different thing to persons outside of it.⁴

Several representatives of the contractors' association admitted the receipt of a rebate of \$1 per thousand on brick. It was also admitted that contractors had been fined by their association for buying brick contrary to its rules. The rebate was represented, however, as a trade discount, arranged at least in part to secure prompt payment of bills. One witness said that material men have told him that outside contractors were largely men to whom they would sell only for cash. One representative of the trades unions expressed a similar judgment of the majority of the contractors generally. Several contractors stated that they did not know of any understanding that persons outside of the association should not receive the same rebate, and expressed the opinion that outsiders could buy as cheaply as members of the association. One or two witnesses implied or expressly asserted that this trade discount was no longer given, though others spoke of it as if it still existed. Several witnesses denied that prices of building materials had been raised by combinations in Chicago, or asserted that prices are lower in Chicago than elsewhere.⁵

Two plumbing contractors, referring to the alleged combination of dealers in plumbing material, stated that these dealers gave to retail plumbers the same protection which wholesalers give to retailers in every line. The plumbers' association contains only about half of the master plumbers in Chicago, and those outside could buy supplies, it was said, as advantageously as those inside.⁶

¹ Miller, p. 516.

² Bianco, p. 56; Le Vin, p. 259; Long, pp. 205, 208.

³ Gubbins, pp. 223, 225; Lullen, p. 117; Reid, p. 192; Le Vin, pp. 258, 260.

⁴ Harding, pp. 168-170; Gubbins, pp. 220, 223, 225, 235; Carroll, p. 277; Nicholson, p. 91.

⁵ Falkenau, pp. 327, 328; Glindele, pp. 368-370; Wells, pp. 379-381; Price, pp. 363, 364; Gubbins, p. 240.

⁶ Smith, pp. 412, 413; Corboy, p. 414.

Witnesses in other building lines denied that there was any combination between contractors and dealers in their branches. One witness asserted the existence of such a combination in sash and blinds.¹

Several representatives of the unions believed that the combinations of material dealers and contractors had owed much of their strength to the agreements of various labor unions not to work for any but association contractors. One or two witnesses believed that the refusal of the workmen to continue these agreements and so support the combinations was a chief cause of the present wrath of the employers against the building trades council.²

CHARACTER AND EFFECTS OF UNIONS GENERALLY.

In connection with the particular statements regarding the actions and policy of the Chicago trade unions, there was much discussion as to the general character and effects of these unions and of labor organizations in general.

The possibility of good in labor organizations was commonly admitted by the employers. Even those who were most hostile to the existing unions in Chicago pointed out that mutual insurance and educational advantages were within the reach of organizations of this kind. Some employers were of opinion that the actual unions with which they had had to deal did not offer even these advantages. At least one employer, however, regarded the unions as the most powerful agency, and almost the only agency, for the moral and intellectual elevation of the workmen. It was felt by many employers and some nonunion workmen that the unions were indifferent or even tyrannously hostile to the rights of all persons outside their own ranks. A less radical policy would be better, in the opinion of some, even for their own interests. Several witnesses regarded the unions as the most grievous of trusts, and as the great cause of the growth of capitalistic trusts. One employer, while likening the unions to capitalistic combinations, regarded them as the effect rather than the cause, and said that the growth of industrial combinations and the restriction of opportunities for the individual necessitates the combination of workmen for self-defense.³

Employers complained most of what they called the dictation of the unions as to the men they should hire, especially as manifested in the demand that nonunion men be excluded from employment. The members of the unions themselves, however, were asserted by some to be not free men. The restriction of the day's work and other tendencies which employers believed to have been particularly evident in Chicago were also referred to. It was complained that the unions were undertaking to share the employer's profits without sharing his risks. The excessive demands of the unions were asserted to result in the crippling of the businesses which were subjected to them, and in the driving of industries from places where the unions were strong. The system of the minimum wage was regarded by the employers as an attempt to compel the payment to poor workmen of the wages of good workmen, and was declared to result in the leveling down of the skill of all by removing the incentive to efficiency.

Several employers stated, however, that the union men in their own employ were the best workmen, and said or implied that employers generally prefer to hire union men. Representatives of the unions asserted that this was the case, and that employers habitually applied for help to the officers of the unions, in confidence that the men obtained through this channel would be skilled workmen. They denied that the minimum wage was a leveling measure. (See p. xviii, above.)

¹ Miller, pp. 343-350; Bonner, p. 389; Stiles, pp. 341, 342; Harding, p. 164.

² Mangin, p. 448; Carroll, pp. 287, 274; Woodbury, p. 458.

³ Jones, pp. 184-197; Harding, pp. 161-167; Davis, p. 422; Board, pp. 42-48; Gindele, p. 397; Havey, pp. 171, 175, 177; Chalmers, p. 8; Ryan, pp. 238-246; Nicholson, p. 97; Jeffery, pp. 180-184; Walsger, p. 373; Miller, pp. 350-353.

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It was also declared by representatives of the unions generally, and also by several of the employers, that it was only by organization that the workmen were able to maintain decent wages and tolerable hours and conditions. One employer, while admitting the dictatorial conduct of the unions toward employers, declared that dictatorial conduct is not peculiar to the labor unions or to laboring men, but that employers were just as guilty of it. If the unions did not exist, he said, the employers would dictate terms to the individual workmen with quite as little regard for their rights or feelings, and certainly with quite as little opportunity on their side for resistance. Representatives of the unions and at least one employer gave figures from their own experience and observation to show the difference between the wages received by unorganized workmen and by organized workmen. There is no danger, said one union representative, that workmen will ask too much for their labor. The production of labor in this country averages as much as \$13 per day. While individual employers are desirous in many instances of maintaining their workmen in comfort, there are too many who would grind their men to the last point but for the action of the unions, and even those who are best disposed would be compelled to grind their men down by the forces of competition.¹

Many witnesses gave detailed testimony as to the existing rates of wages and hours of labor in Chicago, particularly in the building trades. In those trades the hours of labor appeared to be universally eight. The rates of wages per day showed a steady advance, unbroken except in a few cases where no union had existed or where a union had been destroyed. The success of the unions in raising the daily rates of wages was generally admitted by the employers. Several employers, however, were of opinion that this movement had not been accompanied with an increase of average annual earnings. The unsteadiness of employment was asserted to have been directly increased by the union demands, and moreover the high wages and short hours prevailing in Chicago were stated to have caused increased competition for employment, through their attractive force upon workmen in other regions. The unsteadiness of employment was emphasized also by representatives of the unions. They did not admit, however, that it was due to union action. In some cases they specifically asserted that the amount of unemployment was just as great in their particular trades before their unions were formed. They attributed the unsteadiness of work to natural conditions, such as those relating to the weather, or to methods imposed by custom or necessity upon the building trades. Several employers took a similar attitude. The influx of men caused by the World's Fair was referred to by one employer as contributing to the surplus of labor in the city, though he was of opinion that the high rates of wages prevailing there were influential in retaining the surplus. The position of Chicago at the junction of so many railroads was also alluded to as causing many men to stop there. One contractor attributed the greater unsteadiness of work in America than in Europe to the more rapid changes which take place here and to the greater rapidity with which buildings are put up.²

Several employers asserted that workmen were willing to leave Chicago and work in other places at lower rates because of the greater steadiness of employment elsewhere. In some particular trades workmen asserted that they and their companions were able to command in other places the same superior rates of wages that they got in Chicago, by reason of their superior efficiency.³

One union representative asserted that the condition of workmen in Chicago has changed for the worse in the last few years. He admitted that in many trades

¹ Nicholson, pp. 88-89; Clark, pp. 418, 420; Ryan, pp. 236-236; Brennock, p. 487; McGarry, pp. 306, 10; Biano, pp. 68-68; McCullough, p. 218.

² Clark, p. 418; Gindele, pp. 365-367; Corboy, pp. 414, 415; Nicholson, pp. 97, 101; Lillian, pp. 17-118; McGarry, p. 308; Harding, p. 165; Devens, p. 512; Miller, pp. 380, 382; Jeffery, p. 124.

³ Clark, p. 401; Buchanan, pp. 473, 474.

there has been some increase of wages, but he asserted that this had not been equal in most cases to the increase in the cost of living, and that in many cases there had been no increase of wages at all.¹ A prominent grocer, however, gave evidence tending to show that there has been no material increase in cost of living.

Several representatives of the unions asserted that strikes are indications rather of deficient organization than of too much organization. Both they and certain employers considered that the ideal condition would be one in which a strong organization of workmen should deal with a strong organization of employers, settling disputes between the two bodies by conciliation and arbitration, and controlling the individual members so that individual faults of judgment and temper might not bring on cessations of industrial activity.²

ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNMENT OF UNIONS.

A considerable number of facts were mentioned by various witnesses regarding the organization and membership of particular unions, for which reference is made to the digest, page XLIX.

Some complaint was made of the difficulty of admission to certain unions, and a few allegations as to difficulty of withdrawal. No difficulty in withdrawal was admitted on the part of the unions, provided a man paid up his dues and desired to withdraw in an honorable way. One instance was given in which a particular workman was refused admittance to a union because he was believed to be a spy for his employer. The rules regarding apprentices and helpers, and the age limits for them, necessarily resulted, it was admitted, in the exclusion of some men who would like to join.³

The belief was repeatedly expressed by employers that the government of the unions has been practically oligarchical, and that many of their practices, and even the existence of the building trades council, would have been done away with if every member of the union voted and voted freely. It was asserted that the meetings of the large unions were attended by only a small fraction of the members, and that the rank and file were so intimidated that they did not venture to express their real opinions. One witness suggested the desirability of a referendum vote by means of postal cards, and stated that workmen have already used this system in one or two cases with advantage. On the side of the unions it was asserted that their government was thoroughly democratic; that their officers and agents did not venture to take important action without consulting the general body of the members, and by the general body were held strictly to account; that in every union any member could secure a secret ballot on any question by calling for it, and that there was no possible obstacle in the way of free expression of the general judgment. The assertion that only a fraction of the members attended the meetings was not specifically denied; but the faithfulness of the members when strikes were declared was pointed to as proof that the strikes were generally approved.⁴

Character and power of leaders.—A considerable number of employers asserted that the leaders of the unions, including the officers and business agents, were likely to be men whose abilities were of the same sort as those which make a ward politician. One or two said that the business agents have occupied a position of great power over their members, particularly because of the dependence of members upon them for employment. This, it was said, gave them an exaggerated

¹ Bianco, pp. 50, 54, 59.

² Gates, pp. 25, 26; Webster, pp. 144-151; Brennock, pp. 465-467; Madden, p. 111; Stiles, p. 345; Ryan, p. 254.

³ Miller, pp. 343, 347; Pouchot, pp. 433, 434; Long, p. 202; Carroll, pp. 275, 276.

⁴ Gates, p. 26; Gindela, p. 386; Wells, p. 382; Falkenau, p. 332; Nicholson, p. 93; Price, p. 302; Buchanan, pp. 472; Woodbury, pp. 456, 463; Pouchot, p. 438.

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idea of their importance, and also led them into temptations which sometimes caused them to become mere saloon loafers. On the other hand, several employers testified to the high character of the business agents and other officers of unions with whom they have come into personal contact.¹

All the witnesses on behalf of the unions united in expressions of high opinion of the average character of the union representatives. Their power, the union men said, was much less than is commonly supposed. The office of a business agent is purely executive. He is elected for a short period, he frequently fails of reelection, and his salary is small. The smallness of the salary was referred to also by one employer, as preventing the employment of a very high grade of men. This employer contrasted the local union officers to their disadvantage with the officers of the national organizations. Several employers expressed a preference for dealing with the highest union officer who is accessible in any given case. On the part of the unions it was asserted that if the employers find the higher officers, or particularly the national officers, easier to deal with, it is because they are less directly under the control of the rank and file.²

It was generally admitted by employers that the existence of business agents is necessary. Their duties are to recruit the membership of the unions, to see that the members are employed, to look after the financial affairs and general interests of the union, to represent the members in dealings with employers. It was admitted by several employers, as well as asserted by representatives of the unions, that the individual workmen can not go freely with complaints to their employers, for fear of being regarded as agitators. It is necessary that the workmen be represented by an official who need not fear the direct consequences of the employer's dislike.³ One or two witnesses, however, denied that business agents served any useful purpose.

The testimony offers some apparent contradictions with respect to the power of the business agents or walking delegates to declare strikes. Employers generally maintained that the business agents have had this power, and often complained of the use they made of it. The power was specifically given by the constitutions and rules of several unions. In some unions it was apparently denied. Even in such cases it seems to be true that the business agent habitually notified the men on any piece of work where he desired a strike to take place, and the men thereupon habitually ceased. Several employers express the belief that the business agent often ordered strikes which were not approved by the majority of the strikers.⁴ All the representatives of the unions asserted that the desire and the interest of the business agents are to avoid strikes. Frequent strikes disgust the members of the union and may even destroy it, and an agent who is thought to be fond of them will soon lose his position.⁵

Alleged corruption.—Many employers stated that they have been informed of the settlement of strikes by the payment of money to business agents or union officers. Two or three specific instances were referred to in which the witnesses believed this to have happened. The witnesses did not, however, have direct knowledge of the facts in any of these cases. One witness testified that he put \$50 into the hands of a friend upon request, asking no questions, and was afterwards told that it had been used, with other contributions, to settle an existing strike. One union representative stated that he has known of one or two cases in which a business agent has been caught receiving money for such purposes, and has very soon ceased to be business agent. The union men strenuously denied the

¹ Nicholson, pp. 93, 94, 100; Bliss, pp. 252, 253; Rountree, pp. 32, 35; Webster, p. 150.

² Nicholson, pp. 93, 94; Rountree, pp. 32, 35; Blano, p. 54; Reid, pp. 7, 11.

³ Rountree, pp. 32, 35; Webster, p. 150; Blano, p. 54; Lillien, p. 117.

⁴ Miller, p. 515; Boyle, p. 336; Behel, p. 398; Stiles, p. 345; Madden, p. 110.

⁵ Painters' rules, p. 345; carpenters' rules, p. 338; Lillien, p. 118; Carroll, pp. 260, 267; Pouchot, p. 423; Mangan, p. 444; McCullough, p. 216.

existence of any such practice, except in isolated cases, and Professor Taylor denies that either the rank and file of unionists, or, in general, their officers, can be bought. One or two of the employers who expressed a general belief in the existence of the practice were careful to say that they did not believe that it would be possible in the case of the unions which they themselves deal with.¹

One case of alleged defalcation by the treasurer of a union, joined with the shielding of him by other officers and prominent members, was stated in an affidavit by its alleged discoverer, who is not now in good standing in the union. It was denied by the president of the union.²

ALLEGED POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF TRADE UNIONS.

As showing the undue influence which they claimed labor organizations have acquired in the politics of Chicago, several witnesses testified that a large number of prominent labor men, from 15 to 25 at any rate, held important positions in the city government. The president of the building trades council, Mr. Carroll, was, at the beginning of the lockout, also president of the civil-service commission, though, under the influence of the banks, apparently, he was afterward removed. It was claimed that there have been unfair discriminations in favor of union men in the civil-service examinations and in public employment generally. Several boards and offices in Chicago have made it a practice to employ only union men for city work. It was maintained also that leaders in labor organizations were regularly disposed to enter politics, taking advantage of their influence with laboring men, and that in fact labor unions were altogether too much in politics.³

To this it was replied by representatives of the unions that the fact of union membership should constitute no disqualification for public office, and that the actual number of union men holding city positions was comparatively small. The alleged instances of discrimination in public employment in favor of union men were explained as being due simply to the superiority of the union men for the work. It was claimed that the constitutions and policy of trade unions generally forbid direct participation as organizations in political life. On the other hand, exclusive employment of union men for skilled labor on city work was apparently approved by some of the union men.⁴

THE COURTS AND LABOR.

Employers also complained of a prejudice on the part of the Chicago courts in favor of workingmen. It was declared that the same political influences which affected the action of the police interfered with the administration of justice in matters involving labor disputes. If strikers were arrested for acts of violence they were discharged or let off easily, while counter charges were frequently trumped up against the accusers and costs were often levied upon them. One contractor described the outcome of a number of specific prosecutions on charges of assault. In these instances, although the witness states that the charges were abundantly proved, very low fines were inflicted or the defendant discharged on technical grounds. Complaints are especially brought against the justices of the peace; but it is claimed also that the higher criminal court of Chicago has been inclined to discriminate in favor of workingmen. Two prominent lawyers and one or two employers thought that the only way to secure fair decisions by State

¹ Falkenau, pp. 325, 326; Clark, pp. 401, 402; Sproul, pp. 480, 481; Bagley, pp. 381-383; Ryan, p. 451; McCullough, pp. 218, 219; Woodbury, p. 462; Taylor, p. 541.

² Affidavit of Mr. Simpson, pp. 330-333; Riley, pp. 440-442.

³ Gates, p. 25; Davis, p. 423; Falkenau, pp. 323, 324; Behel, p. 366; Taylor, pp. 535, 538; Chalmers, pp. 8, 16; Miller, pp. 363, 516.

⁴ Reid, pp. 181, 182; Pouchot, pp. 435, 436; Carroll, p. 276; McCullough, p. 215; Buchanan, p. 472; Gubbins, pp. 226, 228, 230; Ryan, p. 285.

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courts would be to make the judges appointive instead of elective, and to give them a very long tenure of office, preferably for life. The Federal courts were held up as being illustrations of the superiority of this system, and it was claimed that their decisions are fair, not only to capitalists, but equally so to laborers. Where judges are dependent upon the popular vote for their positions they can not be so free from prejudice as where their tenure is secure.¹

Several representatives of labor, however, including a lawyer who had been active in litigation concerning labor, claimed that the State and municipal courts were much fairer than the Federal courts; that it was right that judges should be really representatives of the people, and not, as it was said the Federal judges often are, representatives of great corporations. The Federal courts have always been the defenders of property and employers, often against the interests and the rights of the working classes. Reference was made especially to the alleged injustice of the use of the injunction in labor difficulties by Federal judges. For these reasons the system of appointing judges for life was strongly deprecated by these witnesses.² In this connection one witness vigorously urged that the right to issue injunctions in labor disputes should be restricted, or at any rate that the trial for contempt of court in cases involving a criminal offense should be conducted by jury.³ This position was opposed by one or two witnesses on the other side.⁴

ARBITRATION.

There was a large amount of discussion on the general subject of arbitration, in connection with statements concerning the attempts at arbitration in the building-trades lockout and the machinists' strike. In the case of the building-trades lockout, as we have seen, the chief difficulty in the way of arbitration appears to have arisen from the relation between the building trades council and the separate organizations composing it. Employers apparently would have been willing to negotiate or arbitrate with the various local organizations of the separate trades, although one or two expressed a preference for arbitration between national organizations.⁵

In the case of the machinists' strike the employers especially insisted that they could arbitrate only with national organizations of workingmen, inasmuch as local organizations are not familiar with the conditions of the trade elsewhere, and inasmuch as competition makes it necessary that practically the same conditions of labor shall prevail in all the different sections. Several witnesses urged that it is desirable that in practically all trades national organizations of the employers should be formed and should stand over against strong national organizations of the employees, with provisions for settling disputes by joint committees representing the two organizations. They pointed especially to the success of the National Stove Founders' Association and the National Foundrymen's Association in avoiding strikes by means of such agreements with the employees. The system of arbitration later established between the National Metal Trades' Association and the International Association of Machinists, following the lines of the organizations just named, provided that in case disputes could not be settled by conference they should be adjusted by a joint committee composed of the presidents of the respective national associations and two members appointed by them.⁶

¹ Chalmers, pp. 8, 9, 18; Walser, p. 373; Clark, p. 400; Miller, pp. 519-522; Mayer, pp. 78-79; Offield, pp. 86, 87.

² Brennock, p. 467; Darrow, pp. 67-70; Ryan, p. 233.

³ Darrow, pp. 68-71.

⁴ Mayer, pp. 78, 79; Offield, p. 88.

⁵ Madden, p. 110; Nicholson, pp. 90, 91.

⁶ Webster, pp. 145, 146, 151, 153; Gates, pp. 13, 24, 26; Reid, pp. 135, 137; Jones, p. 126; Rountree, p. 34, 36; Devens, p. 505.

Several witnesses pointed out that many agreements heretofore made between the organizations of various building trades and the contractors provided for the settlement of all questions not covered by the agreement by arbitration. The success of this system in the case of the bricklayers of Boston was especially referred to. The bricklayers in Chicago also have carried on arbitration very successfully.¹

The ultimatum of the building contractors' council, issued April 30, 1900, provided for a system of agreements between individual labor organizations and organizations of employers, with arbitration committees for the settlement of disputes. This system was adopted in practically all of the agreements entered into after the lockout. That in the carpenters' agreement is more fully described elsewhere. (See p. XI.)

Certain witnesses also believed that arbitration by State or national boards would be very desirable. There seemed to be a general disposition among both employers and employees to oppose strikes and to favor peaceable means of settlement. A few witnesses favored compulsory arbitration. One or two, however, feared that political influences might prevent fairness on the part of official arbitrators.²

Several employers declared also that arbitration has its limits. Certain demands of labor organizations are so extreme that the only thing to do is to fight them. This is particularly the case, some of them asserted, as to the demand for exclusive employment of union members.³

It was also suggested by a representative of organized labor that an offer to arbitrate is often considered a sign of weakness on the part of the strikers, although this was denied by some employers.⁴

JOURNEYMEN TAILORS' LOCKOUT.

Some testimony was also taken by the subcommission concerning the strike or lockout of the journeymen tailors in Chicago during the spring of 1900, and concerning the conditions in the tailoring and garment-making trades. The number of witnesses heard, however, was small, and no conclusive judgments can be based on their testimony.

Two or three witnesses, representing the journeymen tailors' union, asserted that the demand which caused the cessation of work was that the employers should establish shops in connection with their own stores or places of business, in which the tailors could do the piecework which is now done outside. They asserted that the demand for such shops was presented fully two years before, and that at the beginning of the year 1900 the employers were notified that unless the shops were granted by April 1 there would be a general strike of the tailors. The employers anticipated any such action by locking out their men. About 300 tailors were discharged. A few of the employers have granted the demand for free shops; some of them had done so before 1900.

These witnesses declared that up to a very recent time practically all of the tailoring work of the city of Chicago, including that made by the best custom tailors, was done either in the homes of the tailors or in small shops, where each worker rented space for himself and where there was practically no cooperation between the different tailors. It was claimed that the system of home work tends to reduce wages, especially where the wife and children are called in to help in the work, and that it is injurious to the comfort and health of the home, while it also involves a danger that contagious diseases may be carried by the clothing to the purchaser. The conditions in the shops referred to were declared to be exceed-

¹ Falkenau, p. 324; Smith, p. 406; Nicholson, p. 86; agreements of organizations, pp. 96, 461.

² Walser, p. 378; Board, p. 46; Webster, p. 147; McGarry, p. 310; Nicholson, pp. 92, 46; Gubbins, p. 239; Darrow, pp. 71-73.

³ Bonner, pp. 286, 387; Stiles, p. 342; Webster, p. 154; Gindele, p. 387.

⁴ Blano, p. 65.

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ingly unsanitary, while the tailors, on account of their low wages and also on account of the amount of time wasted in getting the goods from the employers, were forced to work excessively long hours, often far into the night, and quite commonly on Sundays. The impossibility of cooperation between the different workers under this system is also detrimental.

It was declared further that to furnish free shops would involve very little outlay on the part of the employers and would result in various conveniences and economies to them. Those employers who have established shops are entirely satisfied with the system, and the condition of their tailors is much better.¹

Miss Addams and Mrs. Henrotin also upheld the position of the journeymen tailors regarding the furnishing of shops.² Practically no testimony on behalf of the employers has been taken, but Miss Cope, deputy State factory inspector, in her testimony as to the general condition of clothing and garment workers in Chicago, suggested that the centralization of tailoring work in large shops would be injurious to the small merchant tailors and to those workers who are compelled by circumstances to work at home.³

CONDITIONS IN CHICAGO CLOTHING TRADES.

Several witnesses on the subject of the journeymen tailors' strike declared that the conditions in the various clothing trades in Chicago were extremely unsatisfactory, that the wages were low, that the work was done largely in homes or in unsanitary "sweat shops," that large numbers of women and children were employed under exceedingly bad conditions, and that the factory-inspection system of the State had proved ineffective in remedying the abuses, although it has somewhat reduced the evils of child labor. Various specific statements were made to show the low wages and other unfortunate conditions. It was suggested that the primary employer rather than the subcontractor ("sweater") or the worker himself should be held responsible for violations of the sweat-shop and factory-inspection laws. Labeling of tenement-made goods was also advocated.⁴

Miss Cope,⁵ on the other hand, thought that the wages in the garment trades were on the whole reasonable, that the methods of business had kept pace with modern improvements, and that the usual conditions of work were not especially severe or unsanitary.

One or two witnesses spoke of the condition of child labor in Chicago. It was stated that there is little demand for the work of children under 15, because there are no textile factories in the city. It was also stated that the condition of children and of young people employed in the city has been bettered by the State factory law. One witness held that the child workers are not inferior to other children in intelligence or physical development.⁶

SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS IN CHICAGO.

Professor Taylor, president of the Chicago Commons, a social settlement, described the work of that institution in considerable detail. He alluded especially to the public meetings for the free discussion of mooted questions which have been held, and which have been attended by people of the widest extremes of opinion. He believes that such free discussion serves as a valuable safety valve to the feelings of extremists. A fuller summary of the testimony of Professor Taylor on these points is contained in the digest. (P. CXLII.)

¹ Lindholm, pp. 424-426; Taggart, pp. 137-142; Jungstrand, p. 143.

² Pp. 426, 428.

³ Pp. 423-426.

⁴ Mrs. Henrotin, p. 427; Taggart, pp. 138-142; Lindholm, pp. 424, 426.

⁵ Cope, pp. 426-427; Henrotin, p. 428.

TOPICAL DIGEST OF EVIDENCE.

[Prepared by the SECRETARY and CHARLES E. EDGERTON.]

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I. THE BUILDING TRADES DEADLOCK, 1900.

NOTE.—It will be remembered that most of this testimony was taken in March, 1900, during the pendency of the dispute, and the digest presents the statements as in the present tense.

A. **Immediate causes.** (See, also, as to the character of the building trades council, p. XLVII; as to the practices of the unions against which complaint was made, see p. LXVIII.)

1. *Demand for destruction of building trades council.*—Mr. FALKENAU, a representative of the building contractors' council, says that the cause of the existing strike is the insistence of the contractors' council on the dissolution of the building trades council. The contractors are not at present willing to dispense with their own council. Their council has much larger aims than may appear on the surface, and is on a higher plane than the building trades council. It will never take any action which will be in the least harmful to the interests of either the affiliated bodies or any of the individuals that compose it. The building trades council is bound together by the sympathetic strike; and that is the thing which the contractors are determined to eliminate. The witness has no objection to the recognition of labor unions, though not in such a sense that nonunion men should be excluded from employment. (324-329.)

Mr. WELLS, a general contractor, thinks that the abolition of the building trades council is necessary to remedy the present labor difficulties. If that were effected, permanent arrangements could be made with the several unions, as formerly, and business would go on smoothly. (381.)

Mr. WOODBURY, president of the carpenters' district council, admits that the building trades council and some of the affiliated bodies may be somewhat to blame for the existing strike, but he believes that the contractors and the public press are much more responsible. The demand that the building trades council be dissolved is an unreasonable demand. The workmen do not demand the dissolution of the contractors' council, and Mr. Woodbury believes that it should be maintained. (463.)

Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet metal workers' union, declares that it would be impossible to destroy the building trades council. If it were destroyed there would very soon be another just as strong. (436.)

Mr. MCGARRY, a manufacturer of boilers, declares that the members of the unions engaged in the building trades strike are intelligent and honest men. They only demand what they consider right. The witness thinks if the employers would meet them in a fair spirit the difficulty would soon be settled. But the contractors are trying to rule or ruin. The combination between the employers in the building trades has compelled all the unions of workmen to combine; even thus they are likely to be weaker than the employers, who have a great deal more money. (311.)

Mr. LONG, business agent of the gas fitters' association, asserts that two or three contractors have told him that the contractors mean to break up all the unions and starve the people into submission. (203.)

Testifying in February, 1901, Prof. GRAHAM TAYLOR declared that the fundamental question in dispute in the building trades strike was the right to maintain the building trades council. Objection was also made by the contractors to the restriction of the use of machinery and the limitation of a day's work, and there was some merit in these criticisms; the unions had gone too far. Moreover, holding political office by labor leaders was condemned by the employers and by the general public. But the "nub" of the whole controversy from beginning to end was the right of the employees to maintain some central body.

The building contractors council insisted upon the dissolution of the building trades council but never was willing to consent to disbanding its own organization, although the employers had repeatedly said that the existence of their council was due to the existence of the other. While the employers stoutly denied that there was any valid reason for the existence of such a central organization, it is well known that strong central labor organizations exist in nearly all cities;

and though the building trades council was perhaps unique in some of its rules, and in its strength, most of its characteristics could be paralleled from organizations in other cities.

Professor Taylor believes that if the contractors had been willing from the beginning to permit the organization of a new central body with restricted powers and modified methods, as was finally done, the great prolongation of the dispute might have been prevented. It was not fair, in his opinion, for the contractors to insist on the cessation of the sympathetic strike while they were organizing a sympathetic lockout; nor to charge the unions with violating agreements when some of the contractors' organizations had broken the agreement as to the Saturday half-holiday; nor to complain of the limitation of the day's work without recognizing the complaint of the men against the "rusher" being selected to set the pace for the day's work; or to object to restriction of liberty while they were themselves curtailing the rights of the small contractors, if they refused to join the association, by cutting off their supply of material and labor. (535, 541, 542.)

Professor Taylor says that there are various peculiar conditions in the industrial life of Chicago which have tended to produce friction, and which exercised an influence in causing and prolonging the building trades strike. The cosmopolitan character of the population, and the fact that many of the working people are only transient residents, tend to favor radicalism and excitability. On the other hand, the employing classes of the city have too little sympathy with labor and too little information concerning the history and purposes of labor organizations. The slightest reflection will show the economic necessity of the organization of labor, if organization of capital is admitted to be necessary. The employers have also underestimated the uprightness of the laboring classes and especially of the labor leaders. During the building trades strike a prominent businessman in Chicago suggested to Professor Taylor that the only way to settle the strike was to provide for the leaders who would lose their salaried positions in the labor unions by such a settlement, and he offered to put into Professor Taylor's hands \$10,000 for that purpose. The witness declared to him that trade unionism in Chicago could not be purchased for \$10,000 or any other sum, and that such an estimate of the venality of the rank and file, or even of the officers of the unions, was unwarranted, and tended to add fuel to the fire of strong feeling.

Both among employers and employees, moreover, there has been a tendency toward bitterness and disregard of the rights on the other side. Both sides have been quick to resort to threats. The sentiment of employers and of employees has often been in favor of "fighting it out;" employers have declared, "We will starve them out." The contractors have shown unnecessary rudeness in receiving delegations from the employees, and unnecessary violence has been shown in the language used by the members of the building trades council. (540, 541.)

2. *Character of small contractors.*—Mr. LONG, business agent of the gas fitters' association, says that his union seldom has any trouble with the large contractors. The trouble arises with the small men, who have gone into business for themselves because they are not first-class mechanics, and therefore have trouble in getting employment. (203.)

Mr. PREECE, of the bricklayers' union, states that there was a strike of the bricklayers in 1887, which lasted some 11 or 12 weeks. It was ended by an agreement for permanent arbitration, which maintained harmony between the bricklayers and their employers until 1897. In that year the contractors gave 6 months' notice of the termination of the agreement, according to its terms. At the same time they issued an ultimatum that they would not arbitrate unless the union refused to work for any but members of the Chicago Builders' Association. Arbitration committees were appointed by both bodies, and at the meeting the employers introduced a resolution providing that the bricklayers should not work for outside employers. The bricklayers succeeded in getting it modified so far as to permit them to work also for members of the union itself who were in business as builders. In 1898 the contractors complained that the competition of these union builders was too keen, and demanded that they be forced into the contractors' association. The bricklayers finally yielded and agreed to work for none but members of the contractors' association. The small contractors thus forced into the association numbered, the witness believes, at least 50 per cent of the contractors. This element, being so numerous, obtained control of the association and put in officers of its own selection. These officers were men of very different caliber and character from the old officers with whom the bricklayers had worked in harmony for many years. They assumed a very arbitrary position toward the union, and even objected to selecting an umpire for the settlement of disputes. Mr. Preece believes that the bad feeling that has been growing for 2 years is due to the events just related. The old contractors who used to control the association have now got control of it again, but the men who have held the offices and have made the trouble

have been able to misrepresent the causes of difficulty in such a way as to create a prejudice against the union in the minds of the present officers. (476, 477.)

3. *Paid agitators among employers.*—Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, thinks that much of the trouble between the contractors and the workmen is due not to the large and responsible contractors, but to small men, and particularly to those small men who receive a per diem payment for sitting on committees. One of these men did only one job in 2 years, and that involved only 60,000 bricks. Such men can make more by prolonging the trouble and so keeping their places on committees of the employers' association than they can by contracting. (223, 229, 241.)

Mr. LONG, president of the board of business agents of the building trades council, states that the secretary of the committee of the contractors' council said to him, when the discussion preceding the present strike was going on, that the contractors were figuring on a lockout, and continued, "I don't care; I am getting paid for it, you know, and I will jolly the thing along." (199.)

4. *Attitude of the press.*—Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, thinks that the Chicago papers have always acted very unfairly toward organized labor. He does not blame the reporters so much as the editorial force. He has seen statements which were written correctly by the reporters, but which were so altered before they appeared as to convey false impressions. The result is that the people at large are able to see only one side of the case. The workmen have no money to buy up papers to advocate their cause. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if people in general are prejudiced against the workmen. (236.)

5. *Unions primarily involved.*—Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet metal workers' union, says that there are no differences to be settled between the sheet metal workers and their employers, and that he understands that there are no differences except in three trades—the plumbers, the gasfitters, and the lathers—in each case on account of the limitation of the day's work. The sheet metal workers' union has never struck, though it has been locked out more than once. (437.)

B. *Early demands, negotiations and attempted arbitration.*—Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, states that the building trades council was organized in the year 1894. Its demands, or those of the affiliated unions which were enforced through it, became more and more unreasonable and arbitrary as time went on. Mr. Falkenau specifies the shutting out of apprentices and the limitation of the day's work. The contractors were obliged to submit to these things, as well as to a great variety of impositions and injustices, largely because of the necessity which they were generally under of finishing the work they were engaged on within a given time. The need of an organization which should enable the contractors to resist the arbitrary demands of the building trades council led to the organization of the building contractors' council in April, 1899.

On August 30, 1899, the building contractors' council resolved to appoint a committee of five to submit its grievances to the building trades council, and to inform it that unless the obnoxious rules were modified in some instances, and abolished in others, within 1 week, the organizations affiliated with the building contractors' council would be compelled to adopt measures for their own protection. No answer was received for more than a week. A conference was finally arranged, but the committee of the trades council failed to appear at the appointed time. A meeting was afterwards held, but no results were obtained. On November 17, 1899, the building contractors' council adopted a resolution of which the following is the important part:

"Resolved. That on and after January, 1900, the trades represented in the building contractors' council shall not recognize—

"First. Any limitation as to the amount of work a man may perform during his working day.

"Second. Any restriction of the use of machinery.

"Third. The right of any person to interfere with the workmen during working hours.

"Fourth. The sympathetic strike.

"Fifth. Restriction of the use of any manufactured material except prison made.

"Sixth. The right of the unions to prohibit the employment of apprentices.

"And be it further resolved, That a copy of these regulations be sent to the building trades council and its affiliated unions, as outlining the position of the building contractors' council with respect to the existing conditions in the building trade at the present time, that are detrimental to the welfare of all parties concerned, with the assurance that there is no disposition on the part of the building contractors' council to question the present rate of wages, hours, or the principles of legitimate unionism."

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A copy of this resolution was sent by special messenger to the building trades council, and was referred by it to a committee, but no further action whatever seems to have been taken upon it. The resolution of the contractors was made public, and the resulting understanding and discussion of the methods of the building trades council brought upon it such an avalanche of public criticism that it thought it necessary to take steps to put itself in a better position in the public eye. It did not wish to recognize the contractors' council, and tried to get a committee appointed of outside contractors. This movement, if successful, besides avoiding the acknowledgment of a backdown, would have given an opportunity of creating a division among the contractors themselves by putting those outside the contractors' association in a position of antagonism to those within. Ultimately, upon the initiative of Mr. Madden, a committee of the trades council met a committee of the contractors' council and recognized it as such. The contractors submitted as subjects for arbitration the rules set forth in the resolution of November 17. The meetings of the joint committee proceeded harmoniously, and after they had been held almost daily for 10 days an agreement was reached.

The chief desire of the contractors had been to do away with the sympathetic strike. They believed that strikes could be avoided in nine-tenths of the cases if all differences were submitted to arbitration. The agreement of the joint committee provided for a board of arbitration, consisting of 5 members from the trades council and 5 members from the contractors' council, who were to have power to impose fines or punishments upon the members of both councils with such force that members under penalty should be debarred from all the privileges of their associations or unions until the penalties were satisfied. Every dispute, which the parties immediately in interest should not be able to settle, was to be referred to a standing arbitration committee of 5 members from the employers and 5 from the employees, representing the trade interested. If the trade directly interested should be unable to settle any case, the difference should be adjusted by the final board of arbitration of the two councils. No strike or lockout was to be authorized or called by reason of any dispute between the organizations represented in either council. Work was to continue uninterrupted during the arbitration. Other provisions of the agreement were that there should be no limitation of the amount of work which a man might do during the normal working day, that at least one apprentice should be allowed at each established shop in each trade, whose term of apprenticeship should expire before he should reach 22 years of age, and that no rules other than those embodied in these agreements should be promulgated, recognized, or enforced by either council unless authorized by the final board of arbitration. The contractors were to employ no workmen except those carrying cards of an organization affiliated with the building trades council.

The committee finished its work on December 28, and agreed to meet the next morning to attach their names to the final report. On December 29 the report was signed by the representatives of the contractors and by 4 representatives of the trades council. Three members of the trades council committee did not appear. The report was submitted to a meeting of the contractors' council on the same day and immediately ratified. The representatives of the trades council had given assurance that their body would ratify the agreement that evening, and had agreed to exchange ratifications the next day. When the committee of the contractors' council went to make the exchange of ratifications, they found a single representative of the trades council, who informed them that the trades council had referred the agreement to its constituent unions for a referendum vote, and that it would be 3 weeks before answers could be received from all the unions.

On January 5 the contractors were informed that a sympathetic strike had been declared on the Methodist Book Concern building. The conference committee of the contractors immediately went to the office of the trades council to protest. At this time they met Mr. Woodbury, one of the representatives of the trades council who had failed to sign the joint report, and asked his reasons for refusing. He said that they were personal and were nobody's business but his own. On another occasion, however, before the Sunset Club, Mr. Woodbury stated that he was absolutely opposed to arbitration agreements, because arbitration took too much time, and in the end the men always got the worst of it. The difficulty on the Methodist Book Concern building was ultimately adjusted.

On January 17 the contractors' council wrote to the trades council asking that a definite answer with regard to the joint agreement be given not later than January 27. No answer was received within the time specified. The contractors concluded that the trades council was acting in bad faith, and was trying to delay the matter until the building season should begin and the contractors should all be busy. The contractors, therefore, adopted a circular notice, copies of which were furnished to every contractor with instructions to see that a copy was placed

in the hands of every journeyman and workman in his employ. The circular stated the rates of wages which the contractors proposed to pay to each class of workmen:

Bricklayers	\$4. 00	Carpenters.....	\$3. 40
Plumbers	4. 00	Sheet-metal workers	3. 40
Stonecutters	4. 00	House drainers.....	3. 28
Gas fitters	4. 00	Iron workers, ornamental, and	
Steam fitters.....	4. 00	brackets.....	3. 20
Plasterers and engineers	4. 00	Painters	3. 00
Tile setters.....	4. 00	Gravel roofers	3. 00
Iron setters and bracket, struc-		Plasterers' laborers	2. 40
tural	3. 60	Laborers.....	2. 00
Marble setters	3. 50		

The circular continued:

"The unions affiliated with the building-trades council have absolutely ignored the joint agreement and failed to ratify the same. We hereby make the following rules to be enforced by the contractors of Chicago on and after February 5, 1900, and you will govern yourselves accordingly:

"Eight hours shall constitute a day's work.

"Time and one-half will be allowed for all overtime.

"Double time for Sundays and holidays.

"No limitation as to the amount of work a man shall perform in a day.

"No restriction as to union or nonunion made material.

"No restriction as to the use of machinery.

"The foreman shall be the agent of the contractor.

"The right to employ and discharge whoever he may choose is reserved to the employer."

The circular further stated that men who should work for the contractors on and after February 5 would have to work according to the rules adopted by the contractors' council. Upon the distribution of this circular the officers of the trades council declared to their men that it constituted a lockout on the part of the general contractors.

Mayor Harrison afterwards undertook to bring about a settlement of the difficulty by asking nine members of the contractors' council to meet nine members of the trades council in his office. The contractors, considering the result of two attempts to agree with the building-trades council, believed that that body was "so unreliable, lawless, and corrupt that no possible good could come from any conference or attempt at arbitration with them." They announced that they would not deal with the building-trades council as such. They referred the affiliated unions of the building-trades council to their respective bodies of employers—bricklayers to deal with master masons, carpenters with the master carpenters' organization, etc. (312-321.)

Mr. WOODBURY states that Mr. Falkenau's account of his attitude toward arbitration agreements, as expressed in a speech before the Sunset Club, is not true. In refutation of it, he submits a stenographic report of the speech referred to. He also states that Mr. Falkenau is not accurate in quoting the answer he made when he was asked why he did not sign the joint agreement of December, 1899. His answer was that he was not making explanations now. He says, in explanation of his refusal to sign, that he was not able to attend the first meetings of the joint committee and did not approve of what had been done when he returned from a necessary absence. Moreover, it was the feeling of the carpenters that their employers had no right to take a position which violated their existing agreement. That agreement was valid until April 1, and until that time no question of a change could properly arise. The experience of the carpenters in permitting agreements to be disturbed had not been gratifying. At the close of the World's Fair time they had an agreement, running nearly 2 years ahead, for wages of 40 cents an hour. The contractors requested a reduction, and the carpenters consented to arbitrate the question. The result was that they had to submit to a reduction to 35 cents an hour. (459, 460, 464.)

Mr. BRENNOCK, treasurer of the building-trades council, declares that the ultimatum presented by the contractors' council to the building-trades council was an insult. No conference was asked, but it was demanded that sympathetic strikes should be abolished. The contractors' council disregarded Mr. Madden's first invitation to a conference, and when later a similar committee did meet in conference it was found that on practically every proposition all the representatives of the contractors voted solidly on the one side and all the representatives of the employees solidly on the other. (468.)

Mr. MADDEN refers to the effort which he made to secure a reasonable settlement of the difficulties between the contractors and the workmen, and to the fact that the building-trades council never acted upon the agreement which had been unanimously settled by the joint committee. Every union which acted on it acted favorably, and the witness does not understand why the trades council did not ratify it. Mr. Madden also refers to the effort of the mayor to secure a settlement, which was defeated by the attitude of the contractors. They seem to have felt that they were not justified in any further negotiations with the men, in view of the failure of the men to ratify the agreement already reached. (109, 111.)

Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, states that the building-trades council ignored a communication from the contractors' council looking to an agreement between the two bodies. Mr. B. M. Madden, a prominent material dealer, offered his services as mediator, and asked Mr. Gubbins if he would be willing to meet a committee of contractors to arrange a settlement of difficulties. Mr. Gubbins, after consulting with other labor leaders, agreed to the proposition, with a proviso that men be selected on the contractors' side who were not known as opponents of organized labor. This condition does not seem to Mr. Gubbins to have been fulfilled. The committee met, however, and after long deliberation arranged a basis of agreement which was submitted to the building contractors' council and to the building-trades council. The contractors' council promptly ratified it. The trades council had to submit it to a referendum vote. Mr. Gubbins is confident that it would have been ratified by the unions if the contractors had allowed them time to act upon it. Those unions which voted at all voted in favor of it, and those which failed to act within the period fixed, would have been counted in the affirmative. Before the time expired which the unions had asked for the contractors presented their ultimatum, in the shape of rules, which they had formulated contrary to all existing agreements with the unions. These rules would have lost to the workmen their Saturday half-holiday, and would have made them work with anybody the employers saw fit to hire. They involved the locking out, from the following Monday, of all men who would not submit. This put an end to all negotiations. The mayor of Chicago afterwards proposed to the workmen to appoint a committee to meet a like committee of the contractors. The workmen consented, but when the mayor extended his invitation to the contractors they refused in a letter through the press. (220, 221, 226, 227, 239, 240.)

Mr. MILLER, a manufacturer of sheet-metal work, says that the most noticeable feature of the Madden arbitration was the lack of interest on the part of the laboring men. The award was signed by two or three or four of their members. The contractors' association now feels that it has wasted 2 or 3 weeks of time, and that it is not now worth while to attempt to arbitrate again, although the principal reason for refusing to negotiate further is that the contractors are not willing to arbitrate the question whether they shall be restricted as to the men they can employ. (354.)

Mr. OFFIELD, a patent lawyer, says that so long as the trade unions insist on their extreme demands there seems to be no chance of any agreement between the opposing parties in the present difficulties. Many manufacturers feel that the fight must be fought to a finish. Nevertheless, it would seem that there should be some further steps toward arbitration. The witness understands that there have been various negotiations and meetings of the parties in the various strikes, but that some difficulties have always arisen which have destroyed the spirit which would make a settlement possible. The manufacturers, so far as the witness knows, are disposed to be conciliatory, but there is a certain line, to go beyond which would mean the destruction of their rights. It would seem, however, that there must be some men or some organization which could be trusted to mediate between the contending parties. It is certainly desirable that the representatives of the manufacturers and of the workmen should get together and try to harmonize their difficulties. (84, 85.)

C. *Attitude of the workmen and the employers toward arbitration.* (See also above as to negotiations, p. XXXVII.)

Mr. CARROLL, president of the building trades council, states that the building trades have had the most perfect system of arbitration in existence. That system consists in the efforts of the business agents, and afterwards of the board of business agents, to obtain a personal agreement with the contractors, the architects, and the owners, whenever a difficulty arises on any building. The members of the several unions are willing to submit their differences with their several employers, so far as such differences exist, to arbitration. This arbitration by

trades separately is the only sort of arbitration that is practicable. The plumbers are not willing to let their differences be adjusted by plasterers, nor the plasterers to let their differences be adjusted by plumbers. Nearly all of the delegates to the building trades council were in favor of the plan submitted by Mr. Madden, which provided for a general arbitration committee of five appointed by the building trades council and five appointed by the contractors' council. This plan was disapproved by the rank and file of the individual unions. Mr. Carroll does not think that there was one trade that wished to depart from the old plan of settlement between the employers and the employees of the individual trades. The trouble now is that the contractors refuse to arbitrate anything until the building trades council is destroyed. If the contractors would consent, each individual trade in which differences exist could proceed at once to arbitrate by itself, as the plumbers have vainly tried to induce the master plumbers to do. It is true that building could hardly progress in a satisfactory way while differences exist between masters and men in any one particular trade, because the building could not be finished without the introduction of nonunion men, and that would involve a strike on the part of any union men employed on the building in question or employed by the same firm in other places. Such an agreement could not fail to be reached on the part of every trade, however, if masters and men appointed each a man and these two men chose an umpire, whose vote should be final in all matters of dispute. The witness believes that all the trades would be willing that an arbitration committee be appointed, consisting of one man from each organization affiliated with the building trades council and one from each organization affiliated with the contractors' council. As there are more organizations in the building trades council, this would give more votes to the workmen than to the contractors; but the witness does not believe that any trade would be willing to give up its vote. However, the workmen are willing to adopt any feasible plan of arbitration. The most practical plan is that which has already existed for years, of agreements by separate trades. (268-274.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, says that the president of the carpenters' union and the head men of the bricklayers' union have told him that they would be very willing to arbitrate, but that they can not do so independently of the building trades council. (92.)

Mr. FREECE, of the bricklayers' union, believes that there ought to be arrangements for arbitration between the unions and the employers in each trade, but that there ought also to be a higher board, which could be called upon in case any trade and its employers could not agree. (477.)

Mr. PRICE, a general contractor, thinks that arbitration could be effected with the individual unions, but not with the building trades council. (362.)

Mr. BRENNOCK, treasurer of the building trades council, thinks that the council can not undertake a joint settlement of a strike for all the trades represented. The men from the different trades do not understand the conditions of any particular trade thoroughly. The proper method of settlement is with the separate trades. There is nothing, so far as the witness knows, in the constitution of the building trades council to prevent such a settlement. (468.)

Mr. STILES, a master painter, thinks that it would be better for the different trades to arbitrate their own difficulties, regardless of any central bodies. It would probably be necessary to have some practical cooperation among the different trades in order to reach an effective agreement. (340, 341.)

Mr. FRANK M. RYAN says that the agreement between the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union and the contractors provided for arbitration concerning any matter not specifically regulated by the agreement itself. The witness thinks that difficulties between employers and employees in the building trades should, so far as possible, be settled by negotiations or arbitration between representatives of the individual trade affected. A contractor who is engaged in steel construction for buildings, or a workman who is actually performing this class of work, knows the conditions much better than any other person. It is not desirable that representatives of other trades should be called in to determine the question in dispute unless it is absolutely necessary. If, however, no agreement can be reached, appeal to the building trades council is the only resort. The witness believes that the majority of the trades in the council could compel any one trade to arbitrate, or at least to accept the decision of arbitrators as to general disputes affecting all of the trades. (281-284.)

Mr. KLEIN, president of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union of America, says that it has been the policy of that organization during the past 7 years to arbitrate labor disputes, but he has been unable to bring about arbitration in the present dispute in Chicago. On his arrival in Chicago a few days

XLII INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION:—CHICAGO LABOR DISPUTES.

before his testimony, the witness visited the subordinate organization of the bricklayers' union and appealed to them to give him a fair chance to seek arbitration of the dispute between the union and the organization of the master masons. Mr. Klein at that time believed that there must be some misunderstanding as to the attitude of the master masons. He found, however, on approaching the master masons that they refused absolutely to arbitrate. They asked how it would be possible for the bricklayers to arbitrate independently of the building trades council. The witness explained to the master masons that it was the policy of the bricklayers' organization to compel its local bodies to seek arbitration, and in case of refusal to withhold financial aid. The witness declares that it would have been possible for the international organization to hold the local body to conformity to the decision of the arbitrators if arbitration had been agreed to. It would have been the duty of the parent organization, in case of failure to carry out the decision, to take up the fight on behalf of the contractors.

On the very day when the witness appeared before the commission the master masons declared to him, he states, that they would not arbitrate until the building trades council should be broken up. The witness put the question whether their doctrine was not "rule or ruin for one side or the other," and one of the master masons present admitted that it was. This refusal on the part of the master masons to arbitrate is, Mr. Klein declares, entirely in disregard of the rights of the public, who are injured by the inability to proceed with any building whatever so long as the strike continues. There is no doubt that the laboring people have made mistakes, and that in some of their demands they are wrong; but this should not hinder efforts to bring about a general settlement.

Mr. Klein thinks, also, that the refusal of the master masons to agree to arbitration is likely to result in the extension of the strike against them to other cities, at least so far as master masons who belong to the organization in Chicago are carrying on work in other cities. It is true that in most large cities there are arrangements by which disputes between the local employers and employees are to be settled by arbitration, but the witness thinks that even the employers themselves in these cities would be liberal enough to take up the fight against the Chicago master masons in view of their absolute refusal to arbitrate, a refusal which is entirely unreasonable and which will destroy the building business for the entire season.

Mr. Klein is not quite certain whether the building trades council (as distinguished from the bricklayers' union) actually desires arbitration of the present disputes, but he is inclined to think that it does. (155-159.)

Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, states that he went with the international president of the bricklayers' union to the office of the contractors' association, and that he was there told that the policy of the contractors' association was to rule or to ruin, and that the view of the contractors was that "to the victor belong the spoils." It was not pretended that the contractors had any grievance against the bricklayers. In the judgment of Mr. Gubbins the actual purpose of the employers is to destroy not only the building trades council, but afterwards the several individual unions. (222.)

Mr. GINDELE refers to the testimony of Mr. Klein and Mr. Gubbins as to the alleged statement that the policy of the contractors is one of rule or ruin, and as to the use of the phrase, "to the victor belong the spoils." Mr. Gindele says that while he is the person referred to, he in fact said that the policy of the contractors is not one of rule or ruin, and that, while he did use the phrase about the spoils, he explained that the contractors seek no spoils but the return of prosperity to the building industries of Chicago, and that if they are victorious they will pay the wages already announced and will try to give employment to the union men. (364.)

Mr. GUBBINS states that all the workingmen in Chicago are willing to accept arbitration, and always have been. The bricklayers would not arbitrate with their employers except upon the condition that the employers of other trades should also arbitrate with their men. The international union of bricklayers, from which the local bricklayers receive assistance during their strike, would have required such separate arbitration if the employers had consented to it, and would have withdrawn its aid if the local unions had refused to consent. The refusal of the employers to arbitrate saved the bricklayers from this dilemma. The witness would not favor a general arbitration by all the bodies together, because the conditions of each trade are understood only by men connected with it. He would favor, however, a board of appeal, to which questions should be referred which the several trades might be unable to settle separately. He would be glad to have such a board appointed from among representative men of Chicago, or to have the President of the United States select men, either from Chicago or from

other parts of the country, or to have the places filled by members of the Industrial Commission. (220, 222, 225, 240-245.)

Mr. GUBBINS says that his association made all possible effort to continue during 1900 its agreement with the mason contractors' association. By their standing agreement the two bodies should have met during the month of January to renew their arrangements for the year. Mr. Gubbins and his union wrote to the contractors' association and repeatedly telephoned to them for an appointment, according to the understanding. The contractors' association refused to make an appointment. (221.)

Mr. PREECE, of the bricklayers' union, also states that the union made several attempts to meet the contractors to make an agreement for the coming year as usual, but the contractors put them off from time to time and refused or neglected to appoint the necessary committee. (479.)

Mr. NICHOLSON says that the arbitration agreement of the bricklayers was long maintained only by a bare majority of the workmen and the employers. (91.)

Mr. LILLIEN says that the hod carriers' union, of which he is president, made an agreement with the master masons' association about June 27, 1898, under which they worked till the end of 1899, and in which, Mr. Lillien states, no change was ever made by his organization. About January 17, 1900, the hod carriers' union sent a communication to the master masons, asking for a joint arbitration board. No answer was ever received, but the members of the hod carriers' union were notified individually by their employers that certain rules, which the employers had formulated without consulting the union, would be in force from the 5th of February. (114, 115.)

Mr. PREECE, of the bricklayers' union, declares that every trade of the building trades' council is willing, he believes, to arbitrate. Arbitration is the only method by which the present disputes can ever be settled. No employer has a right to say to his employees that there is nothing to arbitrate. It is the duty of the contractors to send a communication to each union asking for an arbitration committee, and every union would respond. (477-479.)

Mr. CARROLL, president of the building trades council, understands that the plumbers have written to the contractors' organization, besides informing them verbally, that they are willing to arbitrate the differences between the journeymen and the employers, and he has been informed that the employing plumbers referred the question to the building contractors' council, and that it refused to allow the arbitration. (271.)

Mr. FALKENAU believes that the idea which he attributes to Mr. Woodbury, that arbitration is rarely satisfactory and takes too much time, and the men always get the worst of it, underlies the objections of several of the unions to the agreement which was made by the joint committee of the contractors' council and the trades council, but which the trades council failed to ratify. (318, 319, 325.)

Mr. MADDEN, president of the Western Stone Company, does not think that any hesitation on the part of either the workmen or the contractors to suggest arbitration, on the ground that such a suggestion would be regarded as a confession of weakness, is well founded. Each side knows the strength and staying qualities of the other side so well that no such impression would be given. (111.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, does not think that there is any basis for the suggestion that if either side of the controversy offered to arbitrate the other side would consider it a sign of weakness. The greatest difficulty will be in getting unbiased arbitrators. (92.)

Rights of the public in the dispute.—Professor TAYLOR insists that both employers and employees in the building trades dispute disregarded the rights of the great third party, the public, and the witness justifies his own activity in endeavoring to bring about a settlement especially because of the fact that the Chicago Commons, of which he is president, was erecting a \$80,000 building at the time, and suffered loss by the fact that from February to August it remained without a roof and with no work done upon it. In an address before a convention of trades unions in May, 1900, Professor Taylor declared that great damage was being done to the industrial reputation of Chicago by the advertisement of the insecurity of labor and capital there, and that individuals were also suffering a great loss by the prolongation of the dispute, so that the public had a just right to interfere, a right which, up to that time, had been contemptuously ignored by both parties. (533, 534.)

D. Later negotiations and agreements with various labor organizations.—1. *Contractors' ultimatum of April 30, 1900.*—Professor TAYLOR and Mr. MILLER in their testimony given in February, 1901, referred to an ultimatum issued by the building contractors' council on April 30, 1901. This ultimatum was very similar in its general principles to that submitted by the contractors in November, 1899. A

proposed form of agreement, to be adopted by the various separate contractors' associations and the separate labor organizations, was drawn up. This provided that there should be no limitation of the amount of work to be done in a day, of the use of machinery and tools, or of the use of any manufactured material except prison made; that no person should have the right to interfere with the workingmen during working hours, and that the foreman should be the agent of the employer; that apprentices should not be prohibited, and that workingmen should work for whomsoever they saw fit and employers employ whomsoever they saw fit; that no union man should quit work because of the employment of non-union men on the same building or on any other building; that there should be no interference on the part of any outside person or organization. An arbitration system was also provided for, with fines for violation of agreements or of awards of arbitrators. The agreement should become operative only when the union making it should withdraw permanently from the building trades council and should agree "not to become affiliated with any organization of a like character." (MILLER, 517, 525; TAYLOR, 532, 533; text of ultimatum, p. 563.)

2. *Further futile attempts at conciliation.*—After this time there were various attempts at conciliation and arbitration as to the general dispute, which are described by Professor TAYLOR.

At a meeting of a convention of all the trades unions of the city held on May 13, 1900, Professor Taylor made an address criticising the weak points of both parties in the dispute, and especially urging the right of the general public, as the great third party, to have its interests considered. As a result a resolution was passed directing the chairman of the meeting to appoint one member from each of three different trade unions not affiliated with the building trades council to act together with three persons to be appointed by some commercial or real estate body, with Professor Taylor as the seventh member, as a commission of inquiry to investigate the facts regarding the dispute and endeavor to bring about a peaceful settlement. Professor Taylor wrote to Mr. O'Brien, chairman of the building contractors' council, regarding this movement, and inquired whether the council would present facts in connection with such an investigation, neither side to be committed to the acceptance of the findings. The secretary of the contractors' council replied, stating that the ultimatum of April 30 contained the only conditions upon which a settlement of the difficulties could be made, and declaring that the principles of that ultimatum were generally approved by the public and needed no explanation or defense, while to comply with the request for investigation would only tend to postpone the adjustment. Nevertheless, the matter was laid before the Chicago Real Estate Board, which agreed to lend its aid and passed resolutions declaring that it believed that all the differences except such as involved constitutional rights, were a proper subject for arbitration, and that a plan of arbitration could be easily agreed upon. Repeated efforts subsequently made to secure the consent of the contractors' council to join in the proposed investigation failed.

Meanwhile another movement in favor of a conference between representatives of the contractors' council and the building trades council had been initiated, and the committee appointed by the convention of trades unions recommended that further action be postponed pending the result of that conference. This conference took place between June 12 and 21, and an elaborate stenographic report of it has been published. No agreement, however, was reached. (535-537.)

8. *Agreement with bricklayers.*—The first important labor organization to withdraw from the building trades council and to enter into an agreement essentially similar to that drafted by the building contractors' council was the bricklayers' organization, which signed a contract June 27, 1900. A copy of this contract is submitted in connection with the testimony of Mr. Miller. (535).

Aside from containing the provisions of the contractors' ultimatum above referred to, the agreement provided that 8 hours should constitute a day's work, except on Saturday during the summer, when there should be 4 hours' work for 4 hours' pay. Overtime was to be paid at one and one-half rates, and double rates were to be paid for work on Sundays and holidays. The minimum rate of wages was fixed at 50 cents per hour, wages payable biweekly. Each employer was given the right to have not more than one new apprentice each year, the term of apprenticeship to be not less than 3 years, and detailed rules regarding apprenticeship were provided. Finally an arbitration board was established, consisting of 5 members, elected from each side yearly, all of whom must be actively engaged in the trade, and none of whom might hold a public office. These members were to select an umpire, not affiliated with the building industry, neither an employee nor an employer of labor. The board was given full power to enforce the agreement and to make working rules, and no strike or lockout

might be begun pending its decision. The provisions regarding the arbitration board were essentially the same as those contained in the draft form of agreement submitted by the contractors' council in April.

As an explanation of the early withdrawal of the bricklayers' unions from the building trades council, Professor TAYLOR says that this was no great surprise, since the bricklayers had never been very closely identified with the council. For some years previous to the strike the relations of the bricklayers and the contractors had been very friendly, and there had been no strike or lockout, all disputes being settled by conciliation and arbitration. (533.)

Mr. MILLER says that the bricklayers were influenced in reaching their agreement by the fact that their national organization declared the Chicago strike irregular, and refused to furnish funds. (516.)

4. *Further agreements and history after bricklayers' agreement.*—Mr. MILLER says that a result of the agreements between the bricklayers and their employers was the partial resumption of building operations. Employers were willing to employ men who had withdrawn from the unions, or members of the unions which had withdrawn from the building trades council, but it was difficult to find out what the real status of individuals was. With the cooperation of employers several new unions were formed, composed of men who had withdrawn from the old unions. These were distinct from the industrial unions formed earlier, and represented separate trades. There were such new unions of stonecutters, carpenters, plumbers, and hoisting engineers. The witness admits that such organizations would not be considered regular by members of the building trades council or by labor organizations generally. As a further guaranty regarding the position of men employed, affidavits were required from the men to the effect that they had withdrawn from the unions, and in the sheet-metal trade each man had to sign an individual agreement of employment.

From time to time after this, says Mr. Miller, various trade unions withdrew from the building trades council, and signed agreements with the contractors' council. The agreements were in general based closely upon the contractors' ultimatum of April 30, but some of them struck out the clause giving the individual union men the right to remain at work regardless of the will of the union. The unions had especially objected to this provision, which seemed to them to take away their power to discipline their members. The contractors' council did not desire to destroy the unions. In none of these agreements were there any reductions of the rate of wages prevailing before the strike; employers were perfectly willing to pay the union scale. (517)

Professor TAYLOR also refers to the fact that during the latter half of the year 1900, various other labor organizations, in addition to the bricklayers, withdrew from the building trades council and made agreements with the respective associations of contractors. An agreement made by the structural iron workers in 1900 contained the same general conditions as were laid down in the ultimatum of April 30, but omitted the requirement that the unions should not become affiliated with another central organization. A provision was inserted that if such a new central body was formed it should be composed solely of the mechanic trades actually employed on buildings, and that its constitutions and rules must not be in conflict with the terms of the agreement. (532.)

Mr. MILLER states further that the master carpenters made an agreement with the new union of carpenters to pay them 42½ cents per hour and to give them preference over union men still affiliated with the building trades' council. The old union in the council then authorized its members to work for any wages they could get, and in many cases they were hired. As a matter of fact, Mr. Miller declares, by February, 1901, employers in most building lines in Chicago were employing men on satisfactory terms, not asking any questions as to whether they were union men or not. (518.)

5. *The carpenters' agreement, February, 1901.*—In February, 1901, at the time of Professor TAYLOR's testimony, representatives of the employers' associations of carpenters and of the carpenters' executive council, the central organization of the various carpenters' unions, had reached an agreement, which had been referred to a referendum vote of the unions, and which, subsequent to the testimony, was ratified by them. This agreement was submitted in full by Professor Taylor (p. 528). It contained most of the provisions laid down in the contractors' ultimatum of April 30, but with some very important modifications, as pointed out by Professor TAYLOR.

In the first place, the agreement contained the same clause regarding the establishment of a new central body in the building trades as was contained in the structural iron workers' agreement (see above). This is, in the opinion of Professor Taylor, a partial victory for the employees, since the contractors have

abandoned their demand that no new central body of the building trades shall be formed. The proviso that only trades actually employed on buildings shall be admitted to the new central organization meets the just complaint of the employers against the power, under the former constitution, of the small unions only loosely connected with the building trades, such as the mosaic setters, tile layers, marble cutters, etc. Contracts for work done by these men are often sublet, and the men do not come directly in contact with the chief contractor, a fact which greatly complicates questions of agreement. Under the constitution of the former council each union had equal voting power, regardless of its membership, and these smaller unions had an undue influence. (532.)

Professor TAYLOR asserts that had the building contractors' council been willing many months earlier to withdraw their demand for the absolute destruction of any central body in the building trades, as they ultimately did, the prolongation of the dispute might have been prevented. He points out that, in a letter written by him to a member of the contractors' council on June 4, 1900, he suggested that if the contractors' ultimatum of April 30, providing that the unions should not "become affiliated with any other organization of a like character" were rightly interpreted, it would permit the unions to affiliate with some other central organization not of a like character. The letter added that the rank and file and even some of the leaders of the building trades were at the point, in any case, of giving up the sympathetic strike, and that an agreement satisfactory to both sides might readily be reached if the contractors would avoid the mistake of insisting that the unions should withdraw permanently from a central body, of any kind. Limitations of the powers of the reorganized central body could easily be prescribed by the pending conference of the contractors and the building trades council. (532, 537.)

In the second place, the carpenters' agreement, continues Mr. TAYLOR, contains a modification of the provisions of the contractors' ultimatum regarding the employment of nonunion men. The members of the union shall not work with carpenters on the same job unless they are affiliated with the Carpenters' Executive Council, but, on the other hand, none shall quit work because of the employment of a nonunion man in some other line of work or trade on the building, or because of the employment of nonunion men, in their own or in any other trade, on any other building or job.

Other provisions which, in Professor Taylor's opinion, may be considered as advantages gained by the contractors, are the dissolution of the existing building trades council and the elimination of its name; the practical elimination of the sympathetic strike; the provision that business agents shall not interfere with men working on a job, but that a steward, appointed by the men, shall represent them in their dealings with employers; and the prohibition of restrictions on the amount of work, the use of machinery, or the employment of apprentices. On the other hand, the employees retain the Saturday half holiday throughout the year, the hours of labor being 8 per day on other days; they obtain a rate of 42½ cents per hour until April 1, 1902, and thereafter 45 cents per hour; they secure the prohibition of piecework and subcontracting, and employers agree that if they employ nonunion men they will pay them the union rate of wages. (532, 533.)

The provision regarding arbitration in the carpenters' agreement is based on the contractors' ultimatum of April 30, 1900. The parties agree that they will elect an arbitration committee each year, and will submit all disputes arising under the agreement to the committee, refraining from strikes or lockouts pending its decision, and that the decision shall be final and binding. The carpenters and builders' association is to select 5 members; the master carpenters' association 8 members, and the carpenters' executive council, representing all the employees, 8 members. No person may be a member who is not actively engaged in the trade, or who holds a public office. The board is to select an umpire not affiliated with the building trades and neither an employee nor an employer. If the board can not agree as to any dispute, the umpire shall be requested to sit with it, and, after he has heard the evidence, to cast the deciding vote. There are also provisions regarding the enforcement of the decisions of the board by means of fines. Any member of either the employees' or the employers' organization, who shall violate any part of the agreement or the decision of the arbitrators, is subject to a fine of from \$10 to \$200. If the fine is not paid by the offender, it shall be paid from the treasury of the organization to which he belongs, or in lieu thereof the organization shall suspend him, and shall not reinstate him unless he pays his fine or unless the joint arbitration board unanimously consents. All fines are to be divided equally between the two parties.

The joint arbitration board also has the right to summon any member of the organizations of employers or employees to appear as a witness, subject to a fine of \$25 for failure to do so. (529.)

6. *Effect of the carpenters' agreement on the building trades' lockout.*—The carpenters' agreement of February, 1901, according to Professor TAYLOR's testimony at that time, very greatly diminished the strength of the building trades' council and made it practically ineffective. The following statement shows the number of unions which had, on February 12, 1901, withdrawn from the council, with their membership at the time of withdrawal, and the number of unions remaining in the council, with their membership at the time:

UNIONS WITHDRAWN FROM THE BUILDING TRADES' COUNCIL OF CHICAGO.		UNIONS REMAINING IN THE BUILDING TRADES' COUNCIL OF CHICAGO.	
	Members.		Members.
Carpenters' Executive Council.....	4,300	Sheet Metal Workers.....	360
Tile Layers.....	100	Boiler Makers.....	200
Tile Layers' Helpers.....	100	Architectural Iron Workers.....	175
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	100	Painters and Decorators.....	2,950
Hod Carriers.....	3,500	Elevator Constructors.....	175
Bricklayers.....	2,225	Gravel Roofers.....	150
Plumbers.....	400	Hoisting Engineers.....	155
Plasterers.....	360	Italian Mosaic Helpers.....	100
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.....	700	Marble Cutters.....	100
Steam Fitters.....	300	Marble Setters' Helpers.....	100
Junior Steam Fitters.....	200	Lathers.....	800
Gas Fitters.....	200	Paper Hangers.....	160
Electricians (suspended).....	400	Stone Cutters.....	700
		Stone Sawyers.....	155
		Stone Derrick Men.....	100
		Stone Carvers.....	100
		Tunnel Miners.....	300
		Steam Pipe and Boiler Curvers.....	100
		Marble, Enamel, and Glass Mosaic Workers.....	100
	12,945		6,480

It will be observed that 12,945 members, belonging to the largest and most influential unions, had withdrawn up to this time, while only 6,480 members of smaller unions remained affiliated with the council. (531.)¹

II. BUILDING TRADES ORGANIZATIONS.

A. *Building trades council.*—1. *Organization and membership.*—Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet-metal workers' union, states that the building trades council was formed in 1890, when a strike of the sheet-metal workers led the workmen to see the advisability of a central organization. He estimates its membership at 45,000 to 50,000. (429, 435, 437.)

Mr. CARROLL, president of the building trades council, states that the council was formed on January 10, 1891. Nine unions joined in forming it. It is now composed of thirty-four unions. Mr. Carroll estimates the total membership at between 50,000 and 60,000. The council itself is composed of somewhat more than 180 delegates, elected by different local unions, in proportion to their membership. No officer of the council except the secretary receives compensation. (266, 267, 274, 276.)

Professor TAYLOR states that in February, 1901, there remained in the building trades council 6,480 members. The members of the unions that had withdrawn from the council, at the date of their respective withdrawals, numbered 12,945. The witness does not believe that the statements of members of the council in 1900 that there were from 45,000 to 60,000 members in the organization, are correct, although he presumes that there were at that time many more members than are shown in the figures above given, since a great many employees had left the city and the figures given are those of the latest date. Perhaps 10,000 members had left the city. (531.)

Mr. MANGAN, of the steam fitters' union, states that the building trades council of Chicago was in its infancy in 1892. He cites the article of the steam fitters' agreement providing that a sympathetic strike should not be a violation of the contract as proof that the master steam fitters knew of the building trades' council in that year. He states that the council enters into no agreement, has no business agents in the field, and has no salaried officers except the secretary, janitor, and treasurer. The treasurer receives \$3 per week. (443, 444, 446.)

Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, states that the building trades council is made up of delegates from 84 different trade unions. The bricklayers'

¹ Newspaper advices of a later date show that the remaining trades practically all reached agreements with their employers shortly after the carpenters' agreement, and that a new central council of the building trades, on lines laid down in the carpenters' agreement, was later organized.

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union, with about 3,000 men, is entitled to 17 delegates in the council. There is, besides, a board of business agents, a separate organization. Each union has as many business agents as it can support. The building trades' council habitually refers matters of grave importance to a referendum vote of the unions. (241.)

2. *Powers and policy.*—Mr. CARROLL, president of the building trades council, says that the statements made by the contractors and the papers about the power of the council are greatly exaggerated. It does not make agreements with employers and does not dictate what agreements the individual unions may make. It simply undertakes to secure the enforcement of such agreements as it approves. Each union has perfect autonomy, but if a union makes a rule contrary to the rules of the council, the council will not help to enforce it. The council has always opposed agreements providing that the members of any union shall work exclusively for the members of the employers' association of that trade. It has never approved the limiting of a day's work, and has never placed an embargo on material from outside of the city. These things have been done only by the individual unions at the request of the contractors themselves. (266, 267.)

Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet-metal workers' union, states that he has been a delegate to the building trades council almost continuously since it was formed in 1890. In all that time the building trades council has never ordered a sympathetic strike. The board of business agents is a separate organization, but not even that board calls a sympathetic strike. When a business agent fails to settle a grievance with an employer he asks the board of business agents for a committee containing a representative of each trade employed on the job. If the committee finds that the complaint is justified, each member notifies the men of his own trade that a grievance exists, and the men quit work of their own accord, if they deem it advisable. The men of the trades other than that in which the grievance arises generally continue to work, unless nonunion men are put on the job. (435.)

Mr. WOODBURY, president of the carpenters' district council, says that the justest criticism against the building trades council is that it does not assume as much power over the affiliated bodies as it ought. None of the rules that fault has been found with have been indorsed by the building trades' council. Mr. Woodbury does not know of a strike that has occurred to enforce them outside of the trades concerned. (460.)

Mr. MILLER, a contractor, in his testimony of February, 1901, criticises the constitution and rules of the building trades council. One rule provided that all members of the various organizations belonging to the council must hold working cards, issued quarterly by the council—one side to represent the council and the other the trade organization. A man could not get work unless he had such a card.

Another provision to which Mr. Miller objects was that regarding the power of the board of business agents. The constitution provided that when trouble should occur on any building the business agent of the individual union should try to settle it with the contractor. Failing in doing so, he should lay the matter before the building trades council or before the board of business agents, and be governed by their action, with the power to call a general strike of all trades on the building, if approved in this way. A strike could be ordered by a vote of a majority of the trade unions or business agents, each union having equal weight regardless of its membership. Thus the board of business agents, composed of paid delegates of each union, had power to cause a strike without any action of the individual union at all, and throw all the men in all the trades out of employment. There was also a building material trades' council, composed of representatives of unions working in factories on material afterwards put into buildings. This organization worked in harmony with the building trades' council, and they strengthened one another.

Mr. Miller also condemns the rule of the building trades council which provided that it should use the united strength of all trades to compel nonunion men to conform to the laws of the trade to which they should properly belong.

The witness asserts also that unity of action in the building trades council was secured by compulsion of the members. Each union had rules requiring its members to stop work when ordered by the council, and prohibiting them from working with nonunion men. These rules were enforced by fines and suspensions.

* At the time of his testimony, February, 1901, Mr. Miller said that the building trades' council was no longer able to enforce these rules, although they were still in its constitution and by-laws. (515, 516.)

• Mr. Miller declares further his belief that labor organizations in the building trades are not necessary in order to maintain satisfactory conditions of labor, and he apparently does not favor central organizations either among the employers or the employees. The contractors' council was formed, he says, simply to combat

the concerted action of the other parties. The rules of the contractors' council are not so extreme as those of the building trades council. It has never expelled anyone or fined anyone. The witness favors no organization which will not allow all people to conduct business and all workmen to labor whether they belong to the organization or not. Moreover, employers do not want to make contracts with individuals or with labor organizations and then allow some other body outside, like the building trades council, the right to annul such contracts. (521, 523.)

Professor TAYLOR admits that the building trades council was somewhat of an experiment in trades unionism, but he maintains that the workers in the different building trades are so closely brought together on the same jobs that they need some agreement in order to protect the interests of the whole body of workmen. While there are many disputes which should be settled entirely within the trade, where the men have technical knowledge of the conditions, there is truth in the contention that as to many other disputes where the interests of several trades are involved, the building trades council might have become a clearing house. Employers would have found it harder to refer every little difference to each trade, often with an appeal to a national organization, than to settle these differences with one central body. The building trades council claims that the trouble was, not that it had too much authority, but that it had too little. (542, 543.)

3. Facts relating to particular unions.—1. *Bricklayers and Masons' International Union.*—Mr. KLEIN, president of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union of America, says that that organization has been in existence about 35 years, and now includes 50,000 or 60,000 members. For the past 7 years it has compelled its local organizations to seek arbitration of all disputes. It has agreements with the master masons and other employees in a large number of cities, under which all disputes are settled by arbitration. If the local organization refused to arbitrate or to abide by the decision of the arbitrators, it would be denied assistance from the strike funds. The constitution provides that in case a dispute can not be settled by arbitration the general organization will contribute to the support of the local organization, provided the strike is approved by vote of the subordinate unions throughout the country. The organization has a strike reserve fund, and provides for levying assessments immediately after deciding to enter a strike.

In Boston, New York, and perhaps 25 other cities the bricklayers' organization is kept independent of the local building trades' council. In Chicago the organization has been forced to unite with the council. The witness thinks that the rules of the international organization of bricklayers are paramount to those of the local building trades' council as regards the actions of the local bricklayers' union. He believes, however, that a central organization of the different trades connected with building operations in each city would be an advantageous thing if arbitration were recognized as the proper method of settling disputes, although it would be far more difficult to arrange for such settlement than if each trade acted separately. (155, 157.)

2. *Bricklayers' union of Chicago.*—Mr. GUBBINS states that the bricklayers' union of Chicago, of which he is president, has probably 5,000 names on the books, but only about 3,100 in good standing. The members in good standing vary constantly. Some men may not be in good standing this quarter and may the next. About 97 per cent of the bricklayers of Chicago are in the union. The dues are 50 cents per month, and the benefits are only for death and accident. When a member dies his widow gets \$150. If a man is injured in connection with his work he gets \$5 a week for 75 weeks. If he is not better at the end of that time he gets \$25, and that ends his benefits. (220, 231.)

3. *Bridge and structural-iron workers.*—Mr. FRANK M. RYAN testifies that the bridge and structural-iron workers of Chicago were organized in 1890 and reorganized in 1892, when they joined the building trades' council. The union has about 1,000 members in good standing. There is also a national organization, but the Chicago union does not belong to it. The organization has succeeded in raising wages materially, and has been generally beneficial. It works under annual agreements with the employers, fixing wages and terms of employment, with a provision for arbitrating questions not strictly provided for in the agreements. The members of the organization will not work for contractors who do not assist in putting everybody on the same basis so far as wage scales and conditions of labor are concerned. The organization has had little difficulty with any contractor during the past two years. Its members are employed in all parts of the country, not only by Chicago firms, but also by other employers. The structural-iron workers of Chicago are specially skilled and work faster and harder than those in any other city. Men have been sent to St. Louis and New York to do work at wages considerably higher than those prevailing in those cities.

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Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet-metal workers' union, states that he has been a delegate to the building trades council almost continuously since it was formed in 1890. In all that time the building trades council has never ordered a sympathetic strike. The board of business agents is a separate organization, but not even that board calls a sympathetic strike. When a business agent fails to settle a grievance with an employer he asks the board of business agents for a committee containing a representative of each trade employed on the job. If the committee finds that the complaint is justified, each member notifies the men of his own trade that a grievance exists, and the men quit work of their own accord, if they deem it advisable. The men of the trades other than that in which the grievance arises generally continue to work, unless nonunion men are put on the job. (435.)

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• Mr. Miller declares further his belief that labor organizations in the building trades are not necessary in order to maintain satisfactory conditions of labor, and he apparently does not favor central organizations either among the employers or the employees. The contractors' council was formed, he says, simply to combat

Illinois. So far as plastering operations are concerned, Mr. Boyle believes that they are going on practically as if there were no labor difficulties. The work in this line is largely, however, upon buildings which were about ready for plastering when the trouble began. (333, 334.)

Mr. WELLS, general contractor, states that the Industrial Union is duly chartered under the laws of the State, and is not affiliated with the building trades council or the Federation of Labor. It was formed to give men work. It has agreed to go to work under the rules promulgated by the building contractors' council. He believes it has no walking delegates. Its members are working at the same wages and under the same conditions which governed the union men before the strike, except that they work a full day on Saturday in the winter. (380.)

Mr. CLARK states that he is employing a few members of the Industrial Union to do necessary work. This organization has of course not members enough to do the work that ought to be going on, but is growing. (419.)

Mr. MILLER, a contractor, said in February, 1901, that the industrial union gradually went to pieces, and that the members which were left rejoined the old building trades council. (524.)

12. *Brass workers.*—Mr. MOUNTREE, of the Turner Brass Works, says that the International Brass Workers' Union is controlled by a president at Cleveland. The present strike among brass workers was authorized by the general executive committee at Cleveland, but the local committee was given the power to declare the strike off. The local executive committee is represented in its dealings with its employers by a business agent, and this agent very largely governs the action of the committee. (31.)

C. *Admission to unions, and withdrawal from them.*—Mr. MILLER, a manufacturer of sheet metal work, declares that it is a rule of the sheet metal workers' union in Chicago that when a man has once joined it the obligation of the union remains in force at least so long as he is in Chicago. He can not leave the organization. It seems to the witness that the system is absurd; that it is slavery. If a man leaves Chicago he must pay a fine of \$50, and his employer is struck against until the fine is paid.

This organization also, Mr. Miller declares, refuses admission to deserving applicants in certain cases. He knows of at least three competent men who were excluded. One of these wanted a card as a helper, but was notified that only men under 21 years of age would be taken as helpers. Men thus excluded can not find work in the building branch of the trade in Chicago, but there are a number of nonunion shops which make tinware and do similar work. An excluded man would have a remedy at law for the attempt to prevent his securing work, but few people can take advantage of it. (346, 347.)

Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet metal workers' union, referring to the statement of Mr. Miller, says that his union issues withdrawal cards when a member retires from the trade and pays up all his dues. If a man violates a rule and does not square himself with the organization, he is suspended and perhaps expelled. The idea that a man is a life member is absurd. A man can stop paying his dues, as in any fraternal organization, and fall away. (433.)

Mr. Pouchot says that the sheet metal workers union did refuse to take in one man who had been employed by Mr. Miller, because the members thought that he was a detective in Mr. Miller's interest. The union also refused to admit a nephew of Mr. Miller as a helper. This was because the man was over 21 years old, and the rules of the union forbid the admission as a helper of a man of that age. (434.)

Mr. LONG, business agent of the Chicago gas fitters' association, says that that union always carries a member's name on the books until he withdraws honorably or dies. He is not permitted to leave the organization unless he leaves in an honest way. (202.)

Mr. CARROLL, of the plasterers' union, states that during the World's Fair that union refused to admit some men because they were not mechanics and could not do a day's work. The unions do not refuse admission to any man on any other ground. Even a man who has scabbed in another city and is under the ban of the union there will be admitted to the Chicago union, provided he agrees to comply with the rules of his own union hereafter. No organization holds anything against a union man for a lifetime. When a man violates a rule and is disciplined, that is the end of it. (275, 276.)

D. *Democratic government of unions.*—Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, believes that if a fair and honest unrestricted ballot could be taken, it would be shown that 80 to 85 per cent of the members of the unions are opposed to the present union conditions, and particularly to the sympathetic strike. He makes this

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statement at the request of union men who are afraid to appear before the Commission lest they suffer personal violence. (322.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, believes that the course of events would be different if the policy both of the labor unions and of the employers' organizations could actually be determined by the body of the members. Some of the unions have two or three thousand members; but only some 300 or 400 go to the meetings to elect officers. The witness wishes a referendum vote might be introduced; and he means by this a system under which every important question should be sent out to every member of the organization on a postal card, upon which each member should write his vote and return it to headquarters. The typographical union uses this system, and the employees of the Great Northern Railroad used it last year to vote on a question of a strike, and by means of it defeated the strike. The witness has observed that when unions are first formed they are carried on in a conservative manner by wise men; but after a time certain interests get their friends into the offices, disagreeable rules and regulations are made, and friction arises. Things are done which the rank and file do not at heart approve of. (93.)

Mr. PRICE, a general contractor, believes that a large majority of the union workmen are intelligent and honest, and have no sympathy with the arbitrary action of the building trades council. He has talked with many of his men, and has yet to find one who supports any of the arbitrary rules and exactions that are now enforced by the building trades council. The trouble is that an honest man can not oppose them single handed. The building trades council would cease to exist to-morrow if the question could be put to a vote by any secret system of balloting. (382.)

Mr. BUCHANAN says that any member of any local union can have a secret ballot on any important question if he chooses to call for it. Some of the unions even elect their representatives by the Australian ballot system. If the rank and file of the unions wished to abolish the building trades council, it would be easy to do so by means of secret votes in all the subordinate unions. (473.)

Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet metal workers' union, asserts that the policy of the union is determined by the rank and file. They vote freely, and their officers carry out their commands. In strikes the members of the sheet metal workers' union are uniformly loyal. On July 1, 1890, the union struck and continued on strike until the following February. Not a man fell away until December. In 1894 there was a strike in which some were off 7 weeks and some 10 weeks, and not a man failed. In the present strike not a man has fallen away up to the time of Mr. Pouchot's testimony. (438.)

Mr. WOODBURY states that all the laws of the carpenters' district council, of which he is president, its agreements and working rules, are made by a referendum vote. The local unions are required to notify every member in good standing that a vote will be taken at a certain time on a certain question. The vote of the majority determines the action of the whole. (456.)

Mr. Woodbury knows of no member of his organization that has broken away during the existing strike. A few of the ex-members of the union are working, but not many. Some men are not working, though not in good standing or not members of the union. (463.)

E. Character and power of leaders. (See also below, *Business agents*.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, states that he has had as much dealing with the leaders of the unions as any employer, because he is the active outdoor superintendent of the work done by his firm. He has found the present officers exceedingly fair and exceedingly courteous. There are occasional difficulties, but nothing which could not be readily remedied by a system of arbitration. (100.)

Mr. BLISS, a painting contractor, declares that the men who get to the front in the unions, as in politics, are often the wire-pullers and not the most reputable class of men. The majority of the union men only go to the unions occasionally, when it is necessary to get out their cards. This leaves the actual management of affairs to a small clique, and from this cause many of the evils of union action arise. (252, 253.)

Mr. JONES, a nonunion machinist, declares that leaders and agitators control unions with dictatorial power. "When Cæsar pulls the string that man has got to dance." Men are forced to strike, and the chances are they can not find positions as good as those they are compelled to give up at the command of the officers. (194.)

Mr. CLARK states that the business agents have stopped his work on numerous occasions, sometimes in the most outrageous and arbitrary manner. The agents are elected by popular vote, and presumably represent the opinion of the union. He knows to his satisfaction, however, that they are sometimes called down very

hard and very promptly. In his own experience he has had no trouble in convincing the other officers that he was right in his disputes with the business agents, and in getting a proper settlement. (418.)

F. Business agents.—1. *Duties, power, and character.*—Mr. ROUNTREE, of the Turner Brass Works, says that the duties of the business agents of the trade unions in time of peace are to supply places for the journeyman members of the union, to solicit men to join the union, to see that the members attend the meetings and make their payments, and to look after the interests of the trade generally. Especially on account of the power of the business agent in securing places for members of the union, he is apt to be flattered and complimented by the men. Often he becomes merely a leech, and sometimes he becomes a "bum" or a saloon loafer. In times of strike the business agent is supposed to keep the men in line; to advise them as to what the pickets may or may not do; to see that the men attend roll call, and to have general supervision.

The objects of the walking delegate or business agent, if honestly carried out, would not be injurious. It is because the system is abused, because the walking delegates act according to self-interest, that the system becomes an evil. Walking delegates are usually paid \$25 a week and expenses, and that amount will not employ a very high-grade man who can withstand temptations. The witness says that there is suspicion on the part of both workmen and employers that walking delegates are sometimes corrupt in their transactions. Men who are competent to run a national organization would be more trustworthy, and employers would be more willing to deal with them.

On the other hand, Mr. Rountree admits that, as an employer, he is likely to be prejudiced in his attitude toward business agents. As a matter of fact, it is scarcely possible for workmen who spend practically all their working hours at their trade to cope with their employers without representation in some such manner. (32, 35.)

Mr. BAGLEY, a wholesale marble dealer, declares that the business agents generally possess the qualities that make the ward politician. They are not the best mechanics, but the organizers. They are changed very often. They are without any training in the business which they control, and their control, as a body, is absolute and unchecked. (392.)

Mr. WEBSTER says that although most manufacturers of machinery hold the very name of walking delegate offensive, his relations with walking delegates have been most pleasant. If unions be permitted in the shop, their officers must be permitted to perform certain duties. It is better to negotiate with the walking delegate than with one of the employees, because the man who goes to his employer feels that he is considered, in a certain sense, an agitator. (150.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, being the man who oversees the actual work of his firm, has had a great deal of dealing with business agents, and he has found the most of them good men. He thinks there is little to say against the existence of them as an institution and a great deal in its favor. The powers of the business agents are not very definite, and the workmen ascribe many powers to them which they do not possess. If the business agent is hostile and hot tempered, he is apt to make trouble. (98, 94.)

Mr. MILLER, a contractor, says that the excuse given for the employment of business agents was that individuals who appeared as representatives of trade unions were victimized by employers. The witness does not believe that this was the case, nor does he think that employers object to business agents who perform their duties properly; they do object to their arbitrary acts. (521.)

Mr. BISNO, formerly business agent for the cloak makers' union, declares that the criticisms against walking delegates by employers are not justified. He thinks that the most important element in the attitude of the employers regarding the present demands of the strikers in Chicago is that they will not recognize the walking delegate or the union. Trade unions need some men to carry on their business, collect dues, find work for men out of employment, and attend to many other things. The individual workman, moreover, can not present his demands and complaints to the manufacturer satisfactorily. He is afraid to tell him his real sentiments. In the union hall the workman votes and expresses his opinion, and the walking delegate acts as his representative before the employer. It may be true that national officers of labor unions are more easy to deal with than the local business agents, but this is because the national officers are less directly under the control of the rank and file of the men than the business agents. Every act of the local business agent must be reported to the union, and he is directly under the control of the members. Business agents do not have high salaries. The most of them could make a better living in other callings. (54.)

Mr. REID, organizer of the international association of machinists, declares that the attacks on the business agents of that organization, as well as upon those of other labor unions, are not justifiable. The duties of a business agent of the association of machinists are almost purely clerical. He does not rule the organization, but his work is laid out for him by the district lodge. He is just such a man as any company might employ to look after its interests. The machinists' organization has no such thing as walking delegates. The proposed agreement between the unions and the employers does not even mention a business agent. Business agents do not force themselves into the factories; but in places where members of the organization are employed they are accompanied by the committee of the employees of the shop whenever they approach the employer. (7, 11.)

Mr. WILSON, vice-president of the international association of machinists, says that the business agent in his organization is a very harmless individual. He has no powers except those delegated to him by the local union. Business agents have been established chiefly because men who present grievances to employers are very likely to be discharged. The general function of the agents is to confer with employers, to collect dues, and to help members of the union find situations. They do not enter the shop to visit men during working hours. The international association of machinists paid business agents in 1899 \$5,046, this amount being divided among fully 20 persons. (494.)

Mr. LILLIEN, president of the hod carriers' union, has had much experience with business agents, and has no reason to doubt that they are all that they ought to be as members of society. The reason of the complaints which the employers make against them is that they stand up for the rights of the workmen. The poor laborer can not protest against ill treatment; if he does, he is discharged. The business agent stands between him and the tyrannical employer. The straighter the walking delegate is the more unpopular he is with the contractors. (117.)

Mr. CARROLL, president of the building trades council, states that the duty of the business agents is to hold the employers up to the agreements that they have made with the union. Without the business agent and the sympathetic strike not half of the workmen would get the wages which the employers have agreed with the union to pay. This fact is at the bottom of the charges which the employers make against the business agents. (267.)

Mr. Carroll also declares that the reiterated statements that the hours of labor, materials used, use of machinery, and other conditions of work have to be approved by the business agents are false. The business agent does not make the laws for the unions. The unions make the laws and he is instructed to enforce them. It is because he does enforce them that the dishonest contractor hates him. The contractors are now advertising that they are ready to maintain union wages. It has required all the strength of the building trades council, the individual unions, the business agents, and the sympathetic strike to compel the contractors to pay those wages. Without these forces the contractors' promises would be of small value. (267.)

Mr. WOODBURY, president of the carpenters' district council, states that a business agent occupies a purely executive position. He makes no law. He simply executes the laws framed by a referendum vote of all the members of his union. Business agents are not responsible for troubles in the industrial world. The witness has sometimes assumed responsibility, as an executive officer of his association, in opposing the laws of the union, because of the bitterness of the contractors against the business agents. He has risked his position and his salary, but has sometimes succeeded in convincing the members of the union that they were wrong. (456.)

Mr. RYAN, business agent of the architectural iron workers' union, says that the business agent is not an evil. He acts entirely under instructions. He must follow strictly the rules of the union. In most cases he holds office for only 3 months, in some cases for 6 months. (451.)

Mr. BUCHANAN, who was formerly business agent for the structural iron workers' union, declares that the business agent's position is one of great difficulty and hard work. It is not a position of great power. The agent is elected by the rank and file, and acts under instructions from the union as a body. When he was business agent he always put before the union every question as to which he was in doubt what the will of the union was. The business agent does not desire a strike. The men on one job quit work without authority while he was business agent, and he demanded that they should go back to work until he should have an opportunity to adjust the matter without a strike, and this was done. If a representative of another union should ask him, as agent of his union, to go on strike on account of any grievance of the other men, he would not do so until he had seen

the employers, investigated the grievance, and determined for himself that there was reason for the strike and that a peaceful settlement could not be got. (471.)

2. *Election*.—Mr. CARROLL, president of the building trades council, states that each union selects its business agent by popular vote. Some are selected for 3 months, others for 6, and still others for a year. (267.)

Mr. LILLEN states that his union selects its business agents by popular vote for terms of 6 months. (118.)

Mr. CARROLL states that the business agents are paid salaries by their respective local unions. (276.)

3. *Power regarding strikes and attitude toward them*. (See also as to building trades council, p. XLVIII.)—Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet metal workers' union, states that according to the constitution of his union the business agent has power to call out all men, when necessary, on strike. He does not know that he ever ordered the men on a job to quit. When he finds that a rule is being violated he informs the men, and they quit voluntarily. This is, in substance, the same as calling them off. (432.)

Mr. GRIFFITHS, a general contractor, states that the walking delegates with whom he has had experience have power to call off the men without referring the question to any board. (396.)

Mr. LILLEN states that the business agents of the hod carriers' union, of which he is president, are not authorized to order strikes. If a member of the union has a grievance against the contractor the business agent goes and tries to settle it. If he and the contractor can not agree the members upon the work are notified and they generally quit of their own accord. Mr. Lillen regards this as a different thing from calling a strike. A strike can be ordered only by the union itself. (118.)

Mr. CARROLL, president of the building trades council, quotes a portion of the constitution of the council, which provides that when trouble occurs on any job, affecting any trade, it shall be the duty of the business agent to try to settle it with the contractor or owner. If he fails in this and a strike is necessary, "the business agent shall have power to call a general strike, but before doing so he shall lay the matter before the council or board of business agents at their next meeting, and be governed by their action or decision, which shall be equally binding on all trades in this council engaged on the job or building." (266.)

Section 13 of the articles of agreement of the painters' district council of Chicago reads as follows: "This agreement shall not take away the power of the business agent of the painters' district council to call a strike on any shop for any reason that may appear to the painters' district council to be just." (345.)

The rules of the carpenters' union provide a fine of not less than \$10 for refusing to stop work when ordered to do so by the business agent, or treating him with disrespect. (398.)

Mr. MANGAN, of the steam fitters' union, asserts that it was his desire when he was a business agent, and, so far as he could see, it was the desire of every man in the board of business agents, to use every possible means to prevent a strike, and to insist on the enforcement of agreements fairly and impartially. (444.)

Mr. BISNO does not think that it is to the interest of walking delegates to further strikes. They know that by the strike the very existence of the organization may be endangered, and, accordingly, their own official positions. Walking delegates, from their wider knowledge of the situation, are usually opposed to strikes.

Mr. McCULLOUGH, business agent of the marble setters' union, declares that the more trouble a business agent gives an organization the less time he is likely to retain his position. So far as he knows, the aim of the business agent is always to avoid strikes and trouble. (216.)

Mr. BUCHANAN, formerly business agent of the structural iron workers' union, also says that business agents dislike strikes. (471.)

4. *Alleged corruption*.—Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, says, "We know from experience that for a consideration you can settle a strike." He mentions no instance within his knowledge, though he expresses the belief that bribery was used in a strike of the sheet metal workers in which he was not concerned. (325, 326.)

Mr. RYAN declares that if business agents could be bribed, Mr. Falkenau would bribe them. He knows as a matter of fact that Mr. Falkenau has given money to a business agent. (451.)

Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet metal workers' union, referring to Mr. Falkenau's suggestion that a strike of the sheet metal workers was believed to have been settled for a consideration, states that the only consideration received was the giving of the work to a contractor who had signed the union scale, and the doing of it by union men. He has never been approached by an employer and

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offered a consideration for calling off a strike, nor known of such a practice. He was once told by an employer whose men he had called off that, while the employer was not willing to pay some \$80 which the union demanded, he would pay Mr. Pouchot's personal expenses up to the amount of \$150. This suggestion Mr. Pouchot declined. (430-432.)

Mr. CLARK, a contractor, states that he knows that it is a practice of the delegates or men affiliated with the unions to demand bribes. He says that the owner of a building, on which Mr. Falkenau was the contractor, settled a strike upon it, due to the rounding off of some bricks by nonunion men, by paying \$5 to the bricklayers' walking delegate. Mr. Clark also says that he was informed that if he would call and see Mr. Sullivan he could make arrangements by the payment of \$150 to proceed with the cutting of the stone on a building which he was erecting at the beginning of the present strike. (401, 402.)

Mr. SPROUL, a general contractor, testifies that the brick masons went on strike about the middle of July. After two weeks or so a prominent Chicago brick manufacturer, whose name he refuses to give, approached him and said, "Send me your check for \$50 and ask no questions." Mr. Sproul sent the check and in two or three days the strike was called off. The brick manufacturer afterwards showed him a list of some 10 or 15 contractors who had contributed amounts varying from \$50 to \$100, and said that the money was used to settle the strike. The witness states that Mr. Wells, who also appeared before the commission, contributed \$50.

Mr. Sproul has never himself given any money to any business agent. He did contribute \$5 or \$10 last December at the request of a committee of bricklayers to give Mr. Gubbins a "blowout" when he returned from the East. The committee afterwards returned the money, saying that Mr. Gubbins had refused to let it be kept or used. (480, 481.)

Mr. WELLS, a general contractor, states that he knows of his own knowledge that labor disputes have been settled by payments to business agents. He is not willing to state the circumstances. He never made such a payment, and he believes that the few men connected with the unions whom he is personally acquainted with are strictly honest, honorable men. (379.)

Mr. DAVIS states that he has had knowledge of an offer of money to settle a labor difficulty in this city, but he does not wish to state the details of the matter. (423.)

Mr. BAGLEY, a wholesale marble dealer, does not think that bribery of the officers of the marble cutters' union would be possible, but he has been told by people whom he has confidence in that difficulties with other unions have been settled by payments to business agents. The labor leaders gathered together in the building trades council are of the character of ward politicians. Their power there is unchecked. It enables them to levy tribute on the business men whom they come in contact with. The witness refers to the demand of Mr. Sullivan for \$5,000, made upon Judge Crane and Mr. Truax, as a flagrant and indisputable instance of corruption. Generally the men are too sharp to take their money in ways that can be legally proved, but the existence of the practice is a matter of common knowledge. (391-393.)

Mr. CLARK, a general contractor, states that he has heard a good many stories of settling labor disputes by corrupt means, but knows nothing of it personally. He always deals with the highest labor officials that he can reach, preferably with the presidents of the unions. He has always adjusted his own troubles promptly. (418.)

Mr. McCULLOUGH argues that the bitter opponents of the building trades council, who have stated before the commission that business agents have accepted bribes for calling off strikes, would certainly have named specific instances if they had been able. If the building trades council understood that such things were done by any member of it, he would soon be disciplined. A contractor met the witness by appointment one evening last summer and said that he would make it all right if Mr. McCullough would do certain things for him. This Mr. McCullough regarded as an attempt to influence his actions by improper means. He did not consent, and, out of consideration for the contractor, he declines to mention his name. (218, 219.)

Mr. WOODBURY, president of the carpenters' district council, states that he has no knowledge of the settlement of labor troubles by the use of money, excepting in one or two cases, where a business agent was caught at such business, and very soon ceased to be business agent. Mr. Woodbury once had a \$10 note put into his hands with the statement that it represented the employing company's appreciation of his conduct with regard to a little grievance. He promptly made the giver take it back. (462.)

Mr. BISNO also denies that walking delegates are corrupt; if they were the bosses would be glad of it and would keep still about it. The interests of the working men in their union are so important that they are constantly watchful to keep their business agents faithful. Laboring men would consider the betrayal of their interests by the business agent worse than almost any crime. (54.)

G. Alleged corruption in management of unions. (See also above, under *Business Agents.*)

Mr. BOYLE, a plastering contractor, submits an affidavit of Mr. William J. Simpson, a journeyman plasterer, in which he sets forth his troubles with the plasterers' union. According to Mr. Simpson, he detected a shortage of between \$7,000 and \$10,000 in the accounts of the treasurer of the union. He personally examined the books, under the authority of the union. He was also authorized by the union to prosecute the guilty parties. He was balked, however, in all his efforts by the "gang" who had controlled the union and who recovered control of it. By a vote of 9 to 8, out of a membership of 400 or over, he was ejected from the office of treasurer, to which he had been elected. Fines were laid upon him and he was expelled, without any chance of defending himself and without being informed of the cause. He has not only been prevented from obtaining work in Chicago, but has been pursued from town to town where he has tried to find employment. His family has been broken up, and his little home has been sold for special assessments. He declares, and Mr. Boyle fully believes, that the ban was placed upon him merely for doing his duty as auditor of the books of the union. Mr. Simpson particularly names Mr. Edward F. Carroll, of the Chicago civil service commission, as one who interfered in the first place with a proper examination of the books, and who has been most active in pursuing and persecuting Mr. Simpson. He also states that Mr. Bud Riley, the present president of the plasterers' union, induced him by persuasion and threats to give up the union books, which contained the chief evidence of the defalcation, and he states his belief that Mr. Riley broke into his room and stole the rest of the documentary evidence. (330-333.)

Mr. RILEY, president of the plasterers' union, testifies in rebuttal of Mr. Simpson's affidavit. He states that Mr. Simpson, being on the auditing committee of the union, claimed to have found a shortage of \$119 on the Labor Day suits; but it was proved to the satisfaction of the union that there was no shortage. Mr. Simpson then moved to have a special committee appointed to go over the books for 4 years, and the request was granted. Mr. Simpson and two other members formed the committee. They hired a room in a disorderly house, and were found, by Mr. Riley, all drunk, and Mr. Simpson the drunkest. It was then resolved by the union that the books be given to an expert accountant. Mr. Simpson did not give the accountant all the books, but the accountant, from his investigation of what he had, reported a shortage, which Mr. Riley believes was \$1,941.40. When it was found that the accountant did not have all the books, the union resolved to take the work out of his hands and give it to a committee of members of the union. Two members of this committee reported that they could not find anything; but Mr. Simpson, the third member, claimed that he found something and moved for a prosecuting committee. This committee was appointed, but when the case came to trial the lawyer employed by Mr. Simpson stopped it, saying that there was no evidence to go on with.

Mr. Simpson went to Peoria and was gone 2 months. He was treasurer of the union, and the union had no money to pay rent, sick benefits and death benefits, or any expenses. Mr. Riley was directed by vote of the union to go to Peoria and make Mr. Simpson give up the books of the union. Mr. Simpson refused, saying that everybody else had been stealing from the plasterers' organization, and he was going to do the same thing. When Mr. Riley got out a warrant for him, Mr. Simpson said he would give up the books. Although he pretended to surrender them, he did not surrender all of them. Mr. Riley afterwards got a search warrant and had the remaining books taken from Mr. Simpson's lodgings by an officer. Mr. Simpson owed the union \$132. He paid \$100, but has never paid the balance.

Mr. Riley also denies that Mr. Simpson was fined by the Chicago union, and says that he was fined by the Peoria union. (440-442.)

III. BUILDING CONTRACTORS AND MATERIAL DEALERS AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS.

A. Character of contractors.—Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, says that there are between 400 and 500 general contractors, of whom about 115

Mr. BRENNOCK, treasurer of the building trades council, thinks that the time will soon come when the building trades will get along without contractors, and that this will be a great benefit to the community. If a man then wanted to erect a building he would employ a superintendent and do the work directly. Contractors are not satisfied with a reasonable profit. They want to make a fortune in a few years. Many building contractors have made hundreds of thousands of dollars in a short time, and have done it simply from the labor of their working-men without doing an hour's work themselves. (467, 469.)

Mr. RYAN says that contractors do not take proper precautions to protect their men against accidents, and that they are not always generous, or even just, in caring for injured men. The local ordinances of Chicago require that temporary floors shall be laid to protect the employees on new buildings. But the structural-iron workers have found it impossible to compel the contractors on buildings for the National Government to comply with these ordinances. The witness refers to one case in which a man was seriously crippled through an accident on a Government building, which would have been prevented if the city ordinance had been complied with. (94-2.)

Unfair actions by employers. (See also *Violation of agreements by employers*, p. LXII; *Erosion of wage scale*, p. LXIII.)

Mr. McCULLOUGH, business agent of the marble cutters' union, states that Davidson Brothers, of Chicago, took a contract for the court-house at Detroit, in which it was stipulated that none but members of labor unions connected with the National Building Trades Council should be employed on any work for the court-house. At this time Davidson Brothers were an unfair firm in Chicago, paying good mechanics \$1.50 per day. He implies that these nonunion men did work on the Detroit court-house, in violation of the contract, and he exhibits an opinion of the prosecuting attorney of Wayne County to the effect that it is the duty of the building committee to see that the clause regarding the employment of union labor is enforced. (216, 217.)

Mr. REGAN, of the bathers' union, declares that the advertisements posted by the contractors' council, offering work at union wages, are misleading and fraudulent. When the men apply for work, in answer to the advertisements, there is no work to give them. (209.)

B. Building contractors' council.—Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, says that the increasing unreasonableness and injustice of the building trades council led to the formation of the building contractors' council in April, 1899. It consists of the following associations of contractors, who are doing business in the city of Chicago: Chicago Masons and Builders' Association, Master Carpenters and Builders' Association, Master Carpenters' Association, Cut Stone Contractors' Association, Chicago Master Plumbers' Association, Chicago Master Steam Fitters' Association, Chicago Painters' Association, Master Plasterers' Association, House Draining Association, Sheet Metal Contractors' Association, Mantel and Tile Association, The Iron League, Mosaic Tile Association, and Marble Manufacturers' Association. (314.)

Mr. MILLER, a manufacturer of sheet-metal work, declares that the building contractors' council owes its origin entirely to the establishment of the building trades council by the labor organizations, and to the excessive demands made by it. The main purpose is to combat the unlawful demands of the labor unions. There are various separate associations of contractors in the special trades, and these have representation in the general council. The members of the association are bound by no oath, and no fine is imposed for withdrawal, but they feel that it is to their interest to remain together. (348.)

Mr. WELLS, a general contractor, also says that the contractors' council would never have been possible if it had not been necessary to combat the building trades council. The several employers' associations have also been necessitated by the organization of the labor unions. Mr. Wells admits that some of the contractors can not be trusted to live up to their agreements, and that he could not defend the maintenance of the contractors' council and the destruction of the trades' council except with the understanding that strict discipline over the contractors should be maintained. He believes that such discipline could be maintained by the contractors' council. (380-382.)

Mr. GEORGE F. HARDING, jr., an independent builder, states that the builders who now undertake to work otherwise than by employing association contractors are very few. There were a considerable number of independent contractors, but they have gradually been driven into the association, partly by the discriminations of the material men's combines, partly by the refusal of the union workmen to work for any but association contractors. Mr. Harding himself does not know whether he would be eligible for membership in the several contractors'

associations. As he builds the whole of the buildings in which he is interested, he would have to belong to so many different associations that it would not pay him. Each has its fee, and he believes the master plumbers alone charge more than \$100 a year. (168-170.)

Mr. STILES, a master painter, understands that the fee for joining the building contractors' council is \$10 for each delegate, and that each delegate represents 50 members. He has no knowledge of an admission fee of \$100 or \$200. He denies that the building contractors' council ostracises builders outside of it, or makes any attempt to force them in. The object of the building contractors' council is to combat the outrages which are constantly perpetrated by trade unions, and to protect the interests of the people. (341, 342.)

C. Master plumbers' association.—Mr. LONG, business agent of the gas fitters' association, states that the organization of the contracting plumbers interferes with the liberty of its members just as trade unions interfere with the liberty of their members, in that it prevents them from proceeding with their business through the employment of men whom they desire to employ and with whom they have no dispute as to wages or on any other subject. Only 7 contractors, among all the employers of gas fitters, sent the ultimatum which brought on the present lockout to the gas fitters in their employ. The agents of the master plumbers' association have from time to time detected their members in employing union gas fitters, and have compelled them to cease. Several of the master plumbers have locked out the gas fitters under compulsion of this kind, but have said at the same time that they would not present the contractors' ultimatum to the men. It is a general statement of the employers that they have no grievances against the gas fitters' union, but it is impossible for any single organization affiliated with the contractors' council to agree with its men except through the central body. (199, 203, 204.)

D. Material dealers' combinations.—1. *Generally.*—Mr. GEORGE F. HARDING, jr., who is engaged in putting up buildings on account of his father and himself, testifies that the material men's combination with the contractors is such that he can not buy plumbing material in Chicago. If he buys any, he has to buy outside of the city. The result is that he generally lets his plumbing to a contractor. For brick he has to pay \$8, net. To the association contractors brick is billed at \$8 a thousand, but they get a rebate of \$1. Before the association was formed, about 2 years ago, brick was selling for \$4.75. It is not now possible, on account of the combination, for Mr. Harding to do his own brickwork. He is obliged to contract it all. The few brick which he finds it necessary to buy he has arranged to buy through a contractor, giving him half of the rebate. Lime has about doubled in price, pipe has more than doubled, and so has much plumbing material. The witness does not make it clear to what extent, if at all, the increase in the price of these materials is due to local combinations. Mr. Harding does not understand that any of the combinations referred to are consolidations in the nature of trusts. He understands that the brick manufacturers pool their product, limit the production of each, and give a rebate of \$1 a thousand to the master masons' association. He thinks that the combinations of plumbers and lime dealers are differently constituted. (168-170.)

Mr. GUBBINS states that when the mason contractors had secured the agreement from the bricklayers that they would not work for contractors outside of the association, they made an agreement with the material combine under which members of the contractors' association could not buy from material men outside of the combine, and under which the prices of materials to outsiders were largely raised. The price of common brick was raised \$1 a thousand; pressed brick, from \$1 to \$5 a thousand, according to quality; lime, 15 cents a barrel; sand, 20 to 50 cents a yard. In the case of some of the material at least, as lime, the dealers paid the contractors' association a certain commission on all sales. Mr. Gubbins has himself seen a statement of sales sent in by a lime company, and their check in favor of the contractors' association. Any association contractor who bought material outside the combine was fined by his association, and if he refused to pay the fine he was forced into line by the contract which bound the bricklayers not to work for a man not in good standing in the contractors' association. (220, 226, 229, 235.)

Mr. CARROLL, president of the building trades council, states that any person not a contractor, who should wish to put up a building for himself and buy his own materials, would have to pay 20 cents a barrel more for lime, and \$2 a thousand more for brick, than a contractor would have to pay. He has been informed that these additional sums are put into a pool and divided by the contractors once a month. The owners of some brickyards on the south side receive \$6,000 a year through the brick trust for keeping their yards closed. (277.)

Mr. LILLIEN, president of the hod carriers' union, states that a few contracting firms have withdrawn the ultimatum of the 5th of February, and are employing union laborers and other union men. These contractors have been fined \$500 each by the contractors' association, and it is impossible for any one of them to buy any kind of material in the building line unless he pays a higher price than the members of the contractors' association have to pay. The contractors have even been able to prevent one of these men from renting a hand hoisting machine. Mr. Lillien has tried to help the contractor in this particular case, but so far has not succeeded. (115.)

Mr. GRIFFITHS, a general contractor, states that he does not know that the members of the building contractors' council get a rebate on their material. They pay the same as anyone else. (339.)

Mr. WELLS, a general contractor, states that his firm does not deal with the architectural-iron league, but buys its steel direct from Carnegie and other steel makers. (379.)

2. Brick.—Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, states that when his firm went last year to get prices on brick they were asked if they were in good standing with the masons' association. The price of brick was one thing to members of the association, and quite a different thing to persons outside of it. (91.)

Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, states that there has been a trade discount of \$1 on brick billed at \$8 per thousand, provided payment was made in 10 days. This discount was given only to members of the contractors' organization. It is not given at present. The witness does not know of any rebate which the members of the building contractors' council have had, and he believes that outsiders can now buy building material as cheaply as members of the organization. (327, 328.)

Mr. GINDELE, a general contractor, says that the members of the organization have a verbal understanding with certain material dealers that they will buy only from these dealers, and shall have a trade discount provided bills are paid promptly. Brick was \$6.50 a thousand during the summer of 1899. If a member of the organization paid his bill promptly on the 10th of the month he got a trade discount of \$1. Brick was supposed to be billed to outsiders, as well as to members of the organization, at \$6.50. Mr. Gindele does not know what arrangement the outsider may have made with the material dealers, "but it is natural, I suppose, that he was to pay \$6.50 a thousand." Mr. Gindele justifies this arrangement as having been made in part to secure certain and prompt payment of bills. He also justifies it on the ground that a man outside of the builders organization had an advantage in that he could hire mechanics and laborers for lower wages than the union employers were permitted to pay. He admits, however, that no contract of any size could be executed without union labor. He denies that his association ever entered into an arrangement with any labor organization to boycott any dealer in material. (368-370.)

Mr. WELLS, a general contractor, states that the members of the master masons' association have been informed that if they bought brick from certain parties they would get a certain discount. He does not know about an understanding that independent owners or contractors generally are not to get the benefit of such a discount. He knows that independent contractors get their materials and get on with their work. The prices of materials are lower in Chicago than almost anywhere else in the country. Material men have told Mr. Wells that the outside contractors are largely men to whom they would sell only for cash. He does not think that the independent contractors do more than 2 or 3 per cent of the work in Chicago.

There is an association or combination of material dealers, but Mr. Wells does not know of anything to bind him or any member of the contractors' association to buy from one dealer rather than another. No combination of dealers in building supplies contributes anything to the building contractors' council in the way of a per cent of sales. (379-381.)

Mr. PRICE, a general contractor, testifies that he was fined by the master masons' association for making a contract for brick contrary to a rule which the association had adopted. He gets a rebate of a dollar a thousand on a certain quality of brick if he pays his bills before the 15th of the month. He does not know that contractors outside of the association have to pay \$8 a thousand and get no rebate. He does not think that members of the association have any advantage over other persons in this respect. He has bought a large amount of brick this year at \$5.15 a thousand, which is much less than he has paid many times in the past. In 1892 he often paid as much as \$7.50. (363, 364.)

3. Plumbing supplies.—Mr. HAVEY, a nonunion gas fitter, thinks that the organizations of building employers in Chicago have resulted from the actions of

the labor unions, and especially of the building trades council. Employers are forced to organize in order to protect themselves. The employers' associations, of course, have some unjust rules and practices of their own. Thus there is an organization of master plumbers and an organization of material-supply houses. A man who wishes to put up a building may be refused materials by the supply houses, being told that he must get a master plumber to do the plumbing work. The witness does not think, however, that the organization of supply houses has had the effect of increasing prices or that it is in any real sense a monopoly. (177.)

Mr. SMITH, a plumbing contractor, states that the wholesale dealers in plumbing supplies give the plumbers the same protection that wholesale dealers give to retail dealers in other lines. A person not a plumber can not buy plumbing supplies except through the retail dealer. The master plumbers' association has only about 500 members in Chicago, while there are nearly a thousand master plumbers in the city. Those outside of the association can buy supplies as advantageously as those inside, provided they buy in as large quantities. If any person had any little job of repairing that he could do himself, he would find plenty of men who would sell him the goods and let him do it himself. There is a city ordinance, however, which makes one liable to arrest for practicing plumbing without passing an examination before the city examining board. (412, 413.)

Mr. CORBOY, a plumbing contractor, also states that the contracting plumbers have no special advantages in the purchase of materials, except such advantages as manufacturers and wholesale dealers in every line give to retail dealers. Any man who wants to buy plumbing material at the witness's shop can buy it. Of course, a person who is not a dealer can not buy from the wholesalers nor at wholesale prices. (414.)

4. *Other materials.*—Mr. GEORGE F. HARDING, Sr., states that a trust is established in sash and blinds in Chicago, on such a basis that sash and blinds can not be brought from outside the city. (164.)

Mr. MILLER, a manufacturer of sheet-metal work, states that the contractors' council does not boycott contractors or others who are not members of it, nor work against them in any way. There is no agreement with dealers in materials by which those who are not members of the contractors' council are charged a higher price, nor is there any similar agreement on the part of the sheet-metal workers' association. No money is paid into the treasury of the council by material men, nor is there any form of discrimination. Mr. Miller says, also, that there is no combination among the material men for increasing prices, and that the great increase in the price of iron has not been due to local conditions. (348-350.)

Mr. BONNER, a floor-tile contractor, states that there is no combination between his organization and the dealers in the material they use. Outsiders can buy this material just as cheap as he can. The mantle and tile dealers of Chicago have an understanding between themselves that they will withhold their custom from any manufacturer who sells to other persons in Chicago, but they have no agreement with any manufacturer. The witness has no knowledge of the agreement between the general contractors' association and certain material dealers. (389.)

Mr. STILES, a master painter, is certain that there is no combination between the master painters and the paint dealers. Any citizen can buy painters' materials just as cheaply as a painting contractor. No rebates are paid by the material dealers to the painting contractors nor to their association. (341, 342.)

5. *Legal remedies.*—Mr. GEORGE F. HARDING, Jr., thinks that the combinations of material men might be broken up by law if the legal officers of the State or the county would undertake it. They do not seem to find it to their interest. The combinations might be broken up at the suit of individuals, but they could make it so expensive that a person of moderate means could not carry it through, and other persons would probably not wish to spend the money. (170.)

6. *Relation to labor unions.* (See also *Exclusive alliances of unions with employers' organizations*, p. LXV.)

Mr. MANGAN, of the steam-fitters' union, thinks that an agreement of union men to work for none but members of an employers' association enables the employers to get better discounts than they could get otherwise. It is his conviction that the apprehension of failure to get future favorable agreements with the material dealers' association, after this exclusive agreement with the workmen has been abrogated, is the cause of the violent opposition of the contractors to the building trades council. (446.)

Mr. CARROLL, president of the building trades council, also believes that the whole present difficulty comes from the fact that when the workmen refused to agree to work for none but members of the employers' association, this broke up

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the trust that was formed between the master masons and the material men. Such trusts in several lines had been upheld by the agreements of certain unions to work only for the members of the employers' associations of their trades. The building trades council has disapproved of all such agreements, and the unions, seeing their effect in strengthening the combinations of contractors and material men, have gradually broken away from them. The last to do so was the hod-carriers' union, whose members were continually being ordered on strike to enforce the combination between the builders' association and the brick and lime trusts and to force the contractors into the builders' association, whose initiation fee was \$200. (267, 274.)

Mr. WOODBURY, president of the carpenters' district council, states that an attempt was made 2 or 3 years ago to induce the carpenters and the amalgamated woodworkers—that is, the men who work in mills on the finishings for buildings—to make a four-cornered exclusive agreement with the material dealers and the contractors and builders' association. It was not accomplished. The witness is opposed to the enforcement of any deals between the material men and the contractors by the power of the labor unions. (459.)

IV. AGREEMENTS BETWEEN UNIONS AND CONTRACTORS AND VIOLATIONS OF THEM.

A. General character of agreements.—Mr. FRANK M. RYAN testifies concerning the agreements as to wages and conditions of labor between various trade unions belonging to the building trades council and the individual contractors or contractors' organizations. He says that these agreements usually run for 1 year, but sometimes for a longer period. When a trade desires to increase its wages or change its conditions under a new agreement, it submits the proposed agreement to the building trades council and must get the approval of two-thirds of the trades for its demands. This is necessary, because all of the trades are interested, since they may be called upon for assistance in enforcing the demands later, in case the contractors refuse them. The demands, after being thus approved, are submitted to the contractors. The trade organization is at liberty, in case it can not secure all it asks, to reduce the wage scale or change the conditions of the agreement so as to make the demands less extensive, without the consent of the building trades council, but higher wages or more severe conditions can not be demanded. In some cases the trade organization negotiates with the contractors first and submits its agreement to the building trades council for approval afterwards. (282, 284.)

Mr. SMITH, a plumbing contractor, states that by an agreement of June, 1896, if any member of the plumbers' union put in bad, incomplete, or careless work, the union promised to use all honorable means to compel him to make the work good without expense to the employer. (404.)

B. Violation of agreements by employers, generally.—Mr. CARROLL, president of the building trades council, states that the breaking of agreements has caused all the trouble between employer and employee, and that, in his judgment, there never would have been a building trades council if the contractors had lived up to their agreements. (272.)

Mr. RYAN, a structural iron worker, attributes the recent difficulties in the building trades largely to the violation of agreements with the trade unions by the contractors. The contractors are now asking to arbitrate questions which were settled by their agreements. They have always been in the habit of considering demands for increase of wages or better conditions as arbitrary.

The contractors have recently posted notices in the street cars and elsewhere that they are willing to pay the union scale of wages, but Mr. Ryan declares that from the experience of the unions he does not believe that the contractors will live up to any agreement, even a written one; certainly not to one merely posted up. (283, 287.)

Mr. WOODBURY, president of the carpenters' district council, attributes the existing lockout in Chicago to the failure of the contractors to keep their agreements. The contractors notified the men that if they did not comply with certain new rules framed by the contractors, after a certain date they would be locked out. These rules involved a violation of the carpenters' agreement, and of many others, in that they allowed only time and a half for overtime, while these existing agreements provided for double time. The carpenters took the position that their agreement should be lived up to till it expired. When it expired they would be willing to discuss any matters of difference with their employers. (455, 456, 460.)

Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, admits that at the beginning of the pre-

ent strike an agreement was in force between his organization and the carpenters' union, and that the contractors ignored it. They felt justified in ignoring it because it had been signed under duress; the power of the union being such that the contractors were unable to go on with carpenter work without signing the agreement. (328.)

Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet metal workers' union, states that that union had an agreement with the employers which would not expire until 1901, and that the employers have broken it in sending their ultimatum of February 5, and locking out the men. (439, 440.)

Mr. BLISS, a contracting plasterer, declares that he has not locked out any men, and that to his knowledge the contractors generally have not locked out their men. (333.)

Mr. LONG, business agent of the gas fitters' association, says that one of the greatest difficulties, both of his union and of the employers, arises from the failure of the contracting plumbers to keep their agreements, not only with the workmen, but with each other. They constantly attempt to cut under each other by unfair means, and the fair members of the employers' association are very glad of the assistance of the unions in holding the unfair members to their agreements. (204.)

Mr. MCCULLOUGH, business agent of the marble setters' union, declares that experience shows that promises of the contractors can not be depended on. They now admit that their principal desire is to annihilate the building trades council, while they pretend to be willing to pay the union wages. The maintenance of wages is the great object of the council, and wages can not be maintained without the sympathetic strike. The contractors' pretense that they will maintain the union rates is inconsistent with their determination to destroy the building trades council. (213.)

C. Evasion of wage scale and detection of evasions.—Mr. WOODBURY, president of the carpenters' district council, complains of the fact that some members of the union will take work below the scale of wages, and some of the contractors will also violate their agreements in this regard. It is due to the honest contractor as well as to the members of the union that offenders be disciplined. The carpenters' union authorizes any business agent to order any man whom he has reason to believe to be violating the wage scale to quit work. In such cases the men are entitled to an immediate hearing before a committee of five carpenter business agents, and if the committee finds the evidence sufficient, the men are ruled off the job pending their trial in their respective organizations. If the violation of the scale is proved the men are liable to a fine. The contractor is compelled to make up the difference between what he has paid and the full scale. This amount is paid to the man who has earned it. The statement sometimes made that it goes to the business agent is false. The contractor is not permitted to retain the men with whom he has been in collusion to violate the scale. The union sends him new men whom it can rely upon. Mr. Woodbury says that several contractors have told him that they could make more money out of the men whom the union sent at union wages than they had been making out of the men they had employed at cut wages. But some of the contractors who have been disciplined in this way are very bitter against the union in the present strike. (458.)

The trade rules of the carpenters' union provide for a fine of not less than \$10 upon any member who returns a part of his wages, or rebates to his employer. The steward upon any job has the authority to demand of any member to see his money immediately after he is paid, in order to know whether the member is receiving his full wages or not. (398, 399.)

Mr. STILES, a master painter, says that business agents have stood at his front door and taken the envelopes containing the pay of the men, torn them open and counted the money. (340.)

Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet metal workers' union, says that one of the largest shops sometimes tried to pay off men who were under some necessity at less than union rates. Men complained to the union of this practice, and the union complained to the employers' association. But that association refused to credit the complaints. (430.)

Mr. RYAN states that one contractor tried to pay a man for night work at less than the rates agreed upon by the contract, which were double those for day work. The structural iron workers' union threatened a strike, and the contractor was forced to yield. (286.)

Mr. BLISS, a painting contractor, says that in the busy season demand and supply compel the payment of the full union rates. In the dull season evasions are undoubtedly practiced, sometimes by the paying back of a part of the money which is put into the men's envelopes. The unions recognize the fact by refusing,

in some instances, to let an employer of whom they are suspicious retain his old men. Evasion of the scale is unfair both to the other members of the union and to those contractors who live up to their agreement. (253.)

Mr. STRUBLE testifies that his own firm was fined \$250 in 1899 because of a charge that he had paid a member of the stonecutters' union \$6 less than the union wages in 1897. Mr. Struble tried to induce the stonecutters' union to submit the matter to arbitration, and when this was refused tried to induce the building trades council to require such submission. This also was refused. The man who was said to have received less than the union wages was once exonerated by the union, after a hearing, but in spite of this the matter was brought up again and Mr. Struble was ultimately compelled to pay the fine. (357, 358.)

Mr. SULLIVAN, chairman of the stonecutters' union, refers to the fine against Mr. Struble. He states that Mr. Struble had been employing a man named Chaplin. The union men who were working with him knew that he had worked full time. By mistake another man received Chaplin's pay envelope, and it was found that his pay was less than the hours worked would require at the union rate. Charges were preferred against Mr. Struble by the organization and the fine imposed as usual. Mr. Struble declared that he was not guilty, and on its being suggested that he make an affidavit to that effect he failed to do so. The witness thinks there was no doubt concerning the fact. (449.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, thinks the unions are of advantage to employers in insuring equal rates of wages to all competitors. He has not found any case of departure from the union scales. (96.)

D. Violation of agreements by workmen.—Mr. SMITH, a plumbing contractor, states that the plumbers' union agreed, in June, 1896, that wages should be \$3.75 per day until March 1, 1898. In violation of this agreement, the union notified the employers on April 10, 1897, that wages would be \$4 from May 1, 1897. About June, 1896, the union had made an agreement which was to be in effect until October 8, 1898, and which allowed one apprentice for two journeymen during the first year, one apprentice for three journeymen the second, and one apprentice for four journeymen the third. In violation of this agreement, the union notified the employers on April 10, 1897, that on and after May 1, 1897, only one helper would be allowed in each shop. The masters protested against these plain violations of the existing agreements. They were obliged to enter into a new arbitration and to agree that each shop should have only one apprentice. The union seems to have receded from its demand as to wages. The new agreement was to remain in force until March 1, 1899.

The agreement last referred to provided that a master plumber might work with tools, and that in the case of a firm one member of the firm might handle tools. In violation of this agreement the union notified the employers' association on October 24, 1898, that union men would not be allowed in the future to work for master plumbers who should handle tools. For fear of a sympathetic strike the employers submitted.

In the spring of 1899 a new agreement was made. Wages were raised from \$3.75 to \$4. It was agreed that no more new apprentices or junior plumbers should be hired during the term of the agreement. The agreement was to remain in force until March 1, 1901. If either association desired alterations or amendments, it was agreed that 60 days' notice should be given. Without any previous notice to the employers, the union adopted rules radically altering, and so violating, the terms of the agreement, by limiting the amount of a day's work. In some cases the reduction amounted to 60 per cent. The threat of a sympathetic strike again compelled the employers to yield, and they had to bear the loss on all contracts which they had already entered into. The committee of the union with which the employers discussed these rules admitted that they ought to be amended in some cases and abrogated in several others. The committee reported to the union in this sense; but the union refused to yield, and discharged the committee. (403-408, 411, 412.)

Mr. STRUBLE, a cut-stone contractor, states that the journeymen stonecutters' union violated an agreement with the cut-stone contractors, which was to be valid until May, 1900, by threatening a strike in April, 1899, if the use of stone-dressing machinery, sanctioned by the agreement, was not abandoned. The contractors were obliged to yield. They appealed to the building trades council, hoping that it would compel the stonecutters to keep their agreement; but the building trades council did not so much as answer the contractors' communication. (356.)

E. Redress of grievances by law.—Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, has never considered the bringing of suit against contractors for violation of agreements. He does not think anything could be gained by it, though the agreements of the contractors are constantly violated. A very large proportion of the

Mr. FRANK M. RYAN declares that to try to enforce contracts by suit in the courts would involve needless expense, and especially needless and injurious delay. "We have a shorter method. The other union men on the job are made acquainted with the fact, and they refuse to continue in the employment of a contractor who would use a man that way." Moreover, in the contract violated in the particular case referred to, there was no specific damage clause. If the union should bring suit, the job might easily be completed long before the decision. If the union relied on legal remedies, it would be continually in the courts. From the moral standpoint the shorter method of enforcing agreements by strikes is entirely justifiable. (283, 286-288.)

Mr. SMITH, a plumbing contractor, does not think that the law could afford any redress for breaches of agreements by labor unions. The union is not likely to be incorporated, and the individual members have no property that can be reached. If one or two members had property, one would not desire to prosecute them for the sins of many. (411.)

F. Exclusive alliances of unions with employers' organizations.—1. *Generally.*—Mr. MANGAN, of the steam fitters' union, insists that the sympathetic strike has repeatedly been used to enforce discipline in the employers' associations, to force unwilling employers into them, and to protect the employers from their unscrupulous competitors. When the master steam fitters' association and the steam fitters' union made an agreement, in 1892, that the union men would work for no other employers and the employers would hire no other workmen, this contract, backed by the sympathetic strike, was used to force outside employers into the steam fitters' association. This association raised its initiation fee to an exorbitant figure and more than doubled its membership. In 1898 several of the largest steam-fitting firms, employing fully 50 per cent of the members of the union, withdrew from the masters' association. By the enforcement of the exclusive agreement between the two associations, backed by the threat of a sympathetic strike, they were forced back. The association made them come in as new members and pay a new initiation fee. The witness cites several instances in which the sympathetic strike or the threat of it was used to secure work for the members of the association of master steam fitters, or to protect members of the association from competition of outsiders who hired nonunion men. (443, 445.)

Mr. CARROLL, president of the building trades council, declares that the desire of the contractors to destroy the council springs from its opposition to agreements which compel union men to work exclusively for the members of the employers' association. The contractors think that if they can destroy the building trades council they can make arrangements with the individual unions which will enable them to maintain combinations with material men and so rob the general public. (267.)

Mr. FRANK M. RYAN criticises the action of some of the labor organizations in making arrangements not to work for contractors who are not members of the employers' organization. The witness does not believe that the laboring man should allow himself to be used to build up such organizations; the employers should rely on themselves if they would establish them. The laboring man should not place himself in a position where he might have to refuse to work for a contractor who consents to the union scale and union conditions. Contracts of the kind mentioned have never been approved by the building trades council. (281.)

Mr. MILLER, a manufacturer of sheet-metal work, states that during the meetings of the joint committee in December, 1899, Mr. Lillien raised the question whether the contractors' council would withdraw its so-called ultimatum if the trades council would agree for its affiliated unions that their members would work only for the members of the employers' associations affiliated with the contractors' council. The committee of the contractors refused to consider the proposition. (349.)

Mr. WOODBURY says that this question was raised by Mr. Sullivan. It was not a proposition, but only a question meant to draw out the employers. (461.)

Mr. FRANK M. RYAN says that there is in Chicago a combination known as the Iron League, which includes nearly all of the iron and steel foundries around Chicago, although the Illinois Steel Works do not belong to it. There was an attempt to make the organization general throughout the country; but one of the large firms of general contractors in Chicago had handled more tonnage than the whole combination in the year before, and the Carnegies and others were unwilling to exclude this firm for the benefit of the others.

This Iron League at one time promised a considerable advance in wages to the bridge and structural steel workers on condition that they would agree to work exclusively for members of the league. The union found that it would have to

refuse to work for a number of contractors who had treated it fairly, and accordingly did not enter into the agreement; although some other labor organizations have allowed themselves to be used in this way to build up associations of contractors. (288, 289.)

2. *Masons and bricklayers.*—Mr. GINDELE, a general contractor, states that the masons and builders' association had at one time an agreement with the bricklayers' union, by which the union men were to work for none but members of the employers' association, and the employers were to hire no other masons; or, rather, each organization passed resolutions to this effect. It was impossible for the contractors at that time to hire anyone but members of the union, and the witness thinks it was only fair that the men should refrain from working for other employers, "because we were trying to get our association in good condition." (370.)

Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, says that his union made an agreement some 3 or 4 years ago with the mason contractors' association to work for no one but members of that body. The agreement was not renewed the following year, but it was made again in 1898. The mason contractors made use of this agreement with the journeymen to force outside contractors into their association, and to greatly embarrass the operations of some contractors whom they would not admit to their association. They would admit no one who was not a practical mason. They shut out men who had been contracting mason work for 20 years. Even a stone mason was not permitted to contract for brickwork unless he was a practical bricklayer. Some 90 contractors were forced into the contractors' association in 1898 through the refusal of the union bricklayers to work for them otherwise. (119, 220.)

Mr. WELLS, a general contractor, states that though there was an agreement between the master masons' association and the bricklayers that the masters should employ no other men and the men should work for no other masters, he does not consider such an agreement proper, and would be very strongly opposed to renewing it. (379.)

3. *Building laborers.*—Mr. LILLIEN, president of the hod carriers' union, quotes a clause of the agreement which this union formerly had with the master masons' association, providing that members of the union should work for none but members in good standing of the masons and builders' association, except on work done by the Federal, State, county, and municipal government by regular employees. Mr. Lillien considers this agreement injurious to the interests of the laborers. If he himself had a lot, and money to buy brick, he could not buy the brick, in view of the agreement between the employers and the material men, without the intervention of a contractor, and if he had the brick he would not be allowed, under this agreement, to lay them. He would have to get a contractor to take the job before he could so much as build a house for himself. (114, 115.)

Mr. Lillien says that, prior to June 28, 1898, or thereabouts, when an agreement was made between the hod carriers' union and the master masons' association, the members of the masters' association were doing about 49 per cent of the building in the city of Chicago; up to July 29, 1899, the percentage was more than 97 per cent. (114.)

Mr. Gubbins says that about January, 1899, the agreement between the bricklayers' union and the mason contractors was broken, with claims of fault on each side. The laborers' union still maintained its agreement with the contractors, which required them not to work for any man outside of the contractors' association. The bricklayers began to work for anybody who would hire them. The contractors tried to hold the laborers to their agreement. The bricklayers, when the laborers refused to work for men whom they were working for, began to work with nonunion men. So the matter reached the building trades council in the form of a dispute between the two unions. The council ordered the laborers to break their agreement with the contractors, on the ground that the master masons were working to the detriment of one of the trades in the council; that is, the bricklayers. (227, 228.)

Mr. WOODBURY, president of the carpenters' district council, states that the building trades council ordered the hod carriers to abrogate their agreement to work only for the members of the masons and bricklayers' association, because his agreement between that association and the bricklayers' union had virtually been broken. The bricklayers had the right to work for anyone outside, and since the bricklayers and the hod carriers necessarily work together, the result was a number of strikes and the shutting down of a number of jobs. The witness understands that the clause in question was set aside by mutual understanding between the hod carriers and the master masons and bricklayers' association. (481.)

4. *Sheet-metal workers*.—Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet-metal workers' union, states that the sheet-metal contractors formed an association in 1894, and tried to get an agreement with the sheet-metal workers' union by which the association employers should hire none but union men and the union men should work for no other employers. The workmen refused, and were locked out for about 4 weeks. The employers ultimately yielded. (429.)

5. *Architectural-iron workers*.—Mr. RYAN, an architectural-iron worker, says that the architectural-iron workers' organization had an agreement with the Architectural Iron League that only members of the union should be employed by members of the league and that members of the union should work only for members of the league. This clause of the agreement was struck out by order of the building-trades council after it had been in operation for some time. (450.)

6. *Plumbers*.—Mr. SMITH, a plumbing contractor, states that there was formerly an agreement between the plumbers' union and the master plumbers' association which provided that the masters should employ none but members of the union and the members of the union should work for none but members of the masters' association. He asserts that the union never lived up to the agreement. The witness does not think that such exclusive agreements are for the public interest, nor that they are legally binding. He does consider that it is as fair for one side as for the other, and it seems to be generally considered fair for the workmen to demand agreements that none but union men shall be hired. (410, 411.)

Mr. LONG, business agent of the gas fitters' association, states that when the master plumbers had an agreement with their men they raised their initiation fee from \$25 to \$100. At that time the men compelled the contractors to join the association. The membership had fallen away to about 100 before the present lockout. To induce all to join the initiation fee has been reduced to \$10, and a year is granted to pay it in. (203, 204.)

7. *Steam fitters*.—Mr. MANGAN, of the steam fitters' union, states that an agreement was entered into between the union and the master steam fitters' association, October 15, 1892, by which journeymen were to work for none but the members of the masters' association and the masters were to hire none but the members of the union. The witness does not consider such an agreement beneficial to the union. The clause was afterwards rescinded by the consent of both parties. (443, 446, 447.)

8. *Carpenters*.—Mr. WOODBURY states that the carpenters' union has twice agreed with the builders' association to work for nobody but them. At that time the employers had only a remnant of an organization. Through the exclusive privilege of hiring union carpenters they were able to strengthen their organization very greatly. The result was that the organization which had been built up by the action of the workmen threw down the gauntlet to the union and a general strike followed. (458.)

9. *Marble men*.—Mr. McCULLOUGH, business agent of the marble cutters and setters' union, states that the marble manufacturers of Chicago proposed to the union in 1896 to make an agreement which should shut out any outside manufacturer from competing for Chicago work. The union agreed, but the arrangement was not completed, because the building trades council refused its consent. In 1899 the union proposed to the employers an agreement somewhat similar to that formerly proposed, the chief difference being that any firm in the United States was to be permitted to contract for Chicago work, provided the work was done by members of the Chicago union. This agreement was refused by the employers, and differences arose as to the rate of wages for shop hands. There was a strike which lasted from the 1st of May, 1899, to the 15th of January, 1900. At the time of the witness's testimony the members of the union who were in Chicago were largely employed on the Marshall Field building, at the union rates of \$2.75 for shop hands and \$3.50 for setters or building hands. (212, 213.)

10. *Mantel and tile men*.—Mr. BONNER, a floor tile contractor, states that the mantel and tile dealers' association was compelled by the tile setters and mosaic layers' union to sign an agreement, under which no nonunion men could be employed, under which no apprentices could be taken, and under which no contractor could do any tile setting or mosaic work. The contractors were compelled to sign this agreement in order to be able to proceed with their business. They forced the workmen to agree not to work for anybody but the union employers. Mr. Bonner considers that this agreement is a conspiracy against the public good and against the rights of other individuals. He is ashamed, as an American citizen, that his name is attached to it. He signed it because he had to sign it or go out of business. (385-387.)

V. RULES AND PRACTICES OF UNIONS.

A. Nonunion men. (See also *Picketing and acts of violence*, p. LXXXVII; as to demands of contractors and final agreements on this subject, see also p. XLIII.)

Mr. MILLER, a manufacturer of sheet-metal work, says that the chief objection of the building contractors' council to the methods of the labor unions is that they are trying to maintain a monopoly. If they would allow the contractors to employ nonunion labor when they chose, there would be no further objection. The unions not only strike when their demands are refused, but they picket the establishments or order sympathetic strikes. To these acts the contractors' association objects. The witness admits that the contractors would be inclined, if possible, to employ nonunion men exclusively if the union men behaved in the future as in the past.

The contractors' council has refused to deal with the various unions in the building trades until they should withdraw from the building trades council. There are some other demands, such as that there shall be no restriction in the use of machinery and materials, but the chief demand is for the right to employ nonunion labor. The contractors separately have never been able to make any effective stand against the different unions, but by their affiliation in the council they are succeeding better. The witness thinks that there is not the same justification for the central organization of the building trades unions as for the central organization of the contractors. (349.)

Trade unions, Mr. HAVY asserts, are simply organizations of the strong to benefit themselves regardless of the weak. The unions in Chicago are so powerful that nonunion men practically can not obtain a job. The union men will quit any building upon which a nonunion man is employed, and the employers are thus compelled to exclude the nonunion men. The witness himself has been unable to get work on this account. At present the labor unions in Chicago are getting photographs of nonunion men and sending them to unions throughout the country, a practice exactly parallel to that of blacklisting. If a man thus photographed goes to any of the different cities, he will find himself unable to get work. (171, 172, 175.)

The greatest charge against the unions, Mr. CHALMERS says, is that they try to keep nonmembers from getting work. They tell those who want work that they must join the union or that persuasion will be used to prevent them from working, "and persuasion always means violence." (6, 8.)

Mr. JONES, a nonunion machinist, says that it is no concern of nonunion men if unionists desire to surrender their personal rights to labor agitators, but for union men to insist that nonunion men also must do so is unjust and entirely out of the province of the organization. Unions attempt to force all men into the organization or else prevent them from working. This is something which no organization has a right to do. The church teaches men to love those who are outside the church as well as those who are in it, but the unions teach them to despise all who are outside the union. The unions think that all things which they approve are right and just, and that all things which they do not approve are unjust. They look at everything from a one-sided standpoint.

The methods employed by the union to coerce nonunion men are various. When a strike is planned the union men commence to tell their nonunion brothers that a strike is to be declared and that the union expects to win. They insist that only union men will be able to obtain employment after the strike. Those who do not yield readily to such persuasion are told that their photographs will be sent broadcast over the land if they do not join the union and that they will be everywhere branded as scabs. Some men join unions simply for fear of being called scabs. There are many in the unions to-day who were actually scared in. (194-196.)

Mr. ROUNTREE, a manufacturer of brass work, says that it seems to be a principle of unionism that only members of the union shall be employed. To this demand he objects. Men out of the union should have just as good a right to employment as men in the union. As an employer the witness does not ask men whether they are Methodists, or Democrats, or Masons, or union men, but whether they can do the work. (38.)

Mr. WEBSTER, while favoring labor unions generally, declares that the demand that only union men shall be employed and that employers shall make their works recruiting stations for the organizations is unjust in every way. It is as unreasonable as to demand that only Presbyterians shall be hired. There is a great principle involved in resisting this demand. The employers fear, moreover, that if they make this concession, the unions will attempt to limit the capacity of men and secure other unreasonable conditions. (144, 148.)

Mr. GEORGE F. HARDING, Jr., an independent builder, says that he makes no distinction between union and nonunion men, but is obliged to employ nonunion men almost exclusively because of the rules of the unions. Some—as, for instance, the plumbers—will not work for any but the association contractors, and Mr. Harding is therefore obliged to hire nonunion plumbers. If a plumber is in the union when Mr. Harding hires him, he has to leave it. As union men will not work with nonunion men, it follows that union men, generally speaking, will not work for Mr. Harding. At least, if he employs union men, he has to work them separately. (168, 169.)

Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, states that union and nonunion men work together in Boston and Baltimore. This condition does not bring with it any tendency to cut wages. In Baltimore it took 4 months to do away with the demands of the building trades council. (324.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, states that the men he employs in Chicago are necessarily union men. In other cities, where he also does building, this is partly true. In whatever branch of the business may be controlled by the union, union men are employed. Last season members of 5 different organizations were employed by the witness on one building in Chicago. (88.)

Mr. STILES, a master painter, says that he will never make an agreement with any organization which restricts him in the matter of employing free or nonunion men. He would have no objection to treating with the union if this question were eliminated. (342.)

The articles of agreement of the painters' district council of Chicago provide that no nonunion men shall be employed, and that a card shall be hung in a conspicuous place in each shop stating that none but union men are employed there. (344.)

The agreement of the architectural iron workers provides that members of the employers' league shall employ only members of the union in good standing. (451.)

Mr. REID says that there is nothing in the constitution of the International Association of Machinists, of which he is organizer, to prevent its members from working with nonunion men. There is, of course, often bitter feeling against such men, and the international officers can not prevent local members from refusing to work with them at times. It can hardly be expected, the witness declares, that union men will be as pleasant toward men who persist in keeping aloof from them as toward their fellow-members. (188.)

Mr. LONG, business agent of the gas fitters' association, says that this union has had no agreement with the master plumbers since 1892, but there seems to be a mutual understanding that they will not hire men who are not in good standing with the union. Mr. Long believes in competition, but not in cheap competition. A man who has devoted his life to a trade has the same right to protection as a doctor or a lawyer. Unrestrained competition results in lowering of wages and in bad general conditions. (202-205.)

Mr. BISNO, formerly business agent of the cloak makers' union, says that unless a firm agrees to employ none except members of the union, a union can not exist. It has been the experience of his own organization, which was finally broken up by the strength of the employers, that a union was useless unless it was able to protect the individual members from being thrown out of employment on account of their membership. (54.)

Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet metal workers' union, states that men who are not members of the union are allowed to work by getting a permit from the union. He would work with a nonunion man who has declared his intention to become a union man, as a foreigner coming to this country declares his intention to become a citizen. Otherwise he would not work with him. (487.)

Replying to the suggestion that the unions have no right to insist that none but union men be employed, Mr. MANGAN, of the steam fitters' union, says that a member of a labor organization has also his rights, and that among them is the right to refuse to work with a nonunion man, either of his own trade or of any other. (442.)

Mr. CLARK cites the case of a man who had been employed by him as a plastering foreman and who afterwards did much plastering for him by contract. Having displeased the union, apparently by persisting in employing one or two men not in good standing in it, this contractor was fined \$150. Work became slack and he tried to get employment as a journeyman. The union drove him from one job after another until he had to give up his trade and take work with the stock yards company at \$1.25 a day. (401.)

Mr. STILES, a master painter and decorator, says that his work was entirely

stopped in the busy season of 1898 because he employed his own son, who was a nonunion man. He was required to give bonds in the sum of \$500 that he would not employ his son or any other nonunion man. Mr. Stiles says that Mr. Riley was compelled by a sympathetic strike to relinquish a contract for painting a block of stores in 1897. Mr. Riley was working nonunion painters, and the masons, plasterers, and lathers on the job refused to work while they were on it. (340.)

Mr. BEHEL read a newspaper paragraph to the effect that the foreman of the carpenters in the city pipe yards had been discharged because the carpenters refused to work under him, on the ground that he was not a union man. The foreman was a model employee, and by order of the civil service commission was reinstated. (397, 398.)

B. Nonunion-made material—Rough work.—(See also p. XLIII.) 1 *Nonunion material.*—Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, states that the building trades council refuses to handle any material except that fashioned by members of the bodies affiliated with it. He mentions an experience of his own in which some ornamental ironwork was fashioned by a firm just outside of Cook County, and consequently by men not affiliated with the building trades council. He was compelled to throw out all that iron and have it refashioned in Chicago at an expense of \$2,700. Three school buildings in Chicago have been at a standstill for several months; one because the concrete had been laid in the basement by nonunion men, one because of a boiler which was made in a nonunion shop, and one because of a \$17 compression tank which was made by nonunion men. Mill-work—that is, the woodwork which is used around windows, for base boards, etc.—can not be used in Chicago, under the regulations of the trade unions, unless it has a union label. (322, 323, 329.)

Mr. EDWARD RYAN, an architectural iron worker, contradicts the testimony of Mr. Falkenau regarding the refusal of the architectural iron workers to set certain work on the ground that it had been done by nonunion men. The witness declares that the reason why the architectural iron workers refused to set this work was that they had made an agreement with the architectural iron league, an employers' organization, that they would work for none but members of the league. Mr. Falkenau was not a member of the league. Members of the league itself informed the architectural iron workers that Mr. Falkenau was going to attempt to do the work. The work was brought afterwards to the factory of a member of the league and was done over, part of the work having to be done over on account of poor workmanship. The work was then set up by members of the architectural iron workers under a member of the league. (450.)

Mr. FALKENAU also mentions a case of two small windows which were fashioned by a sheet-metal contractor in whose shop there was a strike. They were put in by this contractor's men outside of working hours. All the mechanics on the building quit work, and refused to permit any other contractor to fashion frames for substitution, or to permit the owners to have the frames made by union labor. They insisted that the contractors who had made them should hire union men to make them over. After a strike of about 9 weeks the matter was settled by leaving openings for these two windows until the building was completed. Then the metal contractor was allowed to come on the premises and set them. The witness believes that this agreement was reached by means of bribery. (325.)

Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet-metal workers' union, states that the building referred to by Mr. Falkenau was stopped absolutely for only about 8 weeks instead of 9 weeks. He also states that the work that had been let to the nonunion contractor, Mr. MacFarlane, was given to a firm that had signed the union agreement. He denies Mr. Falkenau's suggestion that the strike was settled for a corrupt consideration. (430.)

Mr. CLARK, a contractor, submits a letter from the mill men's union, dated July 25, 1898, warning him not to try to use any material from a nonunion mill or factory, as the carpenters' and painters' unions had agreed not to put any such material in place. A list of the Chicago factories which had yielded to the mill men's demand for a 9-hour day, with a minimum wage of \$2 for mechanics, was inclosed, with the statement that all other factories in the city were nonunion and unfair shops. (402.)

Mr. SPENCER, a general contractor, states that he was compelled last year to cancel a contract for brick which he had bought for \$4.90 a thousand and to pay \$5.35 for brick 15 per cent smaller, because the brick first bought were made by nonunion labor. The change cost him and the owners probably \$5,000 or \$6,000. (481.)

Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, says that the members of his

union are not permitted to work with nonunion men, but are permitted to work on a building where material is used that is produced by nonunion labor. (232.)

Mr. GRIFFITHS, a general contractor, mentions an instance in which a tank for an elevator had been placed on the top of a building and was about to be set, when the walking delegate compelled the removal of it because it had been partly made by nonunion labor. (335.)

Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, states that the mayor of Chicago has complained of the contractors for unwillingness to use brick made at the Bridewell. In reality the contractors were entirely willing to use prison-made brick, but the workmen insisted that it should not be used. (329.)

2. *Attempted monopolization of certain classes of work.*—The articles of agreement of the painters' district council of Chicago provide that neither laborers nor nonunion men shall be employed to do any class of preparatory work in any branch. (344.)

The rules of the carpenters' council provide that no member shall work on a job where laborers are permitted to handle carpenters' tools of any kind, or set or level up joists on the wall. (398.)

The structural iron workers' agreement for 1900 provides that after material has been unloaded on the site all handling of it shall be done by members of the structural iron workers' union. When it is necessary to use tackle or derricks in unloading, that also shall be done by members of the union. (99.)

Mr. CLARK, a general contractor, states that it is necessary to have more men on a Chicago building than the same job would need in other places, on account of the hampering rules of the unions. It is necessary to keep enough workmen of each class to do all the work that belongs to that class. For instance, laborers in Chicago do not dare to touch any iron beam. On the Schlesinger & Mayer building the laborers refused to move an iron beam that was in the way of their wheelbarrow run, for fear of being fined. On the same building, 4 heavy iron beams were delivered when there were no iron men on the job. The superintendent asked some laborers to take the beams into the building. Two were taken in, but the walking delegate of the iron men then appeared and stopped the work, with the threat of calling a strike. The other 2 beams obstructed traffic in the street until the iron men came next day. In any other city it is necessary to have only enough iron men to keep the ordinary work in motion, and when an extraordinary number is needed to move a heavy beam, laborers are called in. The Chicago unions do not permit this. (416.)

Mr. FALKENAU states that when the new Montgomery Ward building was going up, the firm sold a lot of old steam pipe and fittings which were in their old building adjoining. The purchaser employed laborers at \$1.50 to \$1.75 per day to take out the old material. The union steam fitters who were at work on the new building insisted that the old material be taken out by union steam fitters and helpers. The purchasers were compelled to yield, and to pay \$8 a day for a steam fitter and a helper. (326.)

Mr. MANGAN, of the steam fitters' union, refers to this statement of Mr. Falkenau. His account is apparently not inconsistent with Mr. Falkenau's, except that, according to him, the purchaser of the material had to pay only \$5.75 instead of \$8 for a steam fitter and a helper. (446.)

Mr. CLARK, a general contractor, states a case in which union laborers were employed to tear down some old fire escapes on a building occupied by Schlesinger & Mayer. The ornamental iron workers claimed the work and enforced their claim with a strike. Though Mr. Lillien, president of the laborers' union, claimed that it was legitimate laborers' work, it was necessary to hire an ornamental iron man to remove a portion of the work, and the rest was taken down by stealth, a piece at a time. Laborers were employed also to remove some old elevators in the old Schlesinger & Mayer building. The elevator men threatened to quit work on the elevators in the new building unless the removal of the old elevators was given to them. They had to be employed to do the work at a cost of over \$1,000, whereas ordinary laborers could have done it for probably not more than one-third of the amount. (416, 417.)

Mr. BLISS, a painting contractor, states that he got into trouble with the painters' union through having a laborer to carry scaffolding, bring water, and do rough work. The hiring of laborers for such purposes had been permitted in the previous year, and Mr. Bliss says that other contractors were still permitted to have them, though the walking delegate claimed that they were only carrying drinking water. (250, 251.)

C. *As to allotment of work.*—Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, relates a case in which his firm employed stonecutters to dress off the top of the large stones preparatory

to laying the wall. The business agent of the bricklayers claimed that this was bricklayers' work and not stonecutters' work. It took the unions 2 days to settle the question, and they lost about \$300 in wages. It was a matter of indifference to the contractors and their loss was slight. (94.)

Mr. GRIFFITHS, a general contractor, states that it was necessary to take about an inch off certain blocks of granite which had been cut by union men in Maine. The soft stonecutters in Chicago claimed that it was their work, and threatened to call off all other men from the job if the granite cutters were permitted to do it. The men in Maine said they would not cut any granite for that building if the soft-stone men were permitted to trim those blocks. After a long discussion Mr. Griffiths succeeded in arranging a compromise by which each party did half the work.

In another case the walking delegate from the iron construction union demanded that certain mullions which were being set by the ornamental iron men should be set by his men instead. The dispute between the two unions caused a strike which delayed the building for a week or two. The structural iron men ultimately prevailed, and the mullions which had been set were taken down and laid on the floor and set up again just as they were before, only not so well set. Mr. Griffiths implies that these disputes between unions are due to the building trades council, but he does not explain how. (335, 336.)

Mr. WELLS, a general contractor, relates a similar dispute between the ornamental iron men and the structural iron men as to the setting of mullions on the McClurg Building. (377.)

Mr. BUCHANAN, business agent of the structural iron workers' union, testifies as to the dispute between that union and the architectural iron workers on the Marshall Field building, referred to by Mr. Griffiths. The architectural iron men were putting up work that belonged to the structural iron workers. The structural iron workers were at work on the building at the same time. The witness spent about three days' time in trying to effect a settlement, letting the architectural iron men go on; but he was criticised by members of his own organization and was compelled to bring pressure to bear and have the architectural iron men stop the work in question. There was not a delay of two hours, however, and it is not true that a pound of iron which had been put in place was taken down at the demand of the witness or any representative of the structural iron workers. The witness believes that about half of the work in dispute was put up by the architectural iron workers and the other half by his union. (470, 475.)

Mr. RYAN, an architectural iron worker, denies the statement made by Mr. Griffiths that certain work which had been put up by architectural iron workers on the Merchants' Trust Bank was taken down and put up again by structural iron workers. (449.)

Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, states that the building trades council stopped the putting up of a tall stack which he was having erected by the boiler makers. The representative of the council said that the work belonged to the structural iron men. The boiler makers claimed that it belonged to them. The dispute caused the work to lie idle for ten days. It was ultimately settled that the structural iron setters, the men least fitted to do the work, should do it. (326.)

Mr. BUCHANAN, of the structural iron workers' union, refers to this dispute between his union and the boiler makers. He declares that the contractors admitted that the structural iron workers did the work cheaper than the boiler makers were doing it, although their rate per day was much higher. He points out that work in a boiler shop and work 100 feet from the ground are not at all of the same character, and that a man accustomed only to the shop can not work to any advantage in elevated places. Moreover, if the boiler makers, who already punch the holes and get out the work in the shop, were also to get up the work outside, there would be no use for structural iron workers. (474.)

Mr. PRICE, a general contractor, mentions a case in which a subcontractor undertook to put up some large coal bunkers, made of boiler iron, with men belonging to the boiler makers' union. The structural iron workers' union claimed the work, and neither the contractor nor the owner had anything to say about the question. It had to be referred to the building trades council, and there was a delay of three or four weeks before it was settled. Mr. Price also states that the steam fitters have claimed the right to cut holes through wooden floors for their pipes; work which had always been done by carpenters. The building trades council decided in favor of the steam fitters, though the work was done in a way that was not satisfactory to the architect or the owner or the contractor. (362.)

In another case of Mr. Price's some large sewer pipe and brick catch-basins were to be put into a building. It had been intended to employ members of the sewer makers' union. This union did not belong to the building trades council.

The bricklayers claimed the right to do the work, and it was necessary to yield to them. They then demanded double-pay, \$1 an hour, for this work, although it was properly only ordinary work; a dollar an hour was paid only in underground sewers. Mr. Price was compelled to pay the dollar an hour, under threat of a strike of the 125 bricklayers whom he was employing, which would have been accompanied with a demand for payment of their wages, under the name of waiting time, so long as they should be on strike. (381,382.)

Mr. CLARK, a general contractor, thinks that the disputes between unions generally arise from a misunderstanding of rules. The rules are so many, and are made so rapidly, that the men are constantly afraid of transgressing them. The rules are not often changed except by increases in number. (418.)

Demand that work be done in city.—Mr. BAGLEY, a wholesale marble dealer, states that the marble for the Montgomery-Ward Building was contracted for in Georgia, with a firm which employs union men, working 8 hours, and 4 hours on Saturday. It is the only quarrying firm in the marble line working union men in this manner. Its men are affiliated with the national association of stonecutters, with headquarters at Chicago. Notwithstanding these facts, the Chicago Stonecutters' union demanded that the stone be cut in Cook County, and even refused to let its own men go down to Georgia to cut it. The contractors, the Geo. A. Fuller Company, were compelled to bring the material here in a sawed state, but uncut, to be cut by the local unions. (390,391.)

Mr. McCULLOUGH, business agent of the marble cutters' union, states that his union tried to bring it about that the marble used in building in Chicago should be prepared in the city, but never succeeded. The greater part of the work for Chicago is done in districts where the men do not get wages enough to enable them to live properly—in Vermont, in Georgia, in Tennessee, and some in Europe. The marble is molded and polished and finished before reaching Chicago. The most of the work on it is done by machinery. (213.)

D. Hiring and discharging of men.—Mr. GRIFFITHS, a general contractor, mentions an instance in which the walking delegate of the lathers' union compelled the employment of 6 men who were not needed or wanted on the job, and when one of the 6 was discharged for not doing his work properly, the entire force struck. He also mentions another case, in which his firm was compelled to hire union men for work on the drainage canal, though other contractors were working there with nonunion men. The union had a hold on the witness and his partner because they were doing other work where the union could cause them trouble. One of the union men employed neglected his work and was discharged, but the walking delegate compelled the employers to take him back under threat of a strike. (335,336.)

Mr. BOYLE, a contracting plasterer, declares that the plasterers' union does not permit employers to select their own men. If an employer wants plasterers he must go to the officers of the union and they send him whomever they please. (320.)

Mr. BLISS, a painting contractor, states that the painters' union does not attempt to force the employers to hire particular men, nor to interfere with the freedom of the employers in hiring and discharging, except to exclude nonunion men. (254.)

Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, says that he has never heard of any union in Chicago that would not allow an employer to discharge or hire anyone he pleased, provided he hired only union men, and provided he did not discharge any man for belonging to a union or for standing up for the rights of the men. (232.)

Mr. CHALLERS, a manufacturer of machinery, declares that it makes no difference to a Chicago manufacturer whether he employs a union or a nonunion man, but that manufacturers do claim the right to hire and discharge whom they please. The unions try to prevent the employment of nonunion men and to prevent the discharge of union men. The union tells manufacturers that they can not discharge their men without cause, and the union constitutes itself the judge as to the cause. In some shops the unions propose, as a compromise, that the employer appoint a committee of his workmen to supply men needed, retaining the right to hire men himself if the committee fails to do so within 2 days. The employers are not willing, either, to allow walking delegates to tell their men how wide or deep the cut of a tool shall be or what wages shall be. (6.)

E. Work by employers—Piecework.—The proposed agreement of the structural iron men for 1900 provides that not more than one member of a firm shall work on a job controlled by the firm. (99.)

The carpenters' agreement of 1899 provides that not more than one member of any firm of contractors shall be allowed to work with tools. (98.)

Mr. POUCHOT says that his union, the sheet-metal workers', permits an employer to work in his shop, but not on outside work. The union would not object to an

employer's doing a trifling job on his own house, but if it were a considerable job, running for some days, it would insist upon his hiring a man. Mr. Pouchot states that his union once fined an employer for working on a building on which there was a strike; or, rather, he was made to pay for the amount of time the men would have had upon the job if he had not done the work. (437, 438.)

Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, states that his union permits only one member of the contracting firm to work on any one building. If this limit were not fixed it would be possible for 10 bricklayers to form a firm, do their own work, cut prices, and so work for less than the union scale of wages. The bricklayer who becomes a contractor is not obliged to withdraw from the union, but he does not have the privilege of the floor in meetings unless by a two-thirds vote of the body. (234.)

Mr. LONG, business agent of the Chicago gas fitters' association, states that his union has had a great deal of trouble on account of the large number of gas fitters who have started small independent businesses, done a good deal of the work themselves, hired boys as assistants, and worked nights and Sundays. The organization passed a resolution that anybody handling tools and doing work must carry a card and be a member of the union. The bosses have been stopped from doing gas fitting in Chicago. (198.)

Mr. SMITH, a plumbing contractor, states that J. W. Brown & Co. applied to the gas fitters' union to send them a fitter for a small job. They waited for more than a week, and then a member of the firm was obliged to do the work himself. The union afterwards compelled them to hire a gas fitter and retain him on the premises for 8 days and 6 hours, the time it would have taken a union man to do the work according to the schedule of the gas fitters' union. The same firm was compelled to hire a gas fitter for 10 days to make a pretense of doing over again some work which the members of the firm themselves had done while there was a strike at their shop. (408.)

Mr. BONNER, a floor-tile contractor, says that the tile setters' union in Chicago does not permit any member of the mantle or tile dealers' association to handle tools. This is not only a hardship upon the dealers, but it prevents any workman from himself becoming an employer. A man starting a business could get credit for his material, but he can not get credit for labor. The rule which prevents a contractor from working, therefore, prevents a man of small means from becoming a contractor. (385.)

Mr. BLISS, a painting contractor, states that until recently the painters' union did not admit any man who was carrying on business. In recent years they have adopted a rule that no employer can work unless he belongs to the union. This regulation compelled Mr. Bliss to join the union 2 years ago. (250, 253.)

Piecework and subcontracting.—The carpenters' agreement of 1899 provides that no work shall be lumped or sublet, and that no journeyman shall take piecework in any manner. (98.)

The articles of agreement of the painters' district council of Chicago provide that no work shall be sublet by the master painters, either to any of their employees or to others. (344.)

Mr. STRUBLE quotes a letter from the journeymen stonecutters' union, dated in July, 1899, notifying his firm that the union had resolved that no member of the cut-stone contractors' association should let a subcontract for either stonecutting or carving in the future. (360.)

Mr. CARROLL, president of the building trades council, states that the subcontractor is gradually undergoing elimination as centralization progresses. He will have to disappear and become either a superintendent or a workman. His present attitude of hostility to labor is unreasonable. He lays to the labor organizations a misfortune which is as inevitable as the displacement of labor by machinery. (268.)

The agreement of the carpenters, made after the strike, secured a provision that no contractor should sublet or piece out carpenter work, and that no journeyman should be permitted to take piece work. (529.)

F. Minimum rate of wages and its effects.—Mr. GINDELE, a general contractor, declares that the minimum rate of wages is a disadvantage to the mechanic, in that there is no inducement for a good mechanic to remain a good mechanic, nor for a poor mechanic to become a good mechanic. We do not have now such a class of mechanics as we had in the former days, when every man was paid according to his work. The minimum rate of wages is a disadvantage to the contractor who is bound, as a member of an association, to maintain the minimum rate, because there are always some members who will secretly depart from the agreed rate, by understandings with equally dishonest members of the labor organizations. The underhanded contractor is able to underbid the honest con-

tractor and get the work. The underhanded mechanic has employment while the honest mechanic walks the streets. (367.)

Mr. HAVEY, a nonunion gas fitter, insists that the rule of the unions that all their members must be paid the same rate of wages is unjust. In all higher professions at least three different classes of men are recognized—first, second, and third. Labor unions provide for first-class men only. The uniform rate of wages is that which only first-class men earn, and employers will discharge all who are not first class. The less competent can get nothing to do, and are forced to become tramps or to turn to drink. There is a constant oversupply of labor, and always will be, but the amount of work should be fairly divided up among the workers. The witness would rather see the time come when every workman would get only 10 cents a day than the time when some men would get from \$4 to \$6 per day and the great majority get nothing. It may be the tendency of unions to encourage men to try to become first-class workers, but many can never become such. (171, 172.)

Mr. BLISS, a painting contractor, declares that the minimum wage scale increases the disadvantage of the less efficient man. The better class of workmen are benefited. They are able to get reasonably steady work. Those who are advanced in years or less vigorous or less skillful are idle much of the time. (254.)

Mr. WOODBURY, president of the carpenters' district council, says that the minimum rate of wages is meant to be for the poorer grade of mechanics, and that the employers are expected to grade up the wages of the better. During the World's Fair some contractors in Chicago were offering their men 10, 15, and 20 cents an hour more than the scale. When times are slack the better mechanic is naturally employed more steadily than the poorer. This can not be controlled. The workmen have not been able to devise any better method of regulating wages than the minimum scale. (460.)

G. Use of machinery and improved tools.—1. *Generally.* Professor TAYLOR says that there were grievances in this dispute on both sides in regard to restrictions of the use of machinery. He believes, however, that these restrictions were mostly confined to the stonecutting trade, and that they were due more to the influence of those contractors who did not own machinery than to the objections of the labor unions themselves. (542.)

The agreements of the bricklayers and carpenters, after the building trades' strike, as well as practically all of the other agreements, contain a provision taken from the contractors' ultimatum of April 30, 1900, that there shall be no restriction on the use of machinery. (516, 525, 528.)

2. *Stonecutting.*—Mr. STRUBLE, a cut-stone contractor, states that machinery has gradually been introduced for dressing stone for building purposes, and that it is a great success, making it possible to produce elaborate fronts for less than the former cost of plain fronts. The machines can be run by laborers, such as those who run machinery in planing mills and sash, door, and blind factories. In 1896 the journeymen stonecutters' union of Chicago demanded that this machinery be run by stonecutters at a wage of 50 cents per hour with an 8-hour day. After a strike of about 3 months a compromise was made under which one-half of the machines were to be run by stonecutters and one-half by planer hands. In 1898 the journeymen demanded that the contractors employ 6 hand stonecutters for every planing machine. This would have meant the stopping of the machinery. After a strike of about 10 weeks it was agreed that the contractors should employ 4 members of the journeymen stonecutters' union to every double planer and 2 for every single planer. This agreement was to last until May, 1900. In January, 1899, in violation of this agreement, the journeymen demanded that no machines be operated after April 1, 1899. The contractors got the time extended to June 1, 1899, but were compelled to stop the machines then and have not been able to use them since. The machines were used in 28 yards in Chicago, representing 75 per cent of the employing capacity of the city in this line. The value of the machinery which was in use is estimated at \$110,000. This is practically a dead loss, as the machinery is fast becoming useless by rust and loss of parts due to its not being in active use. (535.)

Mr. SULLIVAN, chairman of the stonecutters' union, says that the planing machines, whose use is opposed by the stonecutters, have been introduced for the most part since the year 1894. During 1894 the employers used these machines from 10 to 24 hours per day. In 1895 the stonecutters asked the contractors to restrict the hours of the machines and to have them run by union men. This was refused. In 1896 the stonecutters struck to secure these concessions. The strike was settled after 3 months, the contractors agreeing to use the machines only 8 hours per day. Later on several of the contractors declared that their machines

were not paying investments. In 1898 the stonecutters asked that 4 union men be employed in the operation of each machine. The contractors refused this, but agreed that 2 men should be employed for each small machine and 4 men for each large machine. In 1898 the witness introduced a resolution asking the employers to do away with the use of the machines altogether. All but 14 of the 60 contractors in the city willingly agreed to it, and the other contractors finally also adopted a resolution to discontinue the use of planers after June 1, 1899. No specific provision was made at that time regarding the penalty for violation of this agreement, but the suggestion was made orally that the ordinary penalty for other violations of agreement by the employer, \$250, should be enforced. (447, 448.)

Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, states that contractors and manufacturers have been compelled by the action of the unions to let thousands of dollars' worth of machinery lie idle for years in their shops and yards. He specifies only the case of the stone contractors. (313.)

Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, states that 85 per cent of the cut-stone contractors signed a paper to the effect that they were not in favor of the use of machines in the stone-contracting business in Chicago. (221.)

Mr. JEFFERY, a bicycle manufacturer, illustrates the injustice of the rules of labor unions by his own experience in building a residence. In the fall of 1899, when the weather was getting cold, the union bricklayers urged the contractor who was cutting the stone, a union contractor, to hurry. In order to help himself in doing so he planed a little stone with a planing machine which he owned. The union thereupon withdrew all the bricklayers and masons from the building, and he could not get men until he paid a fine of \$250 for having planed stone with a machine. Each of the men who had been engaged in planing the stone was fined \$125, and the witness knows of two of them who have been unable to pay the fine, and are seeking work. These excessive fines are fixed by the officers of the union. Their power is superior to the laws of the United States. The witness says also that the general labor difficulties in the building trades in the present year have prevented him altogether from building his house. (132, 133.)

Mr. STRUBLE submits an affidavit from Robert Reid, a cut-stone contractor, stating that he was fined \$250 by the journeymen stonecutters' union for using scrapers for scraping the stonework on an old building, contrary to the union regulations, though he had no connection with the building, and had simply lent scrapers to the laborers and told them they could get the work. Mr. Reid begged to have the question arbitrated, but the union refused. The fine was not paid, and the president of the union came to Mr. Reid after 5 months and offered to settle for \$100. This was refused. (357.)

Mr. SULLIVAN, chairman of the stonecutters' union, refers to the fine that was imposed upon Mr. Reid. He says that members of the organization caught him using a scraper contrary to the agreement with the stonecutters. He was assessed the regular fine of \$250 by the organization. Being a poor man and not able to pay this amount, the fine was reduced to \$100, but this also he refused to pay. (448.)

2. *Marble carving.*—Mr. BAGLEY, a wholesale marble dealer, states that the marble-cutters' union in Chicago will not permit the use of the pneumatic tool for carving, a tool which is used all over the world, and is almost indispensable for delicate work. In one instance, that of a residence, the owner had to pay the union \$250 for permission to set certain stone which had been cut outside of Cook County, and besides had to pay \$83 for two men to scrape over surfaces which had been cut by a machine, because the union does not permit the use of planers. (391.)

3. *Mortar carriers.*—Mr. LILLIEN, president of the hod-carriers' union, states that machinery has almost entirely replaced men for the hoisting of mortar. The only contractor who does not use the hoisting machine is the plastering contractor. The number of actual hod carriers is much less than formerly, but the number of building laborers on the whole has not decreased. (117.)

4. *Carpenters.*—Mr. WOODBURY, president of the carpenters' district council, states that the carpenters' union did at one time forbid its members to buy and carry patent miter boxes, on the ground that it added an unnecessary weight to the carpenter's kit, and an unnecessary expense. The union never forbade the use of patent miter boxes, if the employers chose to furnish them. (464.)

5. *Bricklayers.*—Mr. FALKENAU states that a short strike was caused on the Montgomery Ward building by the requirement of the walking delegate of the bricklayers' association that the mortar be placed with a hand trowel instead of a shovel, in making beds for the dimension stones, which were in many cases 5 or 6 feet square. The walking delegate was ultimately overruled. (326.)

H. Limitation of amount of work.—1. *Generally.*—Mr. WEBSTER, a machinery manufacturer, thinks that there is a decided tendency among labor unions, especially in the building trades in Chicago, to limit the amount of work which their members may do. There is no doubt that many unions would be glad to have their members produce as little as possible, with a view to giving work to more men. The witness has noticed a tendency among the foundry men in his establishment to limit their output. This is a serious evil. The hope of prosperity to American manufactures lies in the fact that Americans can produce a large amount in a short time. It is morally wrong for a man to try to do as little as he can.

On the other hand, Mr. Webster says, it is no more just for employers to try to drive their workmen too hard, as they occasionally do. Piecework is the ideal way to adjust wages, but when employers become greedy and set the most expert men to fix the pace for the others, it is not fair. If properly conducted a man will earn more for himself and for his employer by the piecework method than in any other way. (150.)

Mr. HAVES declares that it is a common evil practice of the unions to limit the amount of work which a man may do in a day. During the World's Fair, when there was a great demand for work, plumbers were putting in as many as 3 fixtures in a day, and getting perhaps \$4 per day wages. To-day they are not permitted to put in more than 1 fixture. The increase in the cost of building which comes from such restrictions tends to decrease the erection of buildings and thus ultimately to increase the number of the unemployed in the building trades. (172.)

Mr. CLARK believes that a hostility to the rendering of a fair equivalent for a day's wage is being rapidly inculcated among the journeymen of Chicago, and is an outgrowth of the rule of the trade unions. (409.)

Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, states that the limitation of work is enforced by the plumbers, the gas fitters, the plasterers, the lathers, and he understands by the steam fitters. (322.)

Professor TAYLOR says that there can be no doubt that the limitation of the amount of work imposed in two or three of the trades was unjust. Thus, the restriction in the case of the mantel builders was too low. The best men in the unions themselves admitted that they had gone too far. (542.)

The agreements of the bricklayers, carpenters, and practically all other organizations, made after the building trades' lockout, contain a provision taken from the contractors' ultimatum of April 30, 1900, declaring that there shall be no limitation of the amount of a day's work. (516, 525, 528, 564.)

Mr. MILLER, a contractor, says that he does not know of any objection raised by those unions which have made agreements with the employers since the lockout concerning the clause prohibiting the limitation of the amount of work. He does not think that formal limitations are necessary to protect the employees against rushing by employers. They can stop working for anyone who tries to overwork them. (325.)

2. *Building trades council.*—Mr. GRIFFITHS, a general contractor, asserts that the building trades council is not willing to let the men do an honest day's work for an honest day's wage. If he were bidding on a job at the present time he would make his bid with the expectation that the men would do a day's work; but this is because he does not expect that the building trades council will be in existence when any job now in contemplation is begun. He gives two instances of restriction of work. In the first he noticed that his men were not doing a fair day's work, and his foreman stated that the walking delegate had threatened the foreman with a fine of \$35 and with being compelled to leave Mr. Griffiths's employ if he tried to make the men work fairly. The other instance is this: The union in a certain line was endeavoring to arrange with the employers in that line this winter, and the first declaration of the union was that it proposed to limit the amount of work during the coming year. Mr. Griffiths says "that is just what the building trades council backed up." Mr. Griffiths declares that the limitation of work is a new thing, and that the men do not do the work that they did in former years in any of the trades that he is acquainted with. (335, 337, 338.)

Mr. FALKENAU admits that the limitations do not extend to all trades affiliated with the building trades council, but considers that such limitations have been sanctioned by the council in its refusal to discipline the unions which have established them. (313.)

Mr. BARTON, president of the Western Electric Company, says that he has had a house ready for plaster on which there has been no work done for 2 months. He thinks the strike in the building trades is seriously endangering the prosperity

of Chicago. The principle upon which the building trades council are especially insisting is the right to limit the product of the workman. This the contractors resist, and the witness thinks they are right in doing so, but he says that the unions have been hitherto so successful in maintaining the principle that they will not give it up as long as they think there is any chance of keeping it in operation. (300.)

Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet metal workers' union, declares that if the men of any trade make a rule which violates an unexpired agreement with employers the building trades council does not back them up in it. The building trades council has never called a sympathetic strike to enforce the rules of the plumbers and gas fitters, which have caused the most serious complaint. If the plumbers themselves went out without a just cause the building trades council would compel them to go back to work. The building trades council has made some investigation of the grievances that the contractors name against plumbers, gas fitters, and lathers, and has found in the trades a readiness to meet the employers and remedy the alleged grievances. Mr. Pouchot believes that the plumbers went to their employers to settle their difference in regard to working rules, and that the employers said that they would not meet them and settle with them till they withdrew from the building trades council. If the contractors would call the grievances to the attention of the building trades council it would force the offending trades to live up to their contracts with their employers. (439.)

3. *Plumbers.*—Mr. SMITH states that the plumbers' union adopted a set of working rules about July 1, 1899, which involves a very radical limitation of the day's work. In some cases the reduction is as much as 60 per cent; in other cases the rules call for a good day's work. Because of the complications that arise, a plumber's work can not be accurately gauged. The reduction was not due to any excessive pressure upon the men before the rules were adopted. The witness understands that the argument for the limit was that it would make more work, so that more members of the union would be employed. The master plumbers who had contracts on hand were compelled to lose the amount of the reduction, as the limitation was enforced without previous notice. The committee of the union which met the employers to discuss the question admitted that the rules were objectionable, and recommended to the union that some of them be amended and others be abrogated; but the union refused. (407, 408, 410.)

Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, states that the limit of a day's work fixed by the plumbers—the setting of one basin, or one closet, or one bath, or the roughing in for each one of these—does not permit a man to do more than three-eighths as much as a man should do in 8 hours. The building trades council has taken as a basis the amount of work which the inferior workman can do in a given time. (313.)

Mr. GEORGE F. HARDING, Jr., an independent builder, refers to the rule of the plumbers that a man shall not put up more than one fixture—a washstand, a closet, or a bath tub—in a day, and states that any good plumber, after all the work is done underneath, can connect three in a day. A very good plumber can set four. He supposes that the rule was made because the plumbers want to give as much work as they can. He believes that the plasterers and the lathers also have limitations of work. Such rules make it dangerous to build. If one should put up a house now, and it should cost twice as much as it ordinarily would, and next year these rules should no longer be in force, the man who built now would be at a very great disadvantage. (170.)

Mr. SMITH cites the case of The P. Nacey Company, which discharged a plumber for incompetency, with the result that all union men in its employ went out on a sympathetic strike on January 17, 1900, and had not returned at the time of the witness's testimony. The union contended that the man was discharged because he lived up to the union rules. He was doing work of such a nature that his allotted task, according to the union rules, was finished by 1 or 2 o'clock, and thereafter he had nothing to do but smoke and amuse himself till his 8 hours were up. (409.)

Mr. CORBOY, a plumbing contractor, states that the rules of the journeymen plumbers limiting the day's work are ridiculous. The calking of four joints, which is specified by one rule as a day's work, can be done in an hour. On the other hand, there are other specifications which a man can not perform in a day. The rules themselves constantly differ among themselves as to the interpretation of the rules. The union promised all last summer to modify them, but has taken no action to that end. (414.)

Mr. BRENNOCK, treasurer of the building trades council, says that before the establishment of a strong organization among the carpenters there was scarcely an employer having half a dozen or more men who did not hire some strong fellow

to drive them all day long. Eight or nine men would be put to work in a row laying flooring, and anyone who could not keep the pace set by the strongest could not keep his job. It is as a result of such conditions that the rules limiting the amount of work have been established by the various unions.

The witness declares that he has talked to many plumbers as to the restriction of work, and that they have invariably told him that the limit of 8 joints is all that a man can properly do in a day. If lathers attempt to do more work than 25 bunches a day, they put no connections on the corners and otherwise skimp the work. If plumbers worked beyond their strength all day, their work would be imperfect and would result in bad sanitary conditions. (466, 467.)

Mr. DAVIS, a mosaic contractor, testifies that he recently observed a plumber sitting idle and smoking his pipe at about 11 o'clock in the morning, and he learned on inquiry that the man had finished his day's work. Mr. Davis recently had occasion to have a bath tub, a bowl, and a closet put into his own house. Any one of these fixtures constitutes a day's work under the regulations of the plumbers' organization. The man whom Mr. Davis employed set all three before 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Mr. Davis states that in his own trade of mosaic work there has been an attempt to restrict the day's work. (422.)

4. *Gas fitters*.—Mr. LONG, business agent of the Chicago gas fitters' association, states that this was the first organization in the Chicago building trades to put a limit to a day's work. It was done about 3 years ago. He maintains, however, that the amount permitted is more than the average workman can do in 8 hours, and he seems to assert that a Chicago gas fitter now does more in 8 hours without a helper than he formerly did in 10 hours with a helper. He says that the legitimate contractors congratulated him on the working of the limitation when it had been a little while in force. (198, 205.)

5. *Lathers*.—Mr. REGAN, of the lathers' union, admits that this union fixes a day's work at 25 bundles of lath, neither more nor less. He declares that this is as much as an average man can put on. There are about 15 particularly fast men out of the 800 members of the union, whom the bosses used to employ, one here and one there, to set the pace for the others. The ordinary man could not keep up without greatly overworking. He would have to keep the pace or come down in his price; and after he came down in his price the bosses would use this fact to compel the first-class men to come down also. It was by using one class as a club to hold the other down that the employers had got wages down to 90 cents a day before the union was formed. (211.)

6. *Tile setters*.—Mr. BONNER, a floor tile and ornamental mosaic contractor, declares that the tile setters' union in Chicago limits the amount of work which its members shall do. (386.)

7. *Painters*.—Mr. STILES, a master painter, has no doubt that there has recently been a secret understanding in the painting trade to fix a limit to the work of the men. For a year or two it has been impossible to get union men to do the usual amount of work. (341.)

Mr. BLISS, a painting contractor, states that a demand was made upon him to discharge a certain workman who was simply trying to do a good day's work and help the work along, on the ground that he was doing too much. The reason seemed to be that there were many men out of employment and it was thought that more would have to be hired if each man did as little as possible. (250.)

Mr. MURPHY, vice-president of the painters' district council, denies that that organization in any way limits the work which a man shall do. He declares, on the other hand, that it is the practice of the master painters to select some young and vigorous man to set the pace for the others, expecting every man to do an equal amount of work. It has come about by this practice that men of 45 or 50 years of age can not get jobs except during the very busiest seasons, being unable to keep the pace. (454.)

8. *Marble setters*.—Mr. McCULLOUGH, business agent of the marble setters' union, denies that this union has a limitation of work. He admits that a book of rules for measuring a day's work was adopted, but says that only a single effort was made to enforce it, and that was made over 2 years ago. The rules were adopted in an effort to check men who were suspected of being piece workers, "who would work night and day to the disadvantage of other members." (215.)

9. *Carpenters*.—Mr. WOODBURY, president of the carpenters' district council, says that fault has been found with the following rule of the carpenters' union: "Any member guilty of excessive work or rushing on any job shall be reported and shall be subject to a fine of \$5. Any foreman using abusive language to or rushing the men under his supervision shall be fined not less than \$10 and ruled

off the job." The witness declares that a rule of this sort is absolutely necessary to meet the policy of some contractors of hiring one or two young, athletic men, far above the average in physical strength, and having them set a pace which it is scarcely possible for the average man to meet, but which he must come near meeting on peril of discharge. Only one man has been fined under this rule during the 2 years that it has been in force. It ought to be enforced more than it is, in the witness's opinion, though it does have some salutary restraining effect on the members of the union. (457.)

Mr. CLARK, a contractor, declares that the rule of the carpenters' union making a foreman liable to a fine of \$10 for rushing men makes a foreman a representative of the building trades council and not of his employer. Another rule that would break up any man in business after a time, if adhered to, is the rule as to the position of the steward of the job. (401.)

10. *Bricklayers.*—Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, declares that his union does not limit the amount of work that a man shall do. The Chicago bricklayers are known as the best mechanics in their line in the country, and are carried all over the country by contractors who do work in Chicago. They work harder and do more work than any men in the other States. Before 1883 and 1884 they used to work 10 hours and lay about 1,000 bricks in an ordinary wall. Now they work 8 hours and have to lay 1,000 bricks. In Liverpool and London bricklayers have a limit of 400 a day, and Mr. Gubbins envies the English bricklayers. In Chicago two fast men are picked out to stand at the corners of the building and lay each a small number of brick there, while the men between have each, perhaps, 5 or 6 feet of wall and must keep their space filled up as the end men raise the line. (233, 234.)

Mr. WELLS, a general contractor, states that he has experienced a limitation of work on rough building, for the first time, on a large job which he recently put up for the McCormicks. The labor on this job, both brickwork and carpenter work, cost much more than ever before. The foreman said that if he tried to hurry the work he would be fined by the union. (378.)

11. *Bridge and structural ironwork.*—Mr. FRANK M. RYAN, a structural iron worker, declares that the workers in that trade in Chicago work harder and faster than in other cities. He believes that they drive nearly twice as many rivets in a day as workmen elsewhere. In fact, it is the practice of contractors who have 15 or 20 different gangs of riveters to select 2 or 3 of the best gangs and give them 25 cents or 50 cents a day extra to set the pace for the others, who are supposed, then, to keep up and drive the same number of rivets. The result is that the strongest and most robust men in the trade can not stand the work for more than 3 or 8 years without breaking down physically. (279.)

I. *Apprenticeship.*—1. *Machinists.*—Mr. CHALMERS declares that labor unions are unjust in that they limit the number of apprentices who may be engaged, prohibit the employment of colored men, at least in certain cases, and in the case of the machinists prohibit the engagement of any man over 21 years old as an apprentice. This last provision bars out from the practical work of machine shops graduates of colleges and manual-training schools, who have specially prepared for such work and who soon become the most efficient employees and those most likely to be promoted. The president of the machinists' union has declared that he never knew a college boy who was worth anything for shopwork. In view of his attitude of the unions, Mr. Chalmers declares that they do not tend to produce a more intelligent class of workmen, at least so far as his own experience goes. Nor has he seen any tendency on their part toward encouraging morality and sobriety. (12.)

Mr. DEVENS, assistant secretary of the National Metal Trades Association, says that comparatively few regularly indentured apprentices are employed in machine shops. There are many boys and men employed at unskilled work, but receiving practically no instruction and not being advanced to skilled work unless they show special aptitude. Even where apprentices are regularly indentured they must force themselves ahead, to a considerable extent, if they hope to obtain satisfactory instruction and advancement. In reply to a question as to whether they ever do receive proper instruction, Mr. Devens insists that he has been familiar particularly with one shop in which the apprentices were given every possible opportunity to learn thoroughly. He does not know whether this is a general rule. (511.)

2. *Building trades.*—In the opinion of Mr. HAVY, the rules of the labor unions regarding apprenticeship are unjust. Boys to-day would like to have the same chance to learn trades which the members of the unions had when they were boys; but they no longer have the opportunity, at least in the building trades. Indeed, the union men have adopted a system which will prove a curse to their own chil-

dren. A man who is running a shop himself is not permitted to teach his own boy the trade. This practice also tends to make men tramps and criminals. (172.)

Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, asserts that apprentices are absolutely barred in all the most remunerative building trades in Chicago. Out of 32 trades in the building trades council there are only two or three in which a contractor can permit his own son to learn his own trade in his own establishment. (813.)

The ultimatum of the contractors' council of April 30, 1900, provided that each employer should have the right to teach his trade to apprentices. This provision was somewhat modified in the agreement with the bricklayers made after the strike. It was provided that each employer might take not more than one new apprentice each year, that the term of service should be three years, and that various detailed rules should be observed. (MILLER, 527, 564.)

The carpenters' agreement, made in February, 1901, permitted each employer to teach his trade to apprentices, but provided that the apprenticeship should last not less than 3 years and no apprentice should be over 21 years old. (TAYLOR, 529.)

3. *Plumbers*.—Mr. SMITH, a plumbing contractor, states that by an agreement made in 1896, which was by its terms to continue in force until October 8, 1898, 1 apprentice was to be allowed for every 2 journeymen during the first year, 1 for every 3 journeymen during the second year, and 1 for every 4 journeymen during the third year. A boy must be at least 15 years of age before he could be employed as an apprentice. Not more than 1 junior could be employed for every 2 journeymen for the first year of the agreement and 1 for every 3 journeymen thereafter. Each shop was to be entitled to at least 1 apprentice, and 1 junior might be hired where only 1 journeyman was employed. By a new agreement, forced upon the employers in March, 1897, it was provided that each shop should have only 1 apprentice. In April, 1899, the master plumbers were forced to agree that they would hire no more new apprentices or junior plumbers before March 1, 1900. (404, 405.)

Mr. CORROY, a plumbing contractor, states that a junior plumber is one who has served as an apprentice for a certain time, say 4 years, and has not yet completed 2 further years of service. (414.)

Mr. SMITH presents a statement in writing by Mr. Nacey, an employing plumber, to the effect that he has attempted to teach his trade to his own son, and has been prevented from doing so by the union. (409.)

4. *Tile setters*.—Mr. BONNER, a floor-tile contractor, states that no apprentice is allowed by the union in his business in the city of Chicago, and he is informed that none is allowed in New York. Not a man has been admitted to the Chicago union in about 5 years. When a tile setter comes into town and gets a job they give him a permit to work until his application is voted on; but they immediately get a man from another job and put him in the newcomer's place, and so run the new man out of town. The witness would not be permitted to teach his own son the tile setter's trade. The witness mentions an English tile setter who has had a brother here for four years and has tried to get him a place as helper in setting tile, but so far has not succeeded. (385, 388.)

Mr. McCULLOUGH, business agent of the marble cutters' union, refers to Mr. Bonner's statement that the tile setters do not tolerate any apprentices. According to Mr. McCullough, the tile setters' helpers regularly develop into tile setters as they gradually acquire a knowledge of the business, and are admitted by the tile setters' union when they show proficiency. (216, 218.)

5. *Painters*.—The articles of agreement of the painters' district council of Chicago provide for 1 apprentice for each contracting firm, and 1 additional apprentice for every 20 journeymen employed; the apprentices to be under the age of 18 years and to be bound by indenture for 3 years, and to be continuously employed during that time. (344.)

6. *Carpenters*.—Mr. NICHOLSON submits the carpenters' agreement of 1899. It does not restrict the number of apprentices, but provides that all apprentices shall belong to the union and carry the current working card, and that no one shall be allowed to work as an apprentice after the age of 21. (98.)

7. *Plasterers*.—Mr. CARROLL, of the plasterers' union, states that in his organization a man must serve an apprenticeship of 4 years, and if he is not a mechanic at the end of that time they will probably give him another year. (275.)

8. *Bricklayers*.—Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, states that his union formerly allowed 1 apprentice to a contractor who had been 2 years in business, a second apprentice the next year, and a third the year following. After that period the contractor could have 3 apprentices constantly. Some contractors took advantage of this rule and kept 3 apprentices when they had no

work to keep them going. The witness does not describe the present rule regarding apprentices. (233.)

9. *Architectural iron workers.*—The agreement between the architectural iron workers and the employers provides that there may be 1 apprentice for each 2 journeymen employed on a job. Apprentices shall work 3 years before they can become journeymen. (451.)

J. Boycotting.—1. *Gormully & Jeffery Company.*—Mr. JEFFERY, a bicycle manufacturer, says that the Gormully & Jeffery Company made the first bicycles west of Connecticut. It has been in business about 21 years. The men employed have always been treated well, and there had been no difficulty until the fall of 1895. The witness at that time found that prices of bicycles were falling and cost of selling increasing, so that cheaper manufacture was desirable. He found that the polishers in his shop belonged to a strong union, and that they were trying to get unfairly high prices for work. Whenever a new kind of work was undertaken they would at first take a great deal of time to make each piece and pretend that it was very difficult, in order to get a high price by the piece. The witness had some hubs polished by workmen in another department and found that the cost was about one-third of the price charged by the metal polishers. He accordingly transferred the polishing largely to this other department and had some of the screws and nuts polished by women who were working in still another department. The union men in the polishing department thereupon struck. They injured some of the property in the shop before leaving, and thereafter tried to keep men from coming to the factory and taking work. The strikers would come around at noon and evening and try to induce the men to join the union or to leave the factory, and intimidated them to a considerable degree.

On account of this difficulty with the polishers, the Rambler bicycle, manufactured by the Gormully & Jeffery Company, was boycotted widely by union labor. Mr. Jeffery declares that he received letters from agents in most of the leading towns throughout the entire country referring to this boycott. The Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers' Union published cards and circulars by the thousand. The most common form of these contains the words on one side: "Don't buy these bicycles, the Victor, Victoria, Rambler, Ideal, and Crescent. They are polished by scabs." The witness submitted a number of such circulars or stickers, varying somewhat in style and wording, which he had received from different towns. One label with the words, "Rambler bicycle is made by scab labor," was distributed in very large numbers in Detroit near the store of the Gormully & Jeffery Company. Another circular, which was distributed widely in Marlboro, Mass., is addressed to organized labor and the public generally, and declares that the metal polishers' union has placed a boycott on the Rambler and certain other wheels because of discriminations against organized labor. This circular is indorsed by the American Federation of Labor. In connection with it were furnished stickers containing the picture of a rider falling from a broken wheel, with the words: "He rides a Rambler bicycle. You see where it breaks." The witness also submitted a letter from the New England depot of the Gormully & Jeffery Company referring to the effect of the boycott in Marlboro, and saying that the labor unions have claimed in their meetings that the difficulty with the union men was caused by a 40 per cent cut in wages.

Mr. Jeffery declares further that stickers similar to that just described were even stuck on the windows of the company's store in Chicago, and that they were distributed generally throughout the country. The witness also submitted a printed circular which was mailed to every bicycle club by the metal polishers' union. This circular states that the Gormully & Jeffery Company has refused to employ union labor, and that Mr. Jeffery has declared that nonunion men were wanted because they were more pliable to the will of the firm. The circular adds: "In laying this letter before you we ask you to consider that the Rambler is supposed to be a high-grade wheel, and now the nickel work on the Rambler is inferior to any low-grade wheel on the market. It is being done by cheap, unskilled labor. * * * We now ask you, as no doubt the product of this firm is sold in your city, to wait upon the dealers and try to get them to refuse to handle the goods of this firm." This circular is marked, "Indorsed by the American Federation of Labor." A somewhat similar letter was sent to all the bicycle agents with whom the Gormully & Jeffery Company did business. This latter circular refers also to the Crescent bicycle.

The witness also submitted a package of pamphlets which were mailed to the Reliance Wheelmen at Oakland, Cal. These pamphlets contain similar statements regarding the inferior quality of the Rambler bicycle and regarding the cause of the dispute at the works. It adds that sales of the Rambler have fallen off more than one-half during the year 1896 on account of the boycott, and that

the firm has "entered the United States court, whining like whipped curs, and praying for an injunction to stop the International Union of Metal Polishers from further boycotting their scab wheel," and that an injunction was refused.

Mr. Jeffery says, further, that the agents of the Gormully & Jeffery Company have frequently been waited upon by committees from local unions and told not to sell Rambler bicycles on pain of forfeiting the custom of the unions and their friends. The witness submitted a number of union newspapers, naming the Gormully & Jeffery Company among other firms which are boycotted and should not be patronized by union labor. In connection with one of these clippings a letter was presented, stating that at Erie, Pa., as the result of the action of the unions regarding the boycott, it was almost impossible to get satisfactory representation for the Rambler bicycle.

The president of the International Union of Metal Polishers has admitted to the witness that the boycott was instigated by the members of that organization, and that they were responsible for the distribution of these various cards and stickers. The president stated that he himself had nothing to do with it, and was powerless to prevent it, although he proposed to stop the boycott if a certain agreement should be made by the company.

The effect of this boycott, Mr. Jeffery says, was to cause the Gormully & Jeffery Company to lose a number of valuable agencies. The company was also forced to reduce the price of its bicycles by \$10; but as a matter of fact this did not ultimately injure it, since sales were largely increased by the lower price. The number of men employed, in fact, has increased rather than diminished, and by various economies in methods the percentage of profit has been maintained. The foreign sales of the company especially have increased. The quality of the wheel has not been lowered.

"There has never," continues Mr. Jeffery, "been any settlement of the difficulty at the Gormully & Jeffery works. The agreement which was proposed by the metal polishers' union required that only members of the union should be employed in the polishing, buffing, and plating room, and that there should be a steward for each craft in each department of the factory where members of the union were employed, appointed by the organization, who should see to it that all members lived up to the rules of the organization." The witness was unwilling to surrender the control of his business in this manner. The boycott continues to the present time, but it has less force than formerly. The witness has made no strong effort to suppress it, and has brought no suits for damages, believing that the less stir was made in the matter the better it would be.

The Gormully & Jeffery shop is now considered a nonunion one, although some union men are still employed. Some of the old men who were members of the union have gone back to work, and the witness believes that they have not lost their membership in the union. The average wages paid have not been decreased since the strike, but have been, if anything, a little higher. Members of the polishers' union had demanded that they should earn \$18 a week, and arranged that when working by the piece they should get that much and no more.

The witness says that he has employed no one under 16 years of age, and that probably at present 2 per cent of the total number of employees are boys from 16 to 18 years of age, who do not, however, do men's work. The women who were employed as polishers on certain classes of work are still doing that work, satisfactorily. The price per piece has been greatly reduced, as appliances for doing the work have improved, but the average earnings have not been reduced. The women receive about \$10 per week. The cost to the firm has been found less than half of that paid when the members of the union were doing the same work. (119-127.)

2. *Other instances.*—Mr. CHALMERS, a manufacturer of machinery, says that during a strike in 1899 at the works of Fraser & Chalmers, the company brought 202 men to Chicago, built a restaurant and fed them. It found, however, that it could not buy food on account of the threat of the unions to withdraw their patronage from anyone who would sell to the company. (8.)

Mr. WELLS, a general contractor, states that Mr. Mandel, owner of a department store, had a building partly completed when the present strike began, and was not willing to let it be completed by nonunion men because it would affect his trade. Mr. Wells also mentions the case of the Northwestern Yeast Company, which insisted on the completion of its building by union men, alleging a similar reason, and alleging also the fear that all its windows would be broken if nonunion men were employed. (377.)

X. *Sympathetic strikes.* (As to demands of contractors on this subject, and the provisions in agreements after the strike, see p. XLIII.)

The articles of agreement of the Painters' District Council of Chicago provide

that sympathetic strikes when ordered by the building trades council shall not be violations of agreement. (345.)

The structural iron workers' agreement for 1900 provides that a sympathetic strike shall not be considered a violation of the agreement. (100.) The same is true of the architectural iron workers. (452.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, says that the allowance of sympathetic strikes is more unbearable to the contractors than any other demand of the labor unions. When a contractor engages to put up a building, there are two things which he must stipulate for—the cost and the time of finishing. The constant imminence of strikes makes it impossible to be certain of either of these things. On the other hand, the sympathetic strike is the strongest weapon that the unions have. From their point of view it is unreasonable to ask them to give it up. The unions are right and the contractors are right. They can not see each other's rights clearly until the fight has been continued longer and the combatants feel the injuries of it very severely. (89, 90.)

Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, states that the building trades unions have employed the sympathetic strike, calling off all the men on any building where nonunion mechanics were employed, to compel all the workmen in other trades to join their ranks. They have succeeded by this means in practically unionizing the entire city. (312, 321.)

Mr. EDWARD RYAN, business agent of the architectural iron-workers' union, says that during more than two years there have been only three small strikes by the organization, and that there have been no sympathetic strikes. (451.)

Mr. FRANK M. RYAN says that he can not see that sympathetic strikes are worse in their principles or their effects than sympathetic lockouts. The contractors in the building trades at present, he declares, are engaged in a sympathetic lockout. (281.)

I. Fines by labor unions on their members.—Mr. HAVEY, a gas fitter, refers to the fining of Mr. Konemerge by the gas-fitters' union. He says that there had been a feud between Mr. Konemerge and Mr. Long, business agent of the gas-fitters' union, and that Mr. Konemerge "licked" Mr. Long. He was fined \$1,000 by the union, an altogether excessive and unjust amount, the real basis of it being the enmity of the business agent. Mr. Konemerge succeeded in getting a job. He had at the time no money and nothing to eat in the house. He went to Mr. Long and asked a permit to go to work, promising to pay \$5 when he received his wages on Saturday night. The permit was refused unless payment was made in advance, and this in spite of the fact that the wife of Mr. Konemerge went down on her knees to Mr. Long.

Mr. Havey himself was fined heavily, during a period of several years when he had allowed his membership in the union to lapse, for failure to attend the labor parade and the meetings. He does not particularly complain, however, of the injustice of these fines. (172, 173, 174.)

Mr. LONG, business agent of the Chicago Gas-Fitters' Association, says that when Mr. Havey went into business for himself he neglected to pay his dues or take the proper withdrawal card. Mr. Long tried repeatedly to induce him to arrange the matter when the amount due was less than \$10. He refused, saying that he did not expect to work again at his trade. He failed in business and wished to work again. The union gave him a permit to work. He afterwards went to work for the gas company, which employs none but nonunion men, at \$60 a month, contrary to the union rules. (200, 201.)

Referring to the statements made by Mr. Havey with reference to Mr. Konemerge, Mr. Long says that Mr. Konemerge was fined by the union for subcontracting contrary to the union rules. The fine was at first \$1,000, but was reduced to \$100. Mr. Konemerge was given permits to work on condition of making payments from time to time upon his fine, whenever he should have employment. He repeatedly broke his promises; violated the union rules, and lied to the union representatives. He once tried to hit the business agent—that is, the witness—with a piece of gas pipe, but did not succeed. (201, 202.)

Mr. Long states that when a member of a union is out of work he can have his dues extended from meeting to meeting until he gets employment, if he only attends the meetings and looks after it. A man not in good standing, indebted to the union for dues or fines, can get a permit to work, provided he agrees to make a weekly payment whenever he works a certain number of days in the week. (201, 202.)

Mr. BUCHANAN, of the structural iron workers' union, states that in his union charges against a member have to be brought in in writing, a trial board of 12 is selected by the chairman, and due notice is given to the accused to prepare his defense. A fine is levied upon any member who brings in false charges against

Mrs. ROBB states that her husband is a first-class painter. He has twice belonged to the painters' union. He is now excluded by reason of a fine of \$100 which the union laid upon him. His offense was putting a skylight over some \$7,000 worth of fine electrical machinery while there was a strike on the job. He was waylaid in the halls of the power house by some 6 or 7 men, and beaten and kicked into insensibility. (80.)

Mr. MURPHY, vice-president of the painters' district council, declares that there has been much romance built up about a small amount of fact in the case of Mr. and Mrs. Robb. He says that he first knew Mr. Robb in 1887 or 1888. He was then inclined to be a good union man during busy times, but dropped out as soon as work became slack. Finally, about 1893, he became incorrigible as a unionist, and, to get rid of him, charges were made and he was fined \$100, with no expectation that he would pay the fine. The witness denies that the union has had any influence in keeping him out of work since that time; the truth is that it had wholly forgotten his existence. The witness has recently inquired of a paint shop in Maplewood, near where Mr. Robb lives, and has been informed that the union has never interfered with Mr. Robb's getting work there. The employer added that Mr. Robb never "got cross-eyed" trying to get work.

Mr. Murphy says further that he made numerous inquiries among the neighbors of the Robbs in Maplewood, but could find none who would say a good word for either Mr. Robb or his wife. It is reported by the neighbors that he makes it a practice to work long enough to scrape together a few dollars, and then that he quits and with his wife goes to the races, both being inveterate bettors. If it be a fact that Mr. Robb has not earned more than \$7 since last October, this is not an uncommon state of affairs even for men of good standing in the union. (454.)

Mr. RYAN, a manufacturer of machinery, objects to the practice of fining union members for disregarding some rule, often by direction of the employer. Many men would join unions were it not for the heavy initiation fees, which they can not afford to pay. (292.)

Mr. WILSON says that while at first it is difficult to make the members of the union abide by its rules, when they have once been fined or otherwise disciplined they learn what the rules are, as they often have not before, and become loyal to them. The International Association of Machinists seldom permanently expels a member, but will "forgive seven times seven." (495.)

M. Fines by labor unions and employers' organizations on employers.—Mr. PRICE, a general contractor, states that employers have been compelled to pay any fine laid upon them by the labor unions or go out of business. Mr. Price has been fined by the master masons' association, to which he belongs, for violation of a rule as to the purchase of material. He thinks that the levy of the fine by an organization of which a man is a member, and whose rules he has promised to obey, is a very different thing from the levy of a fine by an organization which he does not belong to and which should have no control over him. (363, 364.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, says that it is impossible to maintain organization without discipline, such as that enforced by fines in associations of workmen and of employers. The exclusive agreements of service and employment between such organizations, and the combinations of contractors with material men, are also measures of protection which workmen and employers alike feel compelled to resort to. Mr. Nicholson states that the employers' organization fined a building firm \$500 recently. His own firm was fined last season, but the fine was remitted when the firm acknowledged that it was in the wrong. He believes the same course was followed in the other case mentioned. (91.)

Mr. STRUBLE, a cut-stone contractor, states that the journeymen stonecutters have an unwritten law under which when a fine is forced out of a contractor for any alleged offense one-half of it is paid to the man who makes the charge. (357.)

Mr. BLISS, a painting contractor, states that a fine was placed on him in consequence of his failing to appear to answer charges before the painters' council. They misdirected the letter notifying him, and he did not get it until the day after the trial was set; but they said he knew of the notification, having heard of it from the men. (250.)

Mr. STRUBLE states the following facts:

The firm of John Olsen & Co., cut-stone contractors, had a stone-planing machine and 2 hand stonecutters at the bench, as required by the agreement between the contractors and the union. The union fined the firm \$300 on the ground that 1 of the 2 stonecutters was an exempt member of the union; that is, one who was no longer able to do a regular day's work, and so was permitted to work for less than the union wage. After a strike the firm was compelled to pay the fine.

When the corner stone of the new post-office in Chicago was to be laid, an order of the building trades council informed the committee in charge that \$5,000 would

have to be paid to the council or the stone which had been cut for the corner stone could not be laid. Mr. Sullivan, who is said to have made this proposition, afterwards denied it; but Mr. Struble thinks that the evidence shows that it was made, and made with the sanction of the building trades council. The block of granite which was objected to was not in fact laid. A common limestone was substituted. (\$57,360.) (See also as to this transaction, p. LVI.)

Mr. SULLIVAN, chairman of the stonecutters' union, asserts that Mr. Olsen was proved guilty of running a small planing machine while employing only 1 man at the bench instead of 2, as provided by the agreement of the contractors with the stonecutters. (449.)

Mr. BONNER, a floor-tile contractor, tells of an instance in which a tile setter's helper, the tile setter having left the work for a few moments, soaked off the paper from the tiles, and having accidentally displaced a few tiles in removing the paper proceeded to replace them in the cement. The walking delegate happened to come to the door and see him. He fined the employer \$50 for having a helper set the mosaic, though the employer was nowhere near the place and knew nothing of the incident. The mantel and tile dealers' association threatened to lock out all its men if the fine was insisted on. In another case the Interior Wood Working Company employed a man probably 60 years old, concerning whom a special rule had been passed by the union to permit him to work at reduced pay. He was working for \$2.50. When he had been at work several weeks, the union demanded \$3.50 a day for him, which is the regular rate for men over 50 years old. The Interior Wood Working Company was fined \$100, and the employers' organization locked out the workmen for 6 weeks before a settlement was reached. (384.)

N. Miscellaneous rules and practices.—1. *Sharpening tools on employers' time.*—The rules of the carpenters' union forbid the repairing, filing, or grinding of tools on a member's own time while employed by a contractor or a builder, under penalty of not less than \$10 fine. (398.)

Mr. CLARK, a contractor, referring to this rule, says that carpenters usually come to a new job with their tools dull, and in that case can spend hours of time, under the rule, in sharpening tools, and be paid for it at the rate of 42½ cents an hour. (400.)

Mr. WOODBURY, president of the carpenters' district council, states that a carpenter is expected to take his kit upon a new job in good condition. During the progress of the job, however, it has always been the custom of the trade that tools should be sharpened and kept in condition on the employer's time. (456.)

2. *Foremen.*—The demand of the contractors' ultimatum of April 30, 1900, that foremen should be the agents of employers, and not subject to the rules of labor organizations, was incorporated in the agreements of the carpenters and bricklayers, and in other agreements made after the building trades' strike. (526, 529.)

3. *Stewards; choice and duties.*—The rules of the carpenters' union provide that the first journeyman carpenter going to work on a job shall be steward, and if two or more carpenters start to work at the same time they shall elect a steward. The steward is to inquire of all carpenters employed how they stand with their respective unions, to keep a list of the names and addresses of all members working on the job, their unions, and the numbers of the working cards, and to report to the district council headquarters, within one week after work has begun, the location of the job, the names of the contractor, owner, and architect, and the general conditions. He has power to examine the money received by members, to learn whether they are receiving the full rate of pay. (398, 399.)

Mr. CLARK, a contractor, declares that the rule as to the position of the steward would break up any man in business if adhered to. (1496.)

The ultimatum of the contractors' council of April 30, 1900, provided that there should be no interference with workmen during their working hours, but that wherever a certain number of union men were working together on a job they might select among themselves a steward to represent them in their dealings with employers, and that he must perform his duties so as not to interfere with his service to the employer. This provision was incorporated in the agreements made after the strike with the bricklayers, the carpenters, and various other organizations. (MILLER, 526; TAYLOR, 529.)

4. *Stealing time; carpenters.*—Mr. WOODBURY, president of the carpenters' district council, refers to the practice of some foremen and timekeepers of stealing 5 or 5 minutes at noon and at night, and perhaps 2 or 3 in the morning. The union has a rule that a foreman or timekeeper who does this shall be fined \$10. Such a fine has never been levied, though doubtless it should have been levied many times. The witness implies that it is partly to check this practice that the union requires working foremen who themselves use tools to be members of the union. (458.)

5. *Overtime forbidden.*—Mr. GRIFFITHS, a general contractor, states that on one building he had some runs for wheelbarrows running up from the sidewalk through the windows. They had to be removed at night and replaced in the morning. It took about 5 minutes for each operation. Though he was willing to pay overtime to the necessary number of men for doing this work before and after working hours, the building trades council would not permit this to be done, and all the men employed there were idle while the runs were being taken up at night and replaced in the morning. (335.)

6. *Saturday afternoon work.*—Mr. BLISS, a contracting plasterer, states that in order to get a permit to work plasterers on Saturday afternoon at \$1 an hour it is necessary to make a special application to the walking delegate. This is a thing which he will not do. (330.)

Mr. WOODBURY, president of the carpenters' district council, admits that the union is perhaps wrong in forbidding foremen to stay on their jobs on Saturday afternoons. (457.)

7. *Useless expense demanded by unions.*—Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, states that he was compelled by the building trades council to finish the iron beams in the Western Electrical building just as if he were finishing the cornice in an elegant residence, at an expense of 15 cents a foot, while the expenditure of 2 cents a foot was all that was necessary. The steam fitters insist on putting in certain additional piping which is considered by the contractors absolutely unnecessary and superfluous. (321.)

Mr. BEHEL, a contractor, refers to the extra pipe, unnecessary in the opinion of experts, which the steam fitters compel the use of, and also states that the plasterers insist upon the use of three coats of plaster where the specifications call for two. (395.)

Mr. SMITH cites the case of a master plumber, whose men were called out on strike because he refused to do certain unnecessary work, in putting in a revent, which the city ordinance specifically provides need not be put in in cases like the one in question. (400.)

8. *Payment of dues of union members.*—Mr. PRICE, a general contractor, states that the delegate of the bricklayers' union came upon a job one day and demanded of three or four of Mr. Price's bricklayers that they sign an order on Mr. Price to pay "a certain amount of dues to the representative of the building trades council." The masons claimed not to be in arrears, and refused. The business agent then demanded of Mr. Price that he discharge them. He refused, and the bricklayers and laborers on the job immediately quit work. Rather than cause trouble the masons signed the orders demanded. They were afterwards fined by the bricklayers' union from \$3 to \$10 apiece. (361.)

Mr. STILES, a master painter, states that he was threatened with a strike for refusing to pay the balance of dues which was alleged to be owed to the union by his son, who had recently joined it and who had then enlisted in the army and left the city. His son was of age, and Mr. Stiles was in no way liable for his dues; but he was compelled to make the payment, and was even refused an opportunity to communicate with his son about the matter before paying. (341.)

9. *Strike funds.*—Mr. WILSON, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists, says that he does not consider it a good policy for a relatively new and inexperienced labor organization to maintain a large strike fund. If it does, men crowding into the union are apt to take advantage of the fund whether there is any chance of winning the strike or not. The International Association of Machinists has found that during strikes it is often forced to support many dissolute men who are not really machinists. On the other hand, where a union is thoroughly educated, as in the case of the cigar makers, it is desirable to maintain a large strike fund. (497.)

10. *Dues of unions.*—Mr. WILSON, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists, believes that high dues and large benefits are very desirable in a union; that they make the organization strong and keep it from unnecessary strikes. (498.)

VI. PICKETING AND ACTS OF VIOLENCE.

(See also *Political bearings of labor difficulties*, p. CL.)

A. *Picketing.*—Mr. RYAN, a manufacturer of machinery, declares himself a believer in labor unions provided they employ proper methods, but says they have sometimes used methods both ridiculous and distasteful to the employers. The practices of picketing and of slugging are especially to be reprehended.

Mr. Ryan states, however, that in connection with the recent strike at the works of the Morgan-Gardner Electrical Company, the machinists' union did not

resort to lawless methods. The shop was picketed, but the pickets were orderly. The police were sent to protect the company, but they had nothing to do. (292.)

Mr. REID, of the machinists' association, says that the picket is a body of men appointed by the employees of a shop to meet the men who intend to take their places, and, by moral suasion and by demonstrating to them the foolishness of their attitude, to educate them so that instead of working for a man who is antagonistic to labor they will join the union and help fight against him. (191, 192.)

Mr. WALSER, of the Goss Printing Press Company, says that he has no doubt that the company would have secured a large number of new men since the strike except for the picket around his works. The pickets, most of whom are former employees of the company, will not let a man pass up or down the sidewalk or enter the building without speaking with him and telling him that he had better not go there to work. If they can, they take a man who wants to enter the shop to their lodge and make a union man of him. (371, 374.)

Mr. ROUNTREE says that the Turner Brass Works have been picketed, and that the pickets have been kept there even after the works were closed and after attempts to get workmen ceased. (32.)

Mr. MILLER, a manufacturer of sheet-metal work, considers picketing unlawful, not according to city ordinance, but according to common law. It is true that Judge Wines, in the Chalmers case, refused to issue an injunction against picketing, saying that he considered picketing, so long as it amounted only to watching and talking, to be within the rights of men. The judge added, however, that if workmen attempted to use persuasion in such a way as to amount to threatening, it became unlawful. He also limited the number of pickets who should be allowed to ten. This was a decision by a lower court in Illinois, and has not been passed upon by the supreme court. (352.)

Mr. CHALMERS, a machinery manufacturer, refers to the fact that a judge of a lower court in Chicago held, during 1899, that boycotting and picketing were legal if kept within proper bounds. The judge declared that the capital of unions was the boycott and the picket, and that they have a perfect right to picket the premises of employers, the only question being how many pickets may be employed. The limit he fixed at six. (8.)

Mr. DARROW, a lawyer who has acted on the side of the workingmen in various suits concerning labor difficulties, refers to this decision as to picketing. He says that during a strike at Fraser & Chalmers's works pickets were placed by the strikers to meet men who were seeking employment. Mr. Chalmers got Judge Haney to issue an injunction to prohibit not only violence, but the establishment of pickets. This injunction was issued without any opportunity for the workingmen to present their side of the case. Mr. Darrow brought the case before Judge Wines, of the appellate court, and he modified the injunction, leaving it active to restrain the men from violence, but permitting them to stand upon the street to meet those who wished to work, using persuasion, but not force. As showing the unfounded nature of the complaints against the strikers in this case, Mr. Darrow says that Mr. Chalmers secured indictments against a large number of men for assault and battery and conspiracy, but that, after the strike was settled, he failed and refused to prosecute a single one of the cases. (67.)

Mr. BISNO, formerly business agent of the cloak makers' union, thinks that the picket is essential to the successful conduct of a strike. Employers have often imported men from other States without telling them that a strike was going on. Some of these men can readily be persuaded by the union that it is not right for them to cut the throats of the strikers. If a striker can approach a man and tell him how he has been treated by his employers and what are the grounds for the strike, there are ten chances to one that he can persuade the newcomer not to take his job. The witness thinks that a striker has a moral claim upon his position with his former employer. The picket is carried on in the hope that the boss will be prevented from getting employees, so that he will be forced to reemploy the strikers on the terms demanded. The witness admits that picketing is an act of war, but declares that reduction of wages by the employer may also constitute an act of war.

Mr. Bisno also describes the methods of persuasion used by the pickets. Men seeking work are told the history of the trade and of the strike, and are shown that if the organization fails or is broken up great evils will result to the trade. The union usually offers to provide support for men who are seeking employment and who agree not to take the place of strikers, or to furnish them with tickets back to their homes. If, in the face of these inducements, applicants for work persist in trying to take the place of the strikers, the next step will depend somewhat upon the character of the strikers. In one case the trade union with which the witness was formerly connected stirred up the fellow church members of a scab

against him. In other cases men are called "scab" on the streets, and there are a hundred other influences which can be brought to bear to drive such men out of the community. The witness says that his own children would get the impression from the talk at home that the children of the scab are bad, although he would not particularly instruct them to take that attitude.

In some cases half a dozen or more men may surround a nonunion man on the street and call out "scab" to him. The witness does not know whether he would call this persuasion; it is rather coercion. He admits that such an act as this may be contrary to law, and he thinks that under certain conditions it is right for a person to violate the law. He would be willing to submit to punishment for such an offense as this. The limit to which union men may rightfully go in such persuasion or coercion will depend largely upon the grievances which they have against their employers and upon the attitude of public opinion as to the strike. All trade unions deem it against their interests to resort to actual violence. (55-58.)

B. Violence in the machinists' strike.—Mr. CHALMERS says that recently a party of 7 workmen, who were being conducted from the Link Belt Machinery Company by the general manager, the superintendent, and 2 policemen, were attacked by 150 striking machinists, and the superintendent and manager were badly injured. A shot was fired by the superintendent, and he was arrested for attempting to kill an innocent man, which the witness considers a great injustice. At the Gates Iron Works an old man, who was a watcher, was nearly pounded to death. At Fraser & Chalmers's shop a mob of 200 men attacked the employees and men who were guarding the property and "pounded, jumped on, and kicked them." The police furnish no protection, and the lower courts all side with the strikers. (7.)

Mr. BARTON says that there has been one case in connection with the strike of the machinists at the Western Electric Works in which a man was injured by the pickets of the union. There have also been some cases of intimidation near the men's houses. The police department has done all that could reasonably be asked in protecting the works. (297.)

Mr. WALSER, of the Goss Printing Press Company, says that for some time after his men struck nonunion men were brought to the shop daily under the protection of special police officers. One evening quite a riot occurred in which 3 of the nonunion men were hurt badly, and the company concluded to close down its factory. Strikers have told the witness that they would be glad to go back to work, but that they dare not do so. (371, 372, 374.)

Mr. REID declares that it has not been proved that members of the machinists' union have been implicated in any acts of violence. The organization as such denounces violence, and the witness and its other officers have impressed on the men the necessity of refraining from it. The witness knows of no conflicts between members of the organization and nonunion men. The riot at the works of the Link Belt Company was investigated by the courts, and it was proved that it was precipitated by a representative of the company, and that the pickets of the machinists' union actually saved a superintendent of the company from being treated with violence. There has not been a single prosecution against a member of the organization during the strike. On the other hand, the organization has sworn out warrants for the arrest of special policemen who have acted arrogantly and who have committed assault and battery. (182, 183, 186.)

Mr. ROUNTREE, a manufacturer of brass, says that the union men in his own shop practically compelled, as it seemed to him, a large number of nonunion men to strike. Such control of the union men over the nonunion men rests finally on coercion and terrorism. The term "scab" itself has more terror for the average workman than any other word or thing. The workman's children at school are taunted by their playmates with being children of "scabs." His wife is prevented from enjoying her social and church relations on the same ground. The witness thinks that the use of this word in the way it is used should be considered criminal conspiracy, but it is practically impossible to enforce the law satisfactorily. Sometimes, also, men are threatened. In a dozen cases employees of the witness have told him that they have been threatened with having their heads smashed. In the Turner Brass Works the more independent men, those with the greatest skill and experience, do not become members of the union. (82, 85.)

Mr. WILSON, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists, declares that all forms of violence in strikes are injurious to the cause of trade unions. But he has never known trade unionists, as such, to have anything to do with the destruction of property. It is usually their sympathizers, or sometimes persons hired by the employers in order to get the strikers into trouble. The witness thinks that these statements apply to the St. Louis street railway strike. It

is impossible for a labor organization to do anything effectively to prevent such acts by nonmembers. (492, 498.)

C. Violence in building trades disputes—1. *Charges of violence toward nonunion men.*—Mr. LEVIN, a detective, states that he was employed by the contractors' association to obtain evidence of infractions of law by the building trades unions. The unions are committing assaults, but it is very hard to obtain evidence against them. The witness himself has seen union men slugging nonunion men. It would be possible to arrest those who do the "slugging," but they are not the ones who are wanted. The consultations are held and the plans made behind closed doors. The witness's men have got into the union halls and have learned by hearsay something of the methods by which the slugging is arranged, but have not been able to get legal evidence against the leaders. (259, 261.)

Mr. HAVEY, a nonunion gas fitter, says he considers that nonunion workmen are in physical danger in Chicago at the present time. The chances are that he himself will be "slugged" on account of his attitude and his testimony before the Industrial Commission. The violence is usually started by union men; nonunion men have no object in picking a fight. The witness does not have personal knowledge of any case of slugging. Mr. Havey says that the violent acts of the union men are not to be wondered at in view of their belief concerning the rightness of their cause and the wrong which "scabs" do to them. They believe that nonunion men are trying to kill the labor cause. They will accordingly use any means in their power, even going as far as killing men, to secure what they consider their rights. Mr. Havey thinks that the police of Chicago have been doing the best they can to protect nonunionists, although they may be influenced somewhat by their beliefs in favor of the union men. (175, 176.)

Mr. MILLER, a manufacturer of sheet metal work, says he thinks that there is plenty of evidence to show that it is all a man's life is worth to incur the hostility of the building trades unions. The contractors' association has secured convictions of union men for "slugging" and beating nonunion men, and other cases have been reported in which the association thought it could not secure conviction. The association has not tried to bring suits for conspiracy. (347, 348.)

Mr. BONNER, a floor tile contractor, says that there is only one thing which ever carries strikes through successfully—that is, intimidation and physical force. The building trades council of Chicago is no better than the Molly Maguires of Pennsylvania. It can only enforce its rules by intimidation and force, both as to the contractors and the employees. He mentions an instance in which an employer, who was himself doing some work during a strike, was set upon by 2 men and so wounded with a piece of pipe that he had to go to the hospital. Mr. Bonner declares that a squad was organized to go out on bicycles to "slug" and disappear quickly. He does not wish to assert that men are actually sent out to do such things, but the men do it, thinking that they have a right to do it. They have an idea that no one is a laboring man but one who works with his hands on certain conditions, and that the laboring man has a right to use a club or a piece of gas pipe on anybody who does things which do not meet his ideas. (384, 385, 388.)

Mr. STILES, a master builder and decorator, says that in 1897 an employing painter, who was working nonunion men, was attacked in broad daylight in front of his place of business, struck over the head with a piece of gas pipe, and instantly killed. In the same year a body of nonunion men employed by Mr. Stiles were set upon in a room, apparently where they were at work, and three of them were seriously injured. One had a broken rib; another a broken collar bone. Mr. Stiles's implication is that both these attacks were the work of union men, but he does not clearly state that he knows who the guilty persons were. (340.)

Mr. DAVIS, a mosaic decoration contractor, states that a constable came to his office with a warrant for assault with a deadly weapon. Mr. Davis had no knowledge of the complainant and had assaulted no one. He went with the constable. When he had gone about a block and a half the constable held him while 2 men assaulted him and choked him. He got away by slipping out of his overcoat. He afterwards appeared at the justice's office, but no one appeared against him pursuant to the complaint. Mr. Davis's foreman was attacked by the walking delegate of the painters' union. The man was arrested, but denied everything on the stand and went free. Another of Mr. Davis's workmen was held at bay by 2 men with guns while a third pummeled him. Still another was assaulted by 2 men while on his way home from work. Mr. Davis also submits a threatening letter which his men received. (421.)

Mr. CLARK, a contractor, states that in the fall of 1894, while a strike was on at the building which he was putting up, his foreman was assaulted by a man hired by the carpenters' council, and nearly deprived of his life. (400.)

Mr. ELISS, a painting contractor, states that during a strike upon his work the

they were liable to be "slugged" and crippled; and the threats drove off the most of the men. Mr. Bliss himself was at work with 1 boy, when 3 men came into the building, hit Mr. Bliss on the head with a coupling link, and threw a link at the boy, hitting him on the hand and disabling him. The assailants were not known to Mr. Bliss, but 1 of them had been sitting the most of the previous day with the union picket on the job, a man who had previously worked for Mr. Bliss. Mr. Bliss got out a warrant for this picket, but the justice before whom the case was brought practically said that the evidence was not sufficient to hold him on, and Mr. Bliss's attorney said that it would be of no use to proceed. (250-251.)

Mr. GEORGE F. HARDING, sr., states that though he has no objection to labor unions he employs chiefly nonunion men. His men have been assaulted and his buildings have been picketed. A man employed by him was knocked down and sent to the hospital, within a month before his testimony, while peacefully at work. (160, 162, 465.)

Mr. BEHEL declares that Mr. Gubbins called for volunteers to do "slugging," and that 16 members of the bricklayers' union offered their services, were designated as the slugging committee, and promptly began their duties the following day by making several assaults upon innocent men. One member of this committee was arrested and tried. Seven witnesses testified that the prisoner was with them at Bricklayers' Hall at the time of the assault. The prisoner, when given an opportunity to testify, confessed his guilt, whereupon 1 of the witnesses for the defense said that they were all a damned pack of liars. The magistrate fined the prisoner \$10 and costs and discharged the perjurers with a reprimand.

The contractors' council is obliged to hire about 100 special policemen to protect some 3,300 men who are peaceably working for its members. This great expense is needed in addition to the service rendered by the police department. Notwithstanding all precautions, workmen have been assaulted in several instances, and two have been so seriously beaten that they have died. The contractors have to carry their men to work in buses, for which they have to pay as high as \$5 an hour on account of the danger to the buses and the drivers. The wrecking crews of the unions have in many instances entered buildings in course of erection and destroyed the material which had been put in place by Industrial Union men. Mr. Behel gives a list of a considerable number of assaults upon nonunion men, followed in some cases by the arrest of the assailant and the imposition of a fine of \$10 or \$15. (393-397.)

Mr. WELLS, a general contractor, states that a crowd of three or four hundred men gathers at quitting time about the Butler Building, which his firm is erecting, to hoot the men going from their work. The contractors' council have to keep special policemen inside the building to protect it, while the city sends a force of detectives and policemen every night to surround the workmen and escort them from the building. (378, 383.)

2. *Denial of disposition toward violence.*—Mr. MADDEN, president of the Western Stone Company, does not think that there is any feeling of rebellion against law and order, or any disposition to strike at property, among the Chicago workmen. Chicago has men of every nationality, but the foreign-born people and their children believe in law and order, and there is a no more law-abiding community on earth. (112.)

Mr. CARROLL, president of the building trades council, states that the unions discourage violence, and would be willing to protect property that might be endangered in time of trouble. He does not know of any cases in which union men have beaten nonunion men who were working, though he has read of such cases. The unions do not indorse such actions. There is, however, no provision in the constitution of the building trades council or in the constitutions of the unions against attempting by force to prevent a nonunion man from working, and Mr. Carroll does not know of any instance in which a member of a union has been suspended or fined or disciplined for beating or interfering with nonunion men. (269, 275.)

Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, states that neither his union nor any other affiliated with the building trades council countenances any violence of any kind. The witness was one of a committee that went to the mayor and told him that it was the desire of the unions that any man who broke the law should be arrested, and that the unions would give their assistance in apprehending any of their members who should be guilty of violence. His union condemns the use of force to prevent nonunion men from working. This is the general sentiment of the members of labor unions that he is familiar with. (238, 239.)

Mr. REGAN, of the lathers' union, declares that disorganization rather than organization breeds crime, because without organization the workmen can not get wages that they can live on. He has seen his fellow unionists reduced to the most desperate straits, week after week, and has never heard any talk about crime from them. (208.)

Mr. BAGLEY, a wholesale marble dealer, commends the members of the marble cutters' union for their relative abstinence from violence during their long strike. He believes there have been only 3 cases of assault, and 3 or 4 cases of destruction of property. (390.)

Mr. BUCHANAN, business agent of the structural ironworkers' union, has never witnessed any unlawful acts during the 7 years he has been in Chicago. He believes that the contractors are disposed to put down the unions by unlawful means, by the help of armed men, and that they would kill every labor leader in the country if they could have the police and the law all on their side. (472.)

Professor TAYLOR testifies that before a meeting of the trade unions of Chicago in June, 1900, he made an address in which he strongly condemned the action of union members in the building trades in resorting to violence against nonunion labor. He declared that the use of violence was suicidal to the best interests of union labor, by alienating the general public and nonunionists. He asserts that this sentiment met with general approval from the audience, and that he has never failed to find among the rank and file of the workmen an instinct against the use of violence and in favor of keeping within the law. On the whole, the witness feels that there has been surprisingly little violence under the circumstances in Chicago. There were brawls and personal assaults, but nothing in the nature of a riot, and if the police had been more prompt there might have been still less violence. When it is remembered that 50,000 men were without means of support for several months, that they belonged to many different nationalities, and were excited as to their most vital interests, the amount of violence appears very small. (535, 540.)

3. *Violence instigated by employers.*—Mr. GUBBINS declares that the bosses of the masons' association told him that they would stand one-half of the expense of clearing out any job in Chicago on which there was a nonunion man or contractor working. Mr. Le Vin, the head of a detective agency in the employment of the contractors' association, has told Mr. Gubbins that certain men at the head of the lockout wanted Mr. Le Vin to break Mr. Gubbins's neck; and Mr. Gubbins is carrying a revolver for self-defense. Mr. Le Vin also made remarks to Mr. Gubbins which the latter understood to convey the suggestion of attacking a certain bus load of nonunion men. (223, 232.)

Mr. LE VIN refers with approval to the statement of Mr. Gubbins that he carries a revolver for self-defense. It is necessary for Mr. Gubbins to protect himself, as certain members of the contractors' association tried to induce the witness, during his employment by the association, to have his men "slug" Mr. Gubbins, and if possible to put him in the hospital for 6 or 7 weeks. Mr. Le Vin prefers not to give the names of the men who made this proposal, because it would weaken his testimony if he should have to appear before the criminal court. The men are in authority in the contractors' organization. Besides Mr. Gubbins, the contractors desire to have Mr. McGinniss and Mr. Murray beaten. "It seems that Murray had a fellow named Jennings beaten up out on Erie street, and * * * the gentleman * * * said they wanted to get back at Murray for the Jennings assault." Mr. Le Vin is prepared to produce witnesses to this proposal. In his absence his superintendent was instructed by the contractors, in case he could not get into a fight with the pickets and the strikers when he was on guard at the Ogdenburg docks, to get the men and go out and look for it. Mr. Le Vin withdrew from the employment of the contractors' association, because he does not think that a private detective agency is the place to get a slugging committee from. The contractors referred to undoubtedly entered into a criminal conspiracy. The witness has not complained before the grand jury nor before the district attorney. He believes that the contractors have already succeeded in hiring men to slug Mr. Gubbins and others.

The witness was never asked to slug nonunion men and have the suspicion cast on union men.

Mr. Le Vin states that Mr. Gubbins is mistaken in understanding Mr. Le Vin's remarks to him as a suggestion of the possibility and the desirability of an attack upon a bus load of nonunion men. The conversation took place at the house of Mr. Le Vin's father, and Mr. Le Vin was speaking for his father's information rather than for Mr. Gubbins's. Mr. Le Vin told his father that he was withdrawing from the employment of the contractors' association, as his father had desired him to do; that he had only two men still employed, and that he meant to withdraw them as soon as he could reach them the following morning. He

did not say that the bus would be defended only by these two men. The fact is that as fast as his men were withdrawn a larger number were substituted by the contractors, and he believes that the bus in question was defended by at least 10 and perhaps by 15 or 20. The witness had no intention of suggesting to Mr. Gubbins that there would be a favorable opportunity for assault, and in fact he believes there was no such opportunity. If the bus had been attacked after the witness's conversation with Mr. Gubbins, someone would have been killed, and he would have considered himself responsible for the murder. (257-262.)

Mr. BEHEL, referring to Mr. LeVin's testimony, declares Mr. LeVin was not employed by the contractors' council for "slugging" service, but only for watch service, and that the council dispensed with his services after 3 weeks, as they were not of a character which it desired. Mr. Behel defies any labor advocate to prove that the nonunion men now employed by the contractors have ever committed an assault upon any citizen engaged in working for a living. (303, 304.)

Mr. LONG, business agent of the gas fitters' association, states that a man named McCarthy told him that he had been approached by two men who wanted to arrange for "slugging" and for the stirring up of riots, in order that the blame might be laid on organized labor and that the city might be put under martial law. Mr. Long also states that he has been told on different occasions that he was to be beaten by the contractors. (206, 207.)

Mr. BONNER, a floor-tile contractor, says that he defies any man of the building trades council to show that any builder, or any contractor, or any man employed by builders or contractors, ever attempted to interfere with the union men, or do any bodily injury to them unless he was attacked and did it in self-defense. He never heard of an agreement made by the contractors' council to secure the beating of the members of the unions, and he never heard of a union man being "slugged." (388.)

Mr. GRIFFITHS, a general contractor, states that he has no acquaintance with Mr. LeVin. He defies any man to show him the union man that has been disturbed, interrupted, or insulted in any way by any one connected with the building contractors' council. (339.)

4. *Intimidation of nonunion men.* (See also *Nonunion men*, p. LXVIII.)

Mr. BARTON submitted a copy of a letter sent by a Chicago lodge of the machinists' union to a man who had refused to join the strike, but who had been a member of the union at Grand Rapids, Mich. This letter contains the words: "I want you to understand that Grand Rapids Lodge will be informed that Unity Lodge, and every one of the 5,000 union men in the city, consider you a scab of the thirty-second degree. Your name will also be published in the journal, and when the union wins this fight they will teach you and your kind a lesson." This same man was afterwards assaulted by one of the union pickets. (297.)

Mr. OFFIELD, a patent lawyer, refers to the fact that members of trade unions unlawfully enter upon private property and practically coerce employees and manufacturers into acting according to their dictation. He declares, further, that the police do not adequately protect the property of manufacturers, and that the State authorities generally seem indisposed to take effective measures. (84.)

Mr. BLISS, a plastering contractor, believes that the use of the term "scab" has a great terror for nonunion men. "That and the slung shot, I think, are very effective." (334.)

5. *Destruction of property by unions.*—Mr. DAVIS, a mosaic decoration contractor, mentions a case in which a mosaic floor which he had just laid was torn up during the night, and five representatives of the mosaic workers' union were arrested with the implements in their hands which had done the destruction. (420.)

Mr. BONNER declares that he knows of his own knowledge a building where a union "wrecking crew" tore out the plumbing work. Wrecking crews have gone into rooms and chopped the woodwork to pieces. (388.)

6. *Threats by nonunion men.*—Mr. CORRISTON, a union carpenter, states that a nonunion man, who had just left a street car which Mr. Corriston was on, shouted to him, "Get off that car," and put his hand in his pocket and said, "I will fill you full of lead." Mr. Corriston has never heard of any one connected with any organization that he has belonged to instructing any man to do violence. (475.)

7. *Legal remedies for interferences with business.*—Mr. WELLS does not think that suits at law would be an effective remedy for unlawful interferences with business by the unions. The contractors have not thought it worth while to give this subject serious consideration. (882.)

Mr. MILLER says that there have been no serious attempts in Chicago to get legal redress for the injuries inflicted by the trade unions. He is inclined to think that the common law is ample to grant redress if properly applied. There are obstacles in getting cases decided. Appointive judges would probably do better work in labor cases than elective judges. (352.)

VII. CHARACTER AND EFFECTS OF UNIONS GENERALLY.

A. Desirability generally discussed.—Mr. HAYES testifies that he was formerly a member of the gas fitters' union. At that time he believed the unions beneficial to the cause of labor. In 1893 Mr. Hayes established a shop of his own and forgot to take out a withdrawal card from the union. His business failed in 1898 and he supposed he could get back into the union by simply paying the dues which were in arrears. He found that he had been fined \$10 for failing to turn out on each Labor Day and also fined for failing to attend meetings. The total amount due was about \$100, and although he could have afforded to pay this sum he refused as a matter of principle. The rule by which the fine was imposed was perhaps not unjust, but the acts of the witness had been due simply to forgetfulness. The witness declares that since that time he has made a study of the labor question, and has come to the conclusion that trade unions as at present conducted are causing more tramps and sending more boys and men to the penitentiary than all other causes combined.

In view especially of their endeavors to exclude nonunion men from labor, of their rules as to apprenticeship, and of their limitations on the work a man may do, Mr. Hayes holds that the labor unions are to be considered trusts, and the parents of all trusts. Their members get together for their own interests solely, regardless of the interests of others. The witness does not mean to imply that there is any understanding or combination between the labor unions and the combinations of capital. "Trade unionism protects the strongest and does not care a continental for the weakest." (171, 175, 177.)

Mr. JONES, a nonunion machinist, declares that unionism is a mild form of anarchy. He says that he, as a nonunion man, is speaking for many others who hold the same views when he declares that trade unions as now conducted are the most selfish organizations that have ever arisen among men.

The unions when they demand recognition mean that the employer must forfeit his right to hire whom he will and discharge whom he will. They mean that the employer must hire only union men and must cooperate with them in denying to nonunion men the right to earn their daily bread. Unionism has thus created a great chasm between the employer and the employee, and it has also arrayed one group of laborers against another.

Mr. Jones admits that much good could be accomplished by labor organizations. It is simply their present methods of doing business that he opposes. Nonunion men have no objection to increased pay or shorter hours, nor do they consider it wrong to combine to secure those ends. The only evil arises from attempting to compel men to combine whether they wish or not. The witness thinks it might perhaps be desirable for those who oppose present union methods to form new unions of their own with a different policy, especially for the purpose of protecting themselves against the tyranny of the unions. (194-197.)

Mr. GEORGE F. HARDING, sr., regards labor unions as similar in character to the combinations of manufacturers, though hardly as powerful. His sympathies are with the unions, as if he had lived in France when there was a struggle between the nobles his sympathies would have been with the lesser rather than with the greater. The workmen have no means of fighting for their own position except through the unions. He feels and believes that we are coming to a union between the trusts and the labor combinations. Such a union between these two great forces would leave the public entirely powerless. If a great labor combination controlled half the labor in the market the witness would regard it as a monopoly, as he would say that a man who controlled half of the oil of the country had a monopoly. He would sympathize with the labor monopoly, but it would be a monopoly none the less. Mr. Harding thinks that the labor organizations would give no trouble if they were fairly prosperous. It is because we are settling down toward pauperism that they are getting stronger. He thinks we ought "to equalize with them," and he is glad to have the workmen use their organizations if they can keep out of poverty. (161, 162, 164, 167.)

Mr. DAVIS thinks the growth of the contractors' association, as well as the growth of the trusts in many instances, has been caused by the trusts in the labor market. (422.)

Mr. STILES, a master painter, feels that the rules of the unions are restrictive and hampering to business, and contrary to the interests of the contractors and the owners of buildings. The members of the unions are not free men. The associations of contractors do not restrict the freedom of their members in any such way as the unions of workmen do, though the witness would not think it quite honorable for him to make an agreement with the labor union independently of his fellow contractors. (342, 343.)

Mr. JEFFERY, a bicycle manufacturer, thinks that trade unions generally have proved injurious to the interests of both employers and employees, interfering with the harmonious relations which should exist between them. If the unions maintain such control of affairs as they now possess in Chicago business will decline and will go to other places. This has been the effect of the extreme actions of the unions at Toledo, Ohio, and Kenosha, Wis. Were it not for labor difficulties, the present year would be the most prosperous Chicago has ever enjoyed. The rules of the unions are oppressive not only to the employers but to their members. The witness does not think that trade unions should be crushed, but he thinks that their rules should be modified, and that they should learn something about the law of supply and demand as connected with labor. (130-134.)

Mr. BOARD, a manufacturer of machinery, declares himself decidedly opposed to organized labor. He believes that if a man who applies for a job and is offered \$2 does not want to accept \$2 it is his business to walk off. Every man having capital invested in a business ought to be able to manage it according to his own ideas and methods. He ought to be able to say what a workman is worth to him, and not to be forced to pay more than he thinks he is worth.

Mr. Board considers the average laboring mechanic as more or less an overgrown boy. "He wants a guide and a help and when he is turned loose he gets erratic." He can not be allowed to dictate to his employers.

Mr. Board declares that he is always willing to confer with his men individually, and that he never had any trouble before the recent strike caused by the machinists' union. He asserts also that the union is absolutely irresponsible and can not furnish any guaranty that any arrangements it makes will last more than a week.

Mr. Board admits that some unions tend to improve the condition of their members. Where they have benefit insurance they are doubtless useful, at least to that extent, but the witness thinks that few of the unions in Chicago provide insurance for their members. The idea that the labor union is an educational force sounds very well, but it is not carried out in actual practice. The labor union is most emphatically a trust. Its one advantage is in enabling poor workmen to get greater wages than they are worth. The rules of the unions put a premium on inefficiency. There may be good unions, just as there are bad combinations of capital. The national unions which extend throughout the country are apt to be more conservative than the local organizations, such as those at Chicago.

The great fault with the labor unions, according to Mr. Board, is that they choose unscrupulous men as leaders. If a man is a good fellow and can make a smart speech, he becomes a labor leader. The leaders are looking after their own self-advancement first, last, and always. (42, 45, 46.)

Mr. MILLER, a manufacturer of sheet iron material, declares that the building trades council never has been and never can be of any benefit to the laboring men, and in fact that the various organizations in the building trades in Chicago have been detrimental to the union and nonunion men alike.

Mr. Miller says that there are plenty of things in which organizations can be useful by conservative action. They can act as benefit societies, and can provide for the improvement of the members. On being questioned further, the witness admits also that it is laudable for men to associate for the purpose of increasing wages and lessening hours, provided they resort to no illegal methods. (349-352.)

Mr. Miller says later, in his testimony of February, 1901, that his preference is for individual dealings between employers and workmen. He admits that organization doubtless strengthens the position of employees, but he doubts whether the advance in wages during the past 30 years, at least in the Chicago building trades, has been particularly due to labor organizations. Workingmen in Chicago have secured shorter hours, perhaps, through the influence of organization, and higher wages per hour, but their work is less steady than formerly. In fact, in the building industries he does not believe that organizations are necessary, since wages are kept up by the ability of workingmen, with very little capital, to become contractors and employers. The witness declares that employers are perfectly willing to have their men organize if they respect the rights of nonunion men and the rights of employers who prefer to employ nonunion men.

Mr. Miller admits that some legislation favorable to labor has been placed on the statute books through the influence of labor organizations. This is doubtless true of the law making wages the first lien on buildings, which is perhaps a fair law. (521-524.)

Mr. DEVENS, assistant secretary of the National Metal Trades Association, while approving the regulation of the National Metal Trades Association, providing that

employers may employ nonunion men at discretion, declares himself also in favor of the organization of labor. He says it is just as important for labor to organize to protect its interests as for capital to form combinations. He believes that unions have helped reduce hours and increase wages, and that they are necessary to offset the desire of the manufacturer to make his shop as profitable as possible. Wages are seldom increased voluntarily. Moreover, arbitration arrangements are furthered by labor organization. On the other hand, Mr. Devens thinks that individual manufacturing concerns are in a better position to maintain sick and accident benefits than are national trade unions. Furthermore, individuals have their own ideas, and it is not right to insist that they shall join a union. (512.)

Mr. WALSER, a machinery manufacturer, says that unions are a good thing for the workmen and also for the manufacturer, if they keep within proper limits; but when they make rules by which a workman is allowed to do only part of a day's work for a day's pay it is a gross abuse. The workman should be responsible for himself—should make himself a good workman if he wants good wages. It should be the privilege of the employer to hire whom he will and pay what a man is worth. Unions ought not to admit into their membership men who are not proficient enough to be considered skilled mechanics. (373.)

Mr. CHALMERS, manufacturer of machinery, says that while trade unions could be made a good thing if carried on in a proper manner, all those with which he has come in contact have been bad. Trade unionism is the most gigantic trust in the world—arrogant, dictatorial, led by incompetent and selfish men. Some of these characteristics, the witness admits, are more strictly applicable to trade unionism in Chicago than elsewhere. (6, 8.)

Mr. GATES, a manufacturer of mining machinery, says that he is in favor of unions, provided they are reasonable in their demands. If, however, they undertake to limit a person to the use of one tool, to curtail production and to limit the capacity of workmen so as to reduce all to one level, they become injurious. The witness thinks that organization of labor has become necessary to facilitate dealings between employers and employees, on account of the great increase in the number of men employed in the average establishment. It is impossible now for an employer to give personal attention to the complaints of his many men, and it is natural that the men should combine to present their grievances in proper form. If the unions are properly controlled, there can be no doubt as to their advantages. The witness thinks that the time will come when all the workmen will be organized into unions on the one side and all the manufacturers into associations on the other side, and that they will settle their difficulties by joint committees. (35, 26.)

Mr. WEBSTER, a manufacturer of machinery, declares that workmen have a right to organize and to make demands collectively. Demands concerning wages, hours, and conditions of labor may justly be made. The witness says that his company has never made any distinction between union and nonunion men, and is always willing to confer with the representatives of organized men. On the other hand, a demand that only union labor shall be employed violates the principle of individual liberty.

Mr. Webster thinks that the time will come and should come when in every important trade there will be a strong union of the men on the one side and a strong union of the employers on the other, both national in scope. It is desirable from the standpoint of the employers that there should be strong organizations of the men, which can "deliver the goods" promised in their agreements throughout the country; so that wages and hours may be reasonably uniform in all places. A strong union is also desirable for the employees in order that they may compel fair wages, especially from such employers as are inclined to be unjust. On the other hand, a strong national organization of the employers is necessary in order to resist excessive demands of the employees, and in order to make the conditions of labor uniform. Disputes between these national organizations should be settled by arbitration on national lines. If the machinists' union in Chicago should become very strong and succeed in getting 35 cents an hour, while machinists in Buffalo, where the union was weak, received only 25 cents an hour, a great injustice would be done to Chicago employers. (144, 145, 149, 151.)

Mr. MANGAN, of the steam-fitters' union, holds that strikes, instead of being due to organization, show in many cases a lack of organization, and that a thorough organization between employers and employees, on fair and equitable lines, is conducive to harmony. (446.)

Mr. CONROY, a contracting plumber, thinks that unions are good things; but that while they still have, as they always had, a fine class of men, they have recently taken in a large number of stragglers who have dropped off in Chicago

and got stranded there. There was never any trouble between the plumbers' union and the contractors until the union joined the building trades council. (415.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, says that the great cause of the existing difficulties is that employers and employees have their separate organizations, and each tries to formulate rules which shall govern both, without consultation with the other. The labor unions frame their rules and the employer has nothing to do with them except to sign them. If the men had no union, the employers would not formulate their demands in the same way, but the men would have to work under such terms as the employers might dictate. The employers would do away with the 8-hour system, the weekly pay day, and the double pay for overtime, and would reduce the workmen to the same condition they were in 30 years ago, and to the same condition that exists in the farming communities to-day. Aside from the reasonableness of any given rules or demands, the dictation of rules by one side or the other is in itself a cause of friction. There ought to be mutual consultation and agreement. Mr. Nicholson believes that the majority of contractors are not against the unions. Almost all say they favor the unions, but they are likely to qualify the statement in such a way as to indicate that the unions they favor are unions which will not interfere with their interests. (98-99, 98, 99.)

Mr. OFFIELD, a patent lawyer, declares that it is not the purpose of the manufacturers of Chicago to break down unionism, but simply to resist the extreme demands made by the unions. They feel that the unions are taking a position like that of a highway robber—stand and deliver. They believe that every point which is yielded to the labor organizations is made the basis for further attacks. It looks to the witness as if the object of the unions was practically to share in the profits of the manufacturers without any of the risks which the employers bear. (88, 85.)

Mr. RYAN, although he does not recognize the machinists' union directly in his shop, declares he has no objection to unions as such if they use proper methods. He believes that workmen can accomplish more by organization than in any other way. They doubtless are able in this way to secure better wages and shorter hours, although the witness is not certain what proportion of the advance in these regards in recent years has been secured by means of organization. The activity of the unions, however, should be confined for the most part to the enlightenment and mutual benefit of their members. If this were their purpose and method they could secure the membership of nearly every workman. The employers then would know that they could get honest men and that there would be no interference with the transaction of their business. Unions should not demand that their employers make unreasonable sacrifices, while, on the other hand, employers should concede a reasonable hearing to representatives of labor organizations. The witness admits that the union men in his employ are his best mechanics. If the unions should pursue a less radical policy than they frequently have done, they would prosper more. Moral suasion rather than force should be used, and there should be proper regard for the business interests of employers. Strikes are apt to result in hard feeling, even after they have been settled. (293-295.)

Mr. GRIFFITHS, a general contractor, states that in order to employ carpenters last year the contractors had to go to the carpenters' hall and sign a contract with the union. The contractors had nothing to say about its terms; there was nothing to do but sign it as presented. Mr. Griffiths felt himself outraged and disgraced by this method of dealing. (338.)

Mr. CLARK believes that the union leaders are for the most part honest, but are wrong. They would probably have obtained all that they wanted if they had been more persuasive and less dictatorial. The laborers have suffered more than the contractors from the labor difficulties that have been stirred up. The increased wages and other demands of the unions have curtailed the volume of business to the detriment of the workingman. Mr. Clark admits that there are a small number of contractors who would try to beat the men down as much as they could, in the absence of strict union rules, and to take every possible advantage of them. Most contractors, however, desire to treat their men fairly; and if the men simply would not work for the unfair employers, such employers would soon get their deserts. The witness prefers to employ union labor, and if he were perfectly free to employ members of the unions or not, 80 per cent of his work would probably be done by union men. (419, 420.)

Mr. BRENNOCK, treasurer of the building trades council, declares that conditions have become such that no single trade can protect its own interests effectively. It was necessary that there should be a combination of the building trades. The

building trades council is the strongest organization ever established in America. It would require more power to break it up than to break up any other organization. The council takes the stand that an injury to one organization is the concern of all. Its members believe that workmen have never been known to ask too much for their labor. They never get what they earn. Statistics show that the production of labor in this country averages as much as \$18 per day. (437.)

Mr. LILLIEN, president of the hod carriers' union, states that the employers have not objected to that union since 1898. Before that they did object strongly, and up to that date the union was not able to obtain recognition. (116.)

Mr. HILL, business agent of the slate roofers' union, declares that employers will often grant concessions to avoid the demand for recognition, because they know that recognition would enable the men to deal with the employer more like an equal. The recognition of the right to make terms through the union is the most important thing for the workmen to secure. (482.)

Mr. MADDEN gives as the general opinion of contractors that labor unions give the men a better opportunity of keeping respectable wages, and that the better the wages the better the opportunity the men have to educate their children and give them an opportunity of living the life they ought to live. It is also the general opinion of contractors that the union men are the best workmen. The great objection to the unions is that in many trades they limit the amount of the day's work. (111.)

Mr. DARROW, an attorney at law who has been active in defending workmen in litigation, says that he does not believe the strike to be an ultimate means of settling labor difficulties; it is a measure of war. He thinks that the labor unions as now carried on are exclusive and aristocratic. Nevertheless, labor organizations see employers protected by the tariff and strengthened by combinations among themselves, and they are forced to act as they do. It is only the combination of laborers which protects them from low wages. It would not do any good for one man to quit work without assistance from his fellows; his place could be easily filled by someone else. (71.)

Mr. WILSON, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists, declares that the refusal of employers to recognize trade unions or to recognize the representatives of their employees is the cause of more than half of the strikes in the country. Where, as in the case of the railroads, the organizations are frankly recognized and treated with, strikes almost disappear. In a few cases the stupidity and arrogance of the officers of labor unions cause strikes. The St. Louis street railway strike is attributed by Mr. Wilson primarily to the refusal of the employers to recognize the trade unions. (492-494.)

Professor TAYLOR declares his belief that the organization of labor is absolutely necessary in view of the organization of capital, and he thinks that an increasing proportion of employers, even in Chicago, recognize the right of organization and the advantage to themselves of dealing collectively with the men instead of individually. (540, 543.)

B. Effect on social and economic condition of members.—Mr. STILES, a master painter, does not think that the workmen have really more voice in fixing their hours, their wages, or the conditions under which they work, by organization into unions. That is, he does not think that the unions give the workmen an increase of freedom in such directions which balances the restrictions they put upon freedom. "There is a tacit understanding among the employers that a certain rate is right and is equitable and profitable, and those who are honorable pay it." (843.)

Mr. JEFFERY thinks that although daily wages have perhaps been increased by the unions, the average wage for the whole year has not been increased. (184.)

Mr. MCGARRY, a manufacturer of boilers, declares that the labor unions are the best thing that ever came up for the workmen. Except for the unions they would be worse off than slaves. The great majority of employers have no care for the conditions of their men. The unions are usually right in their demands. (808, 810.)

Mr. FRANK M. RYAN believes that the organization of the bridge and structural iron workers' union has been highly beneficial in securing better wages and better conditions generally. All unions have similar advantages. They are beneficial to the general community, as well as to their members. A man who is getting better wages has better opportunities for bringing up his children as a desirable class of citizens. (285.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, states that the union which he has had chiefly to deal with has been able to keep wages at nearly the same figure during the last 8 or 10 years of depression. The unions are a great social uplifting force for their members. They are the only strong power left to raise the workmen. (97.)

Mr. DAVIS, a mosaic decoration contractor, believes that a good workman does

not need a union, and that the union is a detriment to the good workman. He has no objection to unions, and the men have a right to form them, but every man has also a right to work and support his family without paying tribute to any other men. (422.)

Mr. MILLER, a manufacturer of sheet-metal work, declares that the demand of the unions, especially in the building trades, for higher wages per hour has brought a lot of men to Chicago, reducing the amount of work per year per man, so that the yearly wages have, if anything, decreased. The effect of this practice is shown by the fact that the unions have been forced to raise the initiation fees to \$50, \$75, or \$100. It is impossible for wages to be maintained for any length of time in any community at more than the rates prevailing elsewhere. Organizations can not defeat the operation of the law of supply and demand. The condition of the workmen in Chicago is not as good now as it was 10 years ago. The workmen have made a mistake in attempting to get higher wages and shorter hours than the conditions will permit. There are other ways by which better conditions can be obtained than by organization, as by changing trade, working harder, or going into independent business.

Mr. Miller doubts also whether the nominal rates of wages fixed by the unions are actually maintained. The agreements as to wage scales are violated in most cases. The less competent men could not get work at these rates, and they make secret arrangements for lower wages. (350-352.)

Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet metal workers' union, denies Mr. Miller's statement that its wage scale is generally violated. He admits that the union has occasionally discovered and dealt with attempts at evasion of it. (429, 430.)

Mr. PLAMONDON, president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, says that manufacturers have from time to time made concessions to the unions, but that the more they conceded the more was demanded. Wages have increased steadily in Chicago during the past 2 years, and were it not for the strike they would be higher than at any time since 1893, while labor would be more generally employed. The machinists' strike tends to cripple manufacturing industry generally. (3, 5.)

Mr. Bisno admits that nonunion men often get more work during the year than union men because they are willing to accept lower wages and less favorable conditions. He declares that it does not follow, however, that union men ought to abate their demands for better conditions. If they should do so, they would before long become actual slaves. Manufacturers always desire to buy labor as cheaply as possible. It is not true usually that they are forced to cut wages because of lower prices for their products; on the contrary, the prices of products depend largely on the wages they pay their workmen. The witness declares that he does not know of a single case, in an experience of 18 years as a wage-earner, in which a boss has raised wages voluntarily because of prosperous business. It is true that if employees are well paid, and consequently well fed, they are more efficient workmen; but the individual capitalist never considers that in bargaining about wages. It may be more profitable to pay a man \$2.50 than to pay another man \$1.75, but if the \$2.50 man can be got for \$2.25 the employer will profit, or at least will think that he will profit. There are cases doubtless where employers show humane consideration for their men, as in the case of Mr. Nelson, who shares profits with his employees, but such cases are comparatively few. Whatever members of unions get above the minimum rate of wages is primarily due to the strength of the organization.

Mr. Bisno does not fear that by their demands labor unions will drive manufacturers away from any particular State or city, or at any rate he does not think it would be good policy for the unions to abate their demands on account of the fear of such a result. The thought that some employers may take their plants to a small town for the sake of getting better police protection is a mistaken one. As a matter of fact, in small towns the working people have more control over the local administration than in large cities, and the manufacturers know that this is the case. It is true that manufacturers in New England are tending to transplant their textile factories to the South, where labor is cheaper and not organized. There have been instances in Chicago where employers have trained up foreign-born workmen to a particular trade in the belief that they would be more subservient. Doubtless the labor organizations will suffer from the competition of cheap and unorganized labor at various points. But this is no reason for abandoning the organization or making less vigorous efforts to improve conditions. Rather, labor unions in the North should send walking delegates to the South to educate the people there so that they will not compete against the very lives of working men in the North.

On being questioned further, Mr. Bisno admitted that to some extent the general

market conditions determine the ability of the employer to pay wages. It is the very nature of competition, he says, to force employers continuously to reduce wages and to wring more work out of employees. But it is precisely these conditions which force the workmen to organize to maintain their wages. (58-65.)

Mr. COMPTON, a plumbing contractor, states that the very large number of plumbing shops in Chicago is due to the fact that many journeymen have found themselves incompetent to earn a journeyman's wages, and have sought relief by starting independent shops. (414, 415.)

Mr. GEORGE F. HARDING, Sr., thinks that unions have undoubtedly bettered the condition of laboring men, and increased their wages. They are a good thing. He objects only to their coercive methods, and to the attempt to prevent him from employing the best man he can get at the best rates he can get. (165.)

Mr. McCULLOUGH, business agent of the marble setters' union, says that he is informed that wages run from \$1.25 up to \$2 in the marble regions where stone is cut for Chicago buildings. He understands that there is no organization of the workmen in Vermont, and that any man who tries to form an organization is discharged. As a result, the condition of the workmen is very bad. (213.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, states that 3 or 4 years ago common laborers, who had no union, were working on buildings for wages ranging from \$1.75 down to 90 cents per day. They formed a union, and with the help of the other unions raised their wages to 25 cents an hour. That was a good rate, and all the contractors signed the agreement without hesitation. This year the laborers demanded a further increase of 15 or 20 per cent. The bricklayers demanded an increase at about the same ratio. The employers can not but fear the continuance of such demands for increase. (95.)

Mr. BRENNOCK, treasurer of the building trades council, declares that from his experience he knows the necessity of trade unions as a protection to workmen. It is not for them the workers would be in worse condition than slaves. Wages would not be more than 10 cents an hour.

As evidence supporting these opinions, Mr. Brennock refers to the effect of the establishment of the first carpenters' union in Albany, N. Y., in 1838. This organization prevented the bosses from reducing wages and soon afterwards succeeded in getting a positive advance in wages. The union continued to prosper as long as the witness remained in Albany. In 1864 he came to Chicago. There was no carpenters' union, and wages were constantly fluctuating, some men getting much more than others. The union was afterwards established, but soon broke up. About 1875 there were several different carpenters' unions, but they did not work in concert and accomplished little. Thus they lost a strike for \$3 a day in 1884 through lack of harmony. Later on the United Carpenters' Council was established, including the carpenters' branch of the Knights of Labor and the Brotherhood of United Carpenters and Joiners. From that time on the success of the carpenters in securing better conditions was complete. Anything in reason which was asked was conceded. The 8-hour day was established in 1886, and, although wages were at first at the same rate per hour as under the 10-hour day, the next year a large number of the bosses granted the demand for an increase to 35 cents an hour. During the World's Fair wages went up to 40 cents an hour.

Mr. Brennock says further that before the establishment of a strong union many carpenters or contractors were very irregular about paying wages. Frequently suits had to be brought against them at considerable expense. The witness believes that since the establishment of the building trades council the carpenters have not spent more than \$10 in all to recover wages. As soon as bosses refuse to pay their business ceases. (465, 466.)

Mr. PREECE, of the bricklayers' union, declares that this union is worthy to be maintained, if only as a means of collecting the wages of its members. It is estimated that the bricklayers formerly lost 20 or 25 per cent of their wages; since the union was formed in 1879 its members have not lost one-half of 1 per cent. The union men are the best workmen, and they are the best citizens, because they give thought to the means of bettering their condition and the condition of their fellow-workmen. The nonunion men are generally incompetent, or men who have been fined for violation of rules. The contractors tell them what good fellows they are when there is trouble, but when the trouble is over there is no room for them. (478, 479.)

Mr. CLARK states that in doing some work at Hegewisch, a suburb of Chicago, he found himself obliged to pay 25 cents an hour for building laborers and 42½ cents an hour for carpenters, while the firm which he was working for had been doing some similar work on its own account at 15 cents an hour for laborers and 25 cents an hour for carpenters. The unions had a hold on Mr. Clark because he was doing work in the city, and a sympathetic strike would have occurred if he had paid less than union wages.

About a year ago Mr. Clark put up a large amount of suspended ceiling at Albany at a cost of some 80 cents a yard for labor and material. During the past season similar work cost him 81 cents a yard at Chicago. The increased cost of material might have amounted to 10 cents a yard; the remainder of the difference is due to the higher wages and the restriction of the day's work in Chicago. (417.)

C. Effect on skill of members. (See also *Minimum rate of wages and its effects*, p. LXXIV.)

Mr. JEFFERY, a bicycle manufacturer, declares positively that trade unions do not raise the standard of skill, but that they furnish an inferior class of workmen. They protect the poorer workmen and enable them to demand as much as the better. The attempt to obtain a uniform rate of wages for laborers of different skill is contrary to economic principles. If wages are graded according to skill there is an incentive for a man to do better work and improve his skill. (130, 134, 135.)

Mr. GEORGE F. HARDING, Sr., says that while he is not opposed to labor unions, he employs chiefly nonunion labor, because it is cheaper and better. The tendency of unions is to compel the employment of poor men. (165.)

Mr. STILES, a painting contractor, says that he can get just as good workmen outside of the union as in it. (342.)

Mr. MADDEN, president of the Western Stone Company, says that every contractor would prefer to employ union labor rather than nonunion. They realize that they get a better class of men. (111.)

Mr. RYAN admits that the union men in his employ are the best mechanics. (294.)

VIII. POLITICAL BEARINGS OF LABOR DIFFICULTIES.

A. Political influence of trade unions.—1. *Generally.*—Mr. REID says that the constitution of the International Association of Machinists assures to its members freedom in all political matters, although the union tries to impress upon its members the necessity of voting for men who will regard their interests. As a matter of fact the union has never acted together politically; indeed, the trouble in the past has been that it has not been united enough. A member of the organization, were he a candidate, would not be permitted to proclaim that fact in a meeting and to solicit the aid of the organization.

As a counter argument against the claim that trade unions are in politics, Mr. Reid states that the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, according to its own pamphlet, is maintaining a lobby to prevent the passing of any law that may be brought forward in the interest of labor, and expresses its delight at having been able to frustrate the passage of such laws. (181, 192.)

Mr. WILSON, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists, declares that that association takes no political stand. The discussion of partisan politics and religion in the meetings is prohibited. On the other hand, the unions discuss the same questions which come before political parties, and indorse principles and not parties. The members are advised to vote in the way which will do them the most good. Sometimes it will be pointed out that a certain candidate has pledged himself to legislation in favor of labor. Mr. Wilson declares, however, that political parties can not buy up labor organizations, or their leaders, wholesale, and that labor leaders who claim to be able to carry the votes of their organizations for particular parties are frauds. (496, 497.)

Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet metal workers' union, states that his organization has nothing to do with politics, except that it sometimes indorses a particular candidate who is friendly to organized labor or is thought to be the right man for the place. (436.)

Mr. CARROLL, president of the building trades council, states that the unions never participate in politics except in indorsing and condemning individual candidates by resolution. Such resolutions are not considered binding upon the members, and no attempt is ever made to punish a member for his political actions. (276.)

Mr. McCULLOUGH, business agent of the marble-cutters' union, states that he has been connected with the building trades council for almost 3 years and in that period has never been approached more than three times about politics. (215.)

Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, does not consider that politics has had anything to do with the beginning of the existing strike or with the failure of any of the efforts to settle it. He does suspect that city politics has something to do with the operation of the building trades council, and that the national building trades council may have been organized in part for political purposes. (323, 325.)

Mr. GATES, a manufacturer of mining machinery, says that there are in the

city officials of Chicago a large number of pronounced labor leaders. The constitution of the machinists' union states that one of the purposes of the organization is to teach its members their political rights, to the end that the Government may be for and by the people, and it recommends that the members set about at once securing the nomination and election of pronounced trade unionists in municipal, State, and national legislatures. The witness admits that such a policy is justifiable if it is honestly carried out. (25.)

Mr. DAVIS says that every one connected with the workmen's side of a controversy wants to get into politics as soon as he attains any prominence. The business agents of the unions are too much in politics, and the politicians cater to the business agents on account of the large vote which they are supposed to control. (428.)

Mr. BOARD, a manufacturer of machinery, thinks that the politicians utilize the labor unions for their own ends, especially in Chicago. Most strikes in that city have been about election time. The politicians thrive by discontent in labor circles. The newspapers at present say that there are a number of labor-union officials in the city employ, and the witness implies that the civil-service examination system is abused in favor of union men. (44.)

Mr. OFFIELD, a patent lawyer, thinks that the present labor difficulties are lessened throughout with political influences. He says that the State legislature has passed various statutes which look well on paper, but which have practically no beneficial effects in protecting manufacturing interests. (85.)

Mr. MILLER, a contractor, testifying in February, 1901, says that during 1900 there was a good deal of trouble in Chicago on account of intimidation and assault of nonunion men by strikers. After the investigation of the Industrial Commission in March, there was especial trouble on the Marshall Field Building. The attempt to employ nonunion men led to all sorts of riots, intimidations, and assaults, and the police did not protect the men effectively. About the same time the city government had to borrow money in anticipation of taxes. The bankers declared that the credit of the city was in the keeping of the mayor and the police, and that until these assaults should be stopped, and unless Mr. Carroll, president of the building trades council, should be removed from the city civil-service board, they would not advance any money. Rioting stopped instantly, and since then there has not been one-tenth as much violence as before. Mr. Miller feels that this was not unjustifiable interference of the money power in politics. It was a justifiable act. Shortly before this action a Chicago newspaper had published what was called the criminal record of Mr. Carroll, and this doubtless influenced the bankers in taking this step. But it was the action of the bankers, and not the criminal record, which caused Mr. Carroll's removal. (516, 522.)

2. *Attitude of unions toward courts and Government.*—Mr. STILES, a master painter, testifies that within two months a walking delegate of the painters' union said to him: "The Government of the United States is rotten, and it will only be a short time until the labor unions will take up arms and wipe it out of existence." (340.)

3. *Union men in political office.*—Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, states that up to 1897 the building trades council had a law that no member of it could hold any political office, national, State, county, or city. In that year, when the present mayor took the chair, this law was abrogated. Somewhat later the president of the building trades council was made one of the officers of the civil-service commission of the city. That has led to many abuses of power, and has been a material factor in helping the members of the various affiliated bodies to obtain city offices. It has also led to increasing the number of persons required in doing city work. On paving jobs there are now one inspector of sand, one of cement, one of crushed stone and concrete, and sometimes one of asphalt, each at \$5 per day. (828, 824.)

Professor TAYLOR quotes an address made by him before a convention of the trade unions of Chicago in May, 1900, in which he declared that the public justly criticises the acceptance of appointive political offices by officers of the building trades council and of other labor organizations. The incumbents of these offices, he declared, are held as hostages for the delivery of the labor vote; the practice destroys the confidence of the public and of the rank and file of the unions in the integrity of their leaders. If organized labor desires to exercise political power, it should openly nominate and elect its representatives to elective offices. Professor Taylor further expresses the opinion that there has been an attempt on the part of the various city administrations to secure the labor vote by the distribution of offices among labor leaders. On the other hand, he says, there has doubtless been an exaggeration of the extent and effect of this practice. Moreover, many of these appointive offices ought properly to be given to men in the general trades with which they are especially connected.

Professor Taylor believes especially that the appointment of Mr. Carroll as a member of the civil-service commission of Chicago was unsatisfactory, and not such as would have been expected by the friends of the civil-service law. Nevertheless it was desirable to have some representative of the working class on that commission. The witness believes also that it was a common opinion among the workmen that if the building-trades strike was prolonged, some advantage to the building trades council might be secured from the city authorities.

Professor Taylor testifies further that his address with reference to the undependability of labor leaders holding appointive offices met with general applause and approval from the workmen present, and that many member of the building trades especially insisted that the charges against their leaders should be thoroughly investigated. (534, 538, 539.)

Mr. BEHEL, a contractor, states that 15 or more labor leaders hold positions under the city government of Chicago which they have no qualification for except that they are leaders in the bodies affiliated with the building trades council. The position of vehicle inspector is filled by a steam fitter. (395.)

Mr. CHALMERS, a manufacturer of machinery, points out that the president of the building trades council is also president of the civil-service commission. He thinks that there are plenty of men who would be better fitted for that position than either a labor leader or a large capitalist. He declares that the civil-service examination system has proved to a considerable degree a farce, although it is hoped gradually to improve the system. There are 22 prominent labor-union men in positions at the city hall. (9, 16.)

Mr. MILLER thinks that the building trades unions in Chicago have exercised an undue influence over the civil-service commission in regard to appointments. Mr. Carroll, a prominent union man, is one of the civil-service commissioners, and his whole idea is that none but union men should have jobs under the city. This Mr. Miller considers practically an attempt to defeat the civil-service law. The witness refers especially to the recent appointment of Thomas Redding, president of a sheet metal workers' local union, as foreman of the street lamp repairers. The examination paper of Mr. Redding was marked 100, which the witness thinks was obviously an unfairly high mark, while the fact that the two or three other applicants answered only a few questions seems to him to show that there was collusion in the examination. (353.)

Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet metal workers' union, says that before Mr. Carroll, president of the building trades council, became a member of the civil-service commission, Mr. Redding tried two examinations for a place in the city repair shop. He stood 100 on a technical examination, and his standing was reduced to 98 only on a second promotional examination. The examination which he tried after Mr. Carroll became a civil-service commissioner, and on which he stood 100, was similar in character to the examination that any man must pass to become a member of the sheet metal workers' union. It was not remarkable that Mr. Redding was graded 100 upon it. The influence of Mr. Carroll on the civil-service commission had nothing to do with it. (435.)

Mr. BAGLEY and Mr. BEHEL state that Typographical Union No. 16 has protested to the American Federation of Labor against the holding of political office by officers of that organization. Mr. Bagley strongly objects to the connection of labor unions with politics. (392, 397.)

Mr. CARROLL, president of the building trades council and president of the Chicago civil service commission, states that out of the 34 trades affiliated with the council only one walking delegate and only one representative of the building trades council besides himself holds a political office. (378.)

Mr. REID admits that there are labor leaders who are holding positions in the city administration of Chicago. He sees no reason, however, why a man should not get a position in virtue of being a good trade unionist. At any rate, it should not weigh against him that he is a trade unionist. It is a fact that every machinist employed by the city of Chicago is a union man. (198.)

Mr. BUCHANAN thinks that a reputable laboring man has as good a right to hold public positions as any other. He gets his position by the force of his intelligence, while the rich man's son often gets his by his ability to corrupt the appointing power. (472.)

Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, states that men can not hold an office in that union and at the same time hold a political office. Some of the men of the union do hold public positions. In view of the approaching end of his term as president of the bricklayers' union, Mr. Gubbins tried the examination some time ago for the position of chief sewer-pipe inspector of Chicago. He was third in the list. He thinks that he ought to have been first. He afterwards tried the examination for the position of tunnel mason, and was marked first. He believes that the criticisms of the civil service commissioners, based particu-

larly on the fact that Mr. Carroll is a labor-union man, are unjust and without foundation. (225, 236, 230.)

Mr. DOYLE, who is president of the engineers' union and also president of the board of examining engineers of Chicago, states that he has been influenced in his official actions by a desire to avoid the appearance of personal favoritism, and has not been guided by the desires or dictates of the union. (305.)

4. *Alleged unjust revocation of engineer's license.*—Mr. ANDERSON, a stationary engineer, testifies that his license from the city was revoked by the board of examining engineers in March, 1900. He attributes this action altogether to the opposition of the Progressive Association of Stationary Engineers, the president of which is a member of the examining board. The witness had been working for Keenan Brothers. The watchman of the firm, who was a member of a labor union, accused him of having left open the blow-off cock on a boiler, and he was practically discharged on that account, although he was going to quit anyway. The witness then went to work in a nonunion shop, but took the place there of a man who was a union member, although he did not know that fact at the time. To take the place of a union man is against the rules of the progressive association. The organization attempted to get Mr. Anderson reinstated with Keenan Brothers, but he did not wish to leave his new employment. He also refused to attend the meetings of the association, although notified to do so. On account of these facts, so the witness declares, such influence was brought to bear that his license was revoked, and his new employers were forced to discharge him. The witness denies absolutely that he left the blow-off cock open as charged, declaring that if he had done so the fusible plug in the bottom of the boiler, which is intended to guard against this very danger, would have melted out and the water would have run down and put out the fires. The witness has appealed for recovery of his certificate as an engineer. (246-249.)

Mr. DOYLE, who is president of the engineers' union and president of the board of examining engineers, states that a fourth-issue license was issued to Mr. Anderson on November 14, 1899, which would indicate that his first license was issued in or about 1895. Mr. Anderson rose in a meeting of the union soon after and stated that Keenan Brothers had discharged him because he was a union man. The union business agent went to investigate, and found that he had been discharged for allowing the water to get low in the boiler and so endangering it. The union notified Mr. Anderson to appear and explain why he had made a false statement. He refused to appear. Then the union preferred charges against him before the board of examining engineers. The board had a hearing in the case, and decided to renew Mr. Anderson's license if he would make an affidavit specifically stating that he did not leave the blow-off cock in such a condition that it could come open, and that the water did not get low. Mr. Anderson has failed to present such an affidavit. He has presented one which does not cover the case. On hearing the affidavit which Mr. Anderson produced before the commission, with the statement that he had submitted it to the board, Mr. Doyle denies that this affidavit has been submitted, and adds that it is all that the board requires. He states that the reason for demanding the affidavit was fear of criticism, if the board should renew the license, against the protest of the union and in the face of evidence of carelessness and incompetency, without definite rebutting evidence. (303-305.)

Mr. BURKE, business agent of the Progressive Association of Stationary Engineers, says that he, as business agent of the union, offered to go with Mr. Anderson to investigate the grounds of his discharge by Keenan Brothers, but Mr. Anderson refused to go, although he said that a number of charges had been brought up against him which were unwarranted. Mr. Keenan told the witness that Mr. Anderson had left the blow-off cock on the boiler open, so that water had run all over the boiler room. The night watchman arrived in time to save the boiler from burning out. The watchman told Mr. Keenan that Mr. Anderson offered to pay him money for saying that the cock leaked. The board of examining engineers investigated the matter and refused to reissue Mr. Anderson's license until he should go to Mr. Keenan and clear himself. This he refused to do. Mr. Keenan also told Mr. Burke that this was the second time the same accident occurred, and that Mr. Anderson was careless and incompetent. (306.)

5. *Public works and the unions.*—Mr. FRANK M. RYAN says that it is the policy of some of the city boards of Chicago that none but union men shall be employed on public works. Men who enter into a contract for such works must comply with union conditions. The witness believes that this practice is the result of the influence of organized labor. During several months a clause was put into the contracts for public-school buildings that none but union labor should be employed, but this clause was declared illegal by the supreme court of Illinois

as against public policy. The witness thinks that such a clause was desirable from the standpoint of the school board itself, since about 97 or 98 per cent of the men employed on the buildings were union men in any case, and since loss of time from strikes was chiefly caused through the other 2 or 3 per cent. (285.)

Mr. MILLER says that various public bodies in Chicago, like the board of education, have at various times agreed to employ only union men. Employers finally carried the matter into court, and the supreme court of Illinois decided that no public or semipublic body had any right to make such a discrimination. Regardless of this decision, the city and the county still kept on their records resolutions favoring the employment of union labor exclusively. Moreover, in May or June, 1900, the county commissioners advertised a job with the specification that the work was to be done by union men. The contractors' council brought suit for injunction, which was allowed immediately when the decision in the board of education case was shown to the court. In the absence of an injunction the politicians would have violated the law as laid down by the supreme court. The witness believes that labor organizations in general are trying to get the best of things through State legislatures and Congress. Thus, recently, the American Federation of Labor urged its members to do all they could to prevent the passage of the anti-trust bill, unless with the proviso that it should not apply to labor organizations. (518, 519.)

B. The police and the strikers.—1. *Alleged bias in favor of labor.*—Mr. BOARD, a manufacturer of machinery, says that Chicago would be the greatest manufacturing center in the world if it were not for the labor troubles and the poor protection furnished by the police and other city officials. Both political parties have always catered to the prejudices of the working classes. The police at the present time are afraid of offending the labor vote, so that they remain absolutely neutral unless some extremely open act is done. Thus the policemen who are now guarding the property of the witness made no arrests when a mob of 150 or 200 persons threw cinders at the employees, called them scabs, and used threatening language. There is an ordinance prohibiting the use of abusive and profane language on the street, but the police do not seem to care to exercise their authority. The police courts and justices are also affected by the same spirit, and fair decisions can not be obtained. (40, 41.)

Mr. WALSER, of the Goss Printing Press Company, says that there seems to be nothing in the way of law which the striking workmen need respect in Chicago. The police department is a good one, but the police are not properly instructed. The mayor is apparently trying to get the votes of the laboring classes by catering to them. He wants to further his interests as a candidate for some higher position. Policemen have been duly furnished to protect the works of the Goss Printing Press Company, but they have their instructions, in a general way, not to interfere with anybody unless there is an overt act or assault. The witness considers the maintenance of a picket around a shop a menace to the public order and an insult to the manufacturers, but the police take no steps to prevent it. (372, 374, 375.)

Mr. BOUNTREE, of the Turner Brass Works, thinks that the city authorities do not afford fair protection to the manufacturers. In the case of his own company two special policemen were hired, but the strike never reached such a stage that police protection was necessary. The witness has been told that the captain in charge of a police station told a manufacturer, who wanted police protection in anticipation of a strike, that he had better keep out of trouble, because the captain had no authority to give him help. The reason for this condition, the witness thinks, is that the strikers have more votes than the manufacturers. He fears that the condition in this regard is worse in Chicago than in other cities. (37.)

Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, believes that there is no city in the country where lawlessness is allowed to prevail and continue as it is in Chicago. In New York the policemen have recently notified pickets that they would be arrested if they were found twice before picketed premises. The Chicago police have been entirely subservient to the unions since 1894. At that time 40 policemen were stationed, at the witness's own request, about a building which he was at work on, and where there was a strike. But the policemen permitted the pickets to patrol the premises in such numbers that it was difficult to pass by, and non-union men were constantly beaten in the presence of the police, with the result of numerous arrests of nonunion men, and only two arrests of members of the unions. (322, 323.)

Mr. CHALMERS, a manufacturer of machinery, declares that the Chicago police do not furnish proper protection to employers, and attributes this to the fact that the city is on the eve of an election, and that the labor vote in Chicago is the determining vote, so that both parties are catering to it. The witness recently heard a police officer order his subordinate to arrest certain men, "this time no

matter what party they belong to," from which he infers that arrests do not always disregard party lines. (9, 16.)

Mrs. ROBB declares that when her husband was beaten into insensibility by emissaries of the painters' union, the policeman at the corner turned his back. Nonunion men can not get adequate police protection. (80.)

Mr. GEORGE F. HARDING, sr., declares that the mayor and the police force have the same feeling which he has, that the laboring man is only trying to preserve his life and his family and his bread when he tries to keep nonunion men out of his place. The police are "neutral," but they never get to the place of violence in time. Though he does not at all justify the violence of the workmen, he does not blame the police or the mayor for sympathizing with them. (162.)

Mr. GINDELE, a general contractor, says that for a month before his testimony the conduct of the police has been all that could be asked for. If the same public protection had been provided in the months and years past, some of the events which Chicago has seen would not have happened. The labor organizations and their members have been encouraged to commit violence by the failure of the police to command their respect. (368.)

Mr. DAVIS, a mosaic contractor, says that when his trouble began in the spring of 1899, he had no public sympathy, and men who were beaten by the unions had none. Public sentiment is now developing toward the maintenance of order, and the law is better enforced than it was some months ago. (421.)

Mr. BLISS, a painting contractor, declares that the police and the justices' courts are in sympathy with the union workmen, and that it is commonly understood that the policemen turn their backs so far as possible when union men are doing acts of violence. Mr. Bliss does not know that it is possible for the police to put men on every job to watch, and he hesitates to complain of the city authorities. His own sympathies are with the workmen, though he does not think they are justified in some of their conduct. (252.)

Mr. Bliss states that after being assaulted, as he supposed by union men, he went to police headquarters for a permit to carry a revolver. He was told that the police had no authority to grant a permit, but the officer whom he saw said: "If I were you I would carry it;" and Mr. Bliss carries one accordingly. (251, 252.)

Mr. CLARK says that there is undoubtedly an insecurity of person in Chicago, and that it is due partly to defect of administration of law and partly to the fact that no law could prevent the commission of crimes by those who have the disposition to commit them. (420.)

2. *Defense of police force.*—Mr. LEVIN, a detective, thinks that the police force has acted splendidly during the present strike. They are criticised by the contractors because they will not break their clubs over the strikers' heads or go out and take the pickets and misuse them. (259.)

Mr. BIANO, formerly business agent of the cloakmakers' union, says that the police in Chicago were formerly against the workingman, and it was not quite safe to do picket duty, but that now the city authorities have given orders to the police not to interfere unless there is actual violence. On the other hand, there is not a single case in which they have failed to arrest and prosecute men who have actually violated the law. Men who are insulted or assaulted have sufficient remedies. (56.)

Mr. CARROLL, president of the building trades council, declares that there were never so few cases of assault in Chicago as at present. Some of the newspapers, in their efforts to help the contractors in destroying the unions, have created a fictitious state of anarchy in Chicago. If there is any trouble, it is the fault of the contractors. A contractor has no right to declare a lockout and then ask the aid of the police to destroy the building trades council. (286.)

Mr. LONG, business agent of the gas fitters' association, states that he is opposed to police protection. He thinks the mayor should find out who is right and who is wrong when a crisis comes up and who is at fault for the troubles that exist. Since the existing difficulties are altogether the fault of the contractors, he does not think they are entitled to protection in causing more trouble. At the same time, he agrees that it is the duty of the police to preserve order and peace, and that they should not recognize any person or any organization in connection with the performance of their duties. (205, 206.)

3. *Arbitrary arrest of workmen.*—Mr. GUPPINS, president of the bricklayers' union, states that the contractors of Chicago, through men employed by them, have made it a practice to go before justices and swear out large numbers of John Doe warrants. They would have a man arrested and then pick out a warrant the description in which fitted the man arrested as nearly as possible. The witness declares that one man 6 feet 2, with a dark mustache, was arrested on a war-

rant calling for a man 5 feet 8, with a light mustache. Another man, 5 feet 10½, was arrested on a warrant which called for a man 5 feet 4. It is the policy of the contractors when such arrests have been made to get the case continued from time to time, thus either keeping the man in custody or involving the union in a considerable expense for bonds. The special policemen who have been sworn in are largely of the lowest class, and are disposed to exceed their authority. They have no right, when employed to protect a building, to act outside of the building. The witness is carrying a revolver in view of threats of violence to him. He proposes to use it if any attempts are made to arrest him in any illegal way. (228-225.)

Mr. BEHEL says that it is astounding that a man like Mr. Gubbins, who claims to be a law-abiding citizen, should acknowledge on the stand that he is carrying concealed weapons. The contractors' council applied to the mayor and the chief of police for licenses for men doing special duty in protecting life and property to carry weapons, and could not get them. The treatment of this question is an indication of the degree of protection which the contractors are receiving through the legal authorities. (394.)

4. *Special police.*—Mr. LILLIEN, president of the hod carriers' union, has no fault to find with the administration of the law in the State or the city, except as to action of the special policemen. (117.)

Mr. REID, of the International Association of Machinists, says that one of the pickets of that organization was recently requested by special policemen to move faster. The man did not feel inclined to run, and was confronted with a pistol, and also received a severe punch in the neck. (192.)

Mr. LEVIN, a detective, states that he has never been employed in connection with a labor difficulty, except that he was employed for a time during the present strike by the contractors' association. When his men act as officers—as, for instance, in protecting property during the present strike—they have to be specially authorized for each job. When employed to protect buildings, they have no authority outside of the buildings. (258, 260.)

Mr. MILLER, a manufacturer of sheet-metal work, says that the building contractors' council have employed private detectives to protect their property and their laborers. This he considers they have a perfect right to do. He is not inclined to complain that the city authorities have been remiss in failing to furnish sufficient protection, since it is exceedingly difficult to protect a large number of nonunion men scattered in different places. (348, 358.)

C. *The courts and labor.*—1. *General attitude of courts toward labor.*—Mr. CHALMERS, manufacturer of machinery, declares that the lower courts in Chicago furnish no adequate protection to employers. If a laboring man on strike is arrested and the most positive case of assault is proved against him, the chances are that he will be discharged and that the man who had him arrested will be fined. The courts have upheld boycotts and pickets. Some corporations are planning to incorporate in another State in order that their suits may be tried by the Federal courts. Mr. Chalmers favors making all judges appointive. He considers that the election of judges makes them unduly subservient to the laboring classes and that the Federal appointed judges are more independent and more just. While he does not favor injunctions in general, he thinks that they become necessary when no sufficient relief can be obtained from the police or from the lower courts. (8, 9, 16.)

Mr. WALSER thinks that the courts, at any rate the lower courts, are inclined to discriminate in favor of the workmen; there seems to be no justice to be secured from them. (373.)

Mr. CLARK, a contractor, states that after an assault on his foreman, a warrant was sworn out against the man whom his foreman identified as his assailant. A time was set for a hearing before a justice of the peace. At the hour appointed the justice had not appeared. About 2 minutes after the hour the prisoner's attorney said to him, "You can go now; quick." The prisoner hastened from the room and subsequent efforts to find him were unavailing. (400.)

Mr. FRANK M. RYAN complains of the delays and injustice of the courts in settling suits against contractors for injuries in the construction of iron and steel buildings. He refers in particular to the case of a prominent member of the bridge and structural iron workers' union who has been crippled and has tried for 8 years in vain to get a decision of his case in the courts. The witness believes that such delays are caused in a large measure by the shrewd attorney of the casualty companies which insure the contractors. The judges also are inclined to be unjust. Moreover, there ought to be more judges in order that there should be less delay. (288.)

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Mr. MILLER, a contractor, complains (in February, 1901) of the unfairness of the courts of Chicago in discriminating in favor of labor organizations. He says that probably not one in a hundred of the employers of nonunion men who were tyrannized over by these organizations thought of seeking the protection of the courts. In a few cases employers have brought suit for injunctions to restrain unions from interfering with their business. Sometimes satisfactory results have been reached, but sometimes not. The remedy by injunction is not very effective, because the supreme court of Illinois has not passed on any of the questions relating to picketing, boycotting, coercion of union members by the union, sympathetic strikes, etc., so that each judge of the lower courts is at liberty to follow any precedent that fits his own ideas. Moreover, to get a case finally decided would require from 2 to 6 years, while the awarding of damages against labor organizations would be of no particular avail.

Mr. Miller asserts further that criminal prosecutions against strikers and unions have usually had very little result. The police magistrates of Chicago are disposed to favor labor, and though fines as high as \$50 have sometimes been imposed for assaults, the usual fine, even when the case was fully proved, has been only \$10 and costs. The witness cites various specific instances of insignificant fines, or of failure to convict on technical grounds in cases brought before justices' courts. In one instance a number of union members swore to an alibi, while the defendant had previously admitted that he was guilty. In another instance a justice imposed a fine, but refused to issue an execution to collect it unless by an order of the State's attorney, although legally no such order was required. The justice finally issued the order, when himself threatened with indictment.

The higher court, known as the criminal court of Cook County, is composed of elective judges, while the State's attorney, the clerk of the criminal court, and the sheriff are also elected by the people. Mr. Miller believes this court is subject to political influence. In all, the contractors' council obtained 21 indictments from the grand jury during the building trades strike. In one case where an assault had been committed of such a brutal character as to justify a verdict for assault with intent to do great bodily injury, the jury brought in a verdict of simple assault, the fine being \$100.

The witness says also that the decisions of the lower courts in Chicago have in some cases upheld picketing. There have been no decisions on this subject by the supreme court of Illinois, but the witness knows of no decision by the supreme court of any other State, of the several which have been made, in which the employment of pickets has been justified. Mr. Miller says that labor leaders are continually talking about the antagonism of the courts to organized labor, but he believes that they ought to antagonize organized labor in such acts and methods as bring organized labor before the courts. (519-522.)

Professor TAYLOR says that there has been a feeling of deep disappointment on the part of working men in Chicago with reference to the courts and the relief to be secured from them. The police courts and justices' courts of Chicago have been notoriously incompetent and corrupt. The employees have been especially stirred up by the use of the injunction, and by the imprisonment of men, or the decision of cases, on what they consider to be side issues rather than on the main point.

Moreover, the action of the State legislature, especially in relation to the franchises in Chicago, has aroused suspicion as to the integrity of the legislature. On the other hand, there has been some legislation tending to improve the conditions of labor. (539.)

2. *Elective vs. appointive judges.*—Mr. MAYER, a lawyer of Chicago, believes that the elective judiciary, as now constituted in all States, is disposed to be unfair to corporate interests and to favor the laboring classes unduly. Political influences have too much control over the character and positions of the judges. The ballot box puts men on the bench because of some supposed popular leaning, and removes others on account of some unpopular adjudication. The witness refers to a recent case where a judge lost his office on account of a decision regarding the property of the Catholic Church. There are such prejudices, he declares, among judges that one of the chief functions of lawyers, who are in charge of corporate interests in connection with every litigation, is to attempt to get the case before some particular judge for adjudication. There is a game of chess-playing between the opposing lawyers for this purpose. The corporation lawyer wants to get the case before a judge who is uninfluenced by any "ism."

Although the witness recognizes that there are some difficulties connected with the appointment of judges, and particularly with life tenure, nevertheless, he thinks that the arguments in favor of these methods far outweigh those against

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them. The advantage of having judges who are free from the ~~personalities of men~~ and from the influence of popular whims will more than offset the risk of occasionally getting an incompetent or bad man on the bench.

Mr. Mayer does not think that the fact that a man has been a corporation lawyer will tend in itself to make him unfair as a judge. A man who has honesty and training and a judicial frame of mind will be a fair judge regardless of his previous experience as a lawyer. The witness does not believe that the Federal courts, as is charged, have been unfair to labor. Those who comment adversely on the decisions of the Federal tribunals, are men who are thoroughly inoculated with the spirit which would protect combinations of labor and refuse equal protection to combinations of property. The reason why the decisions of the Federal tribunals appear to favor property rather than labor, is that litigants take cases requiring the protection of property before the Federal tribunals. The Federal courts would take the same stand if labor were claiming protection against wrongs at the hands of property. The State courts, on the other hand, have come to be considered the bulwark of the interests of the workingmen.

Mr. Mayer adds that in his judgment there should be no judge upon the bench, whether in an inferior or superior court, who is not a trained lawyer. (76-79.)

Mr. BRENNOCK, treasurer of the building trades council, declares that Mr. Mayer is strictly a corporation lawyer, and that his statement that the courts do not properly protect corporations is not true. Very recently injunctions have been granted against laboring men without giving them a hearing. The courts generally side with incorporated wealth. The whole police force of Chicago also is guarding the interests of the contractors. (467.)

Mr. MILLER, a contractor, says that he favors the establishment of a long tenure of office for judges in order that they may administer laws impartially without influence either by money power or labor organizations. He thinks that elective judges are more apt to side unfairly with labor than appointed judges. (523.)

Mr. OFFIELD, a patent lawyer, believes that every argument is in favor of the appointment and against the election of judges, and that the judicial history of the country points in the same direction. The Federal judges who are appointed by the President are men of the highest standing. Politics have little influence in the appointments. The President, in making his appointments, recognizes the responsibility of a life choice. Judges, chosen for life, are above any clamor of the mob or any bias on the side of corporations. Only by such a system can the judicial department be removed from political tempests and excitement; only thus can there be assurance of the dispensation of justice. In the opinion of the witness, the Federal courts have done exact justice between laborers and manufacturers.

The elected judges, on the other hand, at least in Illinois, are partisans, and their acts are continually influenced by the desire of reelection. Litigants are uneasy, so far as questions involving party are in any way in dispute. The remuneration of State judges also is so low that lawyers of the highest class will not abandon their practice to take the position.

The witness is not quite sure that the system of appointing judges would work as well in the States as it does in the Federal Government. If the governors of the States were, approximately, equal in character and judgment to the President, the appointment of the State judiciary would certainly be advantageous. (86, 87.)

Mr. DARROW, a lawyer, declares that the opposition to the election of judges is really an opposition to the control of the people over their own courts. The witness admits that a man appointed for life might be more independent than one elected, but says that after all this is a government of the people, and that the judges should represent the people. Men appointed for life are largely released from responsibility to the people.

The witness thinks that the judges of the Federal courts are, on the whole, very much more inclined to favor the employers as against the working classes than the State judges. He says that most of the Federal judges have been attorneys for railroads and corporations, and that, although they do not mean to be unfair, they are influenced by their training and by the impressions which they have formed before appointment. It is natural that the President, who is more closely associated with men in high position and of large moneyed interests, should appoint men more or less hostile to the interests of the working classes, and that the judges elected by the people themselves should be more in sympathy with those classes. The witness thinks that in the few States where State judges are appointed there is probably the same tendency on the part of the courts to favor capital as against labor, although the governor of a State is perhaps a little closer to the people than the President. In Massachusetts, where the judges are appointed, the State court has disgraced itself by sending a man to jail because

he struck, holding the strike itself unlawful without reference to the use of force or violence.

Mr. Darrow does not think that such decisions as that in the Debs case and other similar cases would have been made if the judges had been trained to look upon the other side of labor questions. He believes that the tendency is for appointed judges to be so much controlled by strong corporations. Corporations are always active in influencing the appointment of judges; their influence is much more powerful than that of the workingmen in the election of judges. The witness thinks that the State courts are seldom unfairly biased in favor of the workingmen.

Mr. Darrow further says that the judges of the more important State courts in Illinois, the superior and circuit courts, are elected for 6 years. There is also a county court whose judges are elected for 4 years, but they have less important jurisdiction. The justices of the peace are appointed by the governor on the recommendation of the judges. The witness declares that the justices are a very good set of men, almost all of them being lawyers. The judges are mostly lawyers who have stood well in the profession; they are representative men. On the other hand, in Chicago the party complexion of the government changes frequently, so that the judges are changed at practically every election. (87-70.)

3. *Injunctions in labor difficulties.*—Mr. MAYER, a lawyer, thinks it is possible that the courts have sometimes gone too far in granting injunctions. Nevertheless the proportion of cases in which injunctions have been unjustly granted is by no means greater than the proportion of wrong decisions in any other branch of human affairs. The witness would especially deprecate any statutes prohibiting the granting of injunctions against acts which are criminal offenses by statute or common law. Such a limitation would not permit the redress which the law contemplates. The punishment of conspiracy does not give redress to the person whose property is destroyed or whose life is endangered. Moreover, the judicial department is equal and coordinate with the legislative department, and the legislature has no right to lay down rules for the guidance of the courts. It is true that the use of the injunction to restrain persons from committing criminal offenses is comparatively new, but it is because the offenses themselves are comparatively new.

It may be that occasionally a judge has the mistaken idea that merely exercising the power of punishment for contempt of court creates respect for his judicial person, but this is not usually the attitude of the judges. The witness believes strongly, however, that a person who is punished for contempt should have the right to appeal to a higher court. On the other hand, to submit a case of contempt to a jury would be to obstruct the administration of justice and to reduce the decision of the case to a petty struggle. (78, 79.)

Mr. OFFIELD, a patent lawyer, thinks that there are few cases where injustice has been done by the issue of injunctions by Federal courts. Most of the injunctions which are complained of have been issued by two or three judges only. The witness thinks there are instances where Federal judges have refused injunctions sought by corporations in labor troubles. (86.)

Mr. DARROW, a lawyer, refers to the Debs case as illustrating the unfair use of injunctions. He says that Judge Woods issued a blanket injunction running against at least 10,000 persons in Chicago, including Mr. Debs and his associates and all other persons whomsoever. Mr. Debs and five associates were arrested on the ground that they had violated this injunction in contempt of court. The issue practically was whether these men were responsible for the acts of violence. Judge Woods held that they were, although, according to the witness, it was not proved that a single violent act or word, or act tending to cause violence, had been proved against Mr. Debs. These same men were also indicted for the offenses charged, but the case was dismissed. (68.)

Mr. Darrow declares that workingmen claim that the courts should have no right to issue an injunction in any case where the facts constitute a criminal offense; or at any rate, that if the right of injunction in such cases be retained, punishment for contempt should be possible only after a jury has decided as to the facts constituting the offense. Personally, the witness would prefer that the use of the injunction to restrain criminal acts should be altogether prohibited.

The witness admits that violence often does grow out of strikes, and especially out of the practice of picketing. It arises naturally because of the great excitement. Workingmen do not claim that they should be protected in their acts of violence. But the police department should see to the prevention and punishment of such acts. It is true that the police and other authorities are sometimes lax in the performance of their duty, but the public must assume that the law will be carried out by its chosen officers. At any rate, there is no more assurance that a judge will carry out the law fairly than that the mayor or the police will do so.

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The only safety is to keep each department of government within its own sphere, and then to trust to the gradual progress of civilization and the improvement of the character of the authorities to secure good order. Meantime, the laboring men insist that they have the right to form organizations, to strike—just as the employer has the right to discharge his men—and to persuade others to strike or to refrain from working. (68-71.)

IX. EFFECTS OF STRIKES

A. Effects on prosperity of Chicago, generally.—Mr. OFFIELD, a patent lawyer, whose duties bring him into connection with various manufacturers, declares that within a radius of 40 miles from the city of Chicago more money is invested in manufacturing industries than in all New England. He asserts, however, that during recent years manufacturers in that locality have become exceedingly uneasy on account of the attitude of labor organizations. They feel that there must be some drastic measures to prevent constant interference with their business. The State authorities seem indisposed to take any practical measures. The witness has heard a large number of manufacturers who have advocated the programme of fighting out the points of contention immediately; and, in case they are not settled favorably, moving their industries outside of Chicago and its vicinity. (83.)

Mr. BOARD, a manufacturer of machinery, says that Chicago would be the greatest manufacturing center in the world if it were not for the labor troubles. He declares that if the present condition of things continues the manufacturing industry of the city will be driven away, especially to the suburban towns. His own business could be carried on just as well in a small town, and he would save 5 per cent in the cost of labor, on account of the lower cost of living. If labor unions continue to be so extravagant in their demands throughout the country, our manufacturing industries will largely be destroyed and Europe will get the advantage of the business. (41, 44.)

Mr. ROUNTREE says that the general conditions of business at Chicago and throughout the country are such that, were it not for the strikes, there would be great prosperity. If the labor difficulties can be settled Chicago will be the best point for carrying on the brass industry. It is near the source of production of copper and is advantageously situated for shipping, while it is easier to get skilled labor in a large city than in a small town. (34.)

Mr. CHALMERS, a manufacturer of machinery, declares that unless there is some radical improvement in the labor conditions in Chicago it is doomed as an industrial center. He knows of plans for new corporations there which have fallen through because of the fear of labor troubles. The present strike among the machinists alone has caused a loss in wages of \$15,000 per day to the strikers, while on account of the dependence of the other workers in the machine shops upon the machinists unemployment of these will also be greatly increased. This strike, together with the others, will soon become the cause of great suffering, as the strikers can not look for much relief from the public, for the public is getting educated and will not support men who will not work. (6, 15.)

Mr. A. R. CLARK, a contractor, states that there are companies that have been forced to leave Chicago on account of its labor conditions. He names the Compound Iron Company, which left Chicago with some 250 men, and is now employing 30 or 500 men at St. Joseph, Mich. (401.)

Mr. CORBOY, a contracting plumber, declares that the controversies and strikes that have prevailed in Chicago for some years have resulted in driving away a good many manufacturing plants to the smaller towns about. (415.)

Mr. PRICE, a general contractor, has heard of several people who meant to build manufacturing plants in Chicago, but have decided not to come here on account of labor difficulties. He estimates that Chicago has only laid about 10,000,000 brick during the past year, while New York has laid about 1,200,000,000. Chicago has great advantages as a manufacturing center but for the conditions in the labor market. (362, 363.)

B. Effect on prosperity of building industry.—Mr. MADDEN, president of the Weston Stone Company, says that his business is a sort of thermometer of the increase and decrease of the manufacturing business in Chicago. When business is brisk there is a demand for building stone. When business is dull there is little demand. From the close of 1892 to the close of 1896 the great manufacturing industries of Chicago were practically at a standstill. There was a great increase during 1897, and in 1898 some of the great manufacturing plants had more than doubled the men they employed in 1896, and in 1899 the force of 1896 was almost

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doubled again. This increase necessitated large additions to their plants. Further large additions would now be in progress if it were not for the building trades troubles.

The general building business has been very small up to this time. Real estate and building are the last interests to feel the effects of rising prosperity. Furthermore, the unsettled relations between contractors and workmen during the past year have made capitalists hesitate to undertake building operations. (108, 109.)

Mr. GINDELE says that mechanics and laborers in the building line were pretty well employed in 1898 and 1899, but the reason was the construction of the drainage canal and certain other city works, and also the fact that many mechanics left the city to work elsewhere. Some of the Chicago mechanics prefer to take jobs outside of the city even at lower rates, because they know that their work will not be interrupted by labor difficulties. The actual building business in the city itself was very small during these years as compared with former years. (307.)

Mr. NICHOLSON says that he reads in the papers from the report of the masons' association that some 300 buildings partially erected are suspended by the existing strike. Probably about 20 are large buildings. (94.)

Mr. A. R. CLARK, a contractor engaged in putting up buildings on his own account for sale, states that when the carpenters' agreement of 1899 was presented to him its demands were so preposterous that he thought it better to cease building operations for the year. During the 3 years before he had put up buildings to the value of \$250,000 a year. He made no further effort to build until it was stated in the press, and until he had been assured by the officers of the master masons' association, that an agreement had been formed with the building trades council by which these objectionable demands were to be left to arbitration. He then prepared plans for two buildings, to contain 44 flats. The foundation of one of these buildings was laid before the existing trouble began. There it stands, and Mr. Clark will not attempt anything further until matters are adjusted. (401.)

Mr. F. W. CLARK states that when the present strike began his firm had figures out on work amounting to about \$2,000,000, more than it had had out in Chicago at any one time for 5 or 6 years past. He knows of several million dollars' worth of work which is waiting for the adjustment of the troubles. Probably 12 or 15 million dollars' worth would be started this season in the architects' offices or on the ground but for the strike. Almost half of the amount would go in wages, for work on the buildings or in making material for the buildings. The Chicago mills feel the strike more severely than they would if the effort had not been made, with a good deal of success, to restrict the manufacture of material for Chicago buildings to the city. This has resulted in the exclusion of outside work from the Chicago mills. (417.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, says that the public has the largest interest in such a strike as that existing in Chicago. There are some 16 unions with which his firm comes directly in contact in the building trades, having perhaps 25,000 men, but as many more are doubtless thrown out of employment. The planing mills, the stone quarries, the sand pits, the limekilns—all are shut down. The witness estimates that there are about 200,000 mouths to feed whose breadwinners are idle. (89, 92.)

Mr. GRIFFITHS, a general contractor, states that there was a considerable amount of building and public improvement in Chicago last year and that in his opinion the present year would have been one of the most prosperous that Chicago has seen in a long time but for the labor difficulties. As it is, very little, if any, new building is being started. (337.)

Mr. GEORGE F. HARDING, Sr., says that he would seem to be benefited, as an owner of property, by anything that should stop people from building. On the other hand, he could not be much more harmed than by anything which should make people unable to pay their rent, as the strike makes the strikers and will make others.

Mr. Harding states that his rents have scarcely equaled the outgo under the greatly increased cost of building, due to the combinations of material dealers and to the demands of the unions. Even in the present strike, which has checked building, the course of rents has not been appreciably upward. (164.)

Mr. CARROLL, president of the building trades council, says that contractors complain that not enough new buildings are put up, the real-estate board has joined in the cry against labor, and some real-estate men have said that rents will have to be increased because of labor troubles. On the other hand, the constant statement of real-estate men has been that too many buildings have been put up and that flat rents have been steadily going down because of the yearly addition of new buildings. (268.)

Mr. BLISS, a painting contractor, declares that it is not true that the stoppage of building is altogether because of labor actions. The price of material has been put up by combinations of every kind, and when the workman asks a slight increase to offset the increased price he has to pay for everything, he can not get it. (255.)

Mr. MILLER, a contractor, testifying in February, 1901, says that he does not believe the losses of employers and employees have exceeded \$5,000,000. At the time of his testimony building operations were going on with little hindrance, and there was a prospect of a considerable amount of building. (521.)

C. *Bitterness remaining from strikes.*—Mr. NICHOLSON declares that 30 years will not efface the memory of the sufferings of a great strike. This is a most deplorable thing, especially in this country, where the poorer classes all have votes. (96.)

X. THE MACHINISTS' STRIKE.

A. *Organizations involved.*—*International Association of Machinists.*—Mr. WILSON, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists, states that this union was organized at Atlanta in 1888. Before that the local associations of machinists all belonged to the British Amalgamated Society of Engineers. The present membership of the International Association is about 35,000, having doubled during the year 1899. The reason for this increase is largely the fact that the association supported many nonunion men during the strike of 1899 and thus won their interest.

The initiation fee of the lodges of the International Association may not be less than \$2. The dues paid to the local lodges vary in different localities. The per capita tax for the International Association is 15 cents monthly, with an additional 25 cents every 3 months for a special fund. The organization pays in the way of benefits only a death benefit of \$50 aside from strike benefits. The witness thinks it would be wiser to have higher dues and more benefits, thereby tending to strengthen the organization.

Mr. Wilson says further that the local funds of the lodges are independent of the control of the international organization, aside from the per capita tax. The per capita tax is paid by means of stamps inserted in a membership book which each member must carry. The organization has a system of numbering its members by which they can be accurately traced. (489.)

The International Association of Machinists has no regular strike fund, but raises money to aid strikers by special assessment. The amount spent for strikes during 1899 was \$31,834. Aside from this, \$524 was paid for "victimized benefit." This benefit is paid when a man is discharged without just cause and when the union is not sufficiently strong in the factory to justify a strike in order to compel his reinstatement. In such a case the person discharged is paid regular wages while the business agents look up for a job for him. (487-489, 493.)

Mr. Wilson remarks that in this country, as distinguished from Great Britain, an "engineer" means not a person who makes machines, but only one who attends to an engine. American engineers are not supposed to be able to make repairs; indeed, the most successful never interfere with the mechanical side of their engines at all. The American Association of Machinists has no jurisdiction over engineers. (489.)

Mr. Wilson says that there is no formal relation between the International Association of Machinists and the American lodges of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, although the two organizations are thoroughly friendly to one another. They do not exchange cards, and no person can be a member of both. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers has much higher dues and pays more and larger benefits. When men become educated up to appreciating these advantages they sometimes change from the International Association to the Amalgamated Society. The Amalgamated Society has grown in strength since the establishment of the International Association. On the other hand, the American body has done away with some of the merely formal ceremonies and old-fashioned customs of the British organization. (487, 488.)

National Metal Trades Association.—Mr. DEVENS, assistant secretary of the National Metal Trades Association, says that this is a voluntary association of manufacturers, primarily for the purpose of defending themselves against unjust demands of labor organizations, and also to endeavor to adjust difficulties between employers and employees in an amicable manner. It was organized as the National Association in December, 1899, but previously a local union had existed in New York City, formed in August, 1899.

The association has a president, first and second vice-presidents, a secretary-treasurer, and an assistant secretary, the latter being the only salaried officer.

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The body is divided into 9 districts, each having a district committee of 5 members. The general body has a council composed of its executive officers and the chairmen and vice-chairmen of the district committee, 16 members in all.

The present membership of the organization is 114, and it covers practically all the Northeast and North Central States.

The regular dues of the members are \$1 per year for the general fund. In addition there is a reserve fund, to be used in helping members in case of labor difficulties, which is maintained by a tax upon the members in proportion to the number of persons they employ. Mr. Devens thinks that there may still be occasion for the use of this reserve fund, despite the existing arbitration agreement with the International Association of Machinists. (499, 500, 508.)

B. Causes and history of inauguration of strike.—1. *Generally.*—Mr. REID, national organizer of the International Association of Machinists, testifies that in January, 1900, a circular letter was sent by the district lodge of the association in Chicago to the machinery manufacturers of that city, asking them at a certain day to meet the representatives of the organized machinists for the purpose of discussing a contract as to conditions of labor. On the date fixed very few of the manufacturers appeared. About March 1, 1900, accordingly, a written contract was drawn up by the district lodge and was presented to the various machinery manufacturers.

This contract, Mr. Reid declares, was not prepared hastily by irresponsible leaders, but the various local organizations in the city instructed the district lodge to draw it up, and after being drafted it was submitted to a referendum vote of the local lodges of the city.

This contract provided first for complete recognition of the International Association of Machinists. It demanded a minimum rate of wages of 28 cents an hour for machinists and 32 cents an hour for die and tool makers. Overtime to midnight should be paid for at one and one-half times the regular rates, and after midnight and on Sundays and holidays at double rates. The contract provided for the employment of apprentices in accordance with the constitution of the international association, which calls for a 4 years' apprenticeship and allows 1 apprentice to each 5 machinists. The 9-hour day was also demanded. If grievances should arise it was provided that the company should receive a committee of its own employees, and, if no adjustment could be reached, that the dispute should be left to the employers and the executive board of the district lodge, with provision for arbitration in case no settlement could be reached by conference.

This proposed contract, says Mr. Reid, was rejected by the great majority of the machinery manufacturers, and as a consequence about 5,000 machinists and other employees in machine shops ceased work. During the second week of the strike 18 of the employers had signed this contract or contracts in an amended form. (178, 187.)

Mr. Reid says that the constitution of the International Association of Machinists provides that when a grievance occurs in any shop the men shall first appoint a committee to wait upon the employer. If he will not settle the difficulty it is referred to the grand lodge of the organization. The grand lodge tries to secure a conference. If the grievance of the men is not a just one the lodge has the power to prohibit the men from going on strike. If it is just and no settlement can be secured it may legalize the strike. (186.)

Mr. WILSON, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists, says that the main object of the machinists' strikes at Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Paterson, and Philadelphia was to secure a reduction of hours. It was thought that Chicago would be a good place to make a test fight. Unfortunately, the machinists there thought they were strong enough to win anything, and the witness believes that "they went off at halfcock." They went on strike before the time agreed upon for the reply of the employers, and that probably prevented reaching an understanding. (490.)

Mr. DEVENS, assistant secretary of the National Metal Trades Association, says that about January 22 Mr. Brown, the business agent of the Chicago lodge of machinists, wrote to various manufacturers, asking them to meet him in conference. Only 4 did so. After about 3 weeks he wrote again, sending copies of the proposed agreement for signature. The agreement is submitted by Mr. Devens, the terms being as above stated by Mr. Reid. As most of the manufacturers paid no attention to this second demand, Mr. Brown went in person to many of the shops and presented it. Mr. Devens believes that in many of these cases he notified the employers that the agreement, which was to take effect in 8 weeks, must be signed immediately, and on refusal the men were immediately ordered to strike, in some instances doing so within 20 minutes.

The witness declares that business was very brisk at this time and that all the

shops had large contracts on hand. It would have been entirely impossible for them to make such sudden and important changes of hours and wages while they were bound by these contracts. The union was hasty in forcing this demand. (500, 506, 507.)

Mr. CHALMERS, of Fraser & Chalmers, manufacturers of machinery, says that just before March 1, 1900, the machinery manufacturers of Chicago received a circular letter saying that unless they arranged to meet the union men who signed the letter, and such other delegates as might come to Chicago, by March 1, a strike would be called. The manufacturers did not object to meeting their own employees, but they knew nothing of the business agents who signed these notices, and they refused to attend such a meeting. Consequently, 6,000 machinists have struck, involving an average loss in wages of about \$15,000 per day. (6.)

Mr. WEBSTER, a manufacturer of machinery, thinks that the employers took the wrong attitude at the outset toward the demands of the machinists. Those demands were first made in January. The employers were not well organized, and individually they paid little attention to the demands in most cases. They had an idea, perhaps, that to grant any demand was to open the door to greater ones, both by the machinists and by other employees. Mr. Webster thinks that instead of refusing outright the employers should have negotiated with the men. (145.)

2. *Morgan-Gardner Electrical Company.*—Mr. RYAN, of the Morgan-Gardner Electrical Company, says that about half of the employees of that company struck on February 23, 1900. The chief demand was that the machinists' union should be recognized, although some men who were not members of the union struck. The men had practically no grievances of their own, but wished to help other employees not as well situated as themselves. The witness refused to recognize the union in negotiations, although he is not opposed to unions as such. He did, however, negotiate with a committee representing the men, and in a certain sense representing the union. An agreement was reached on March 19, a written contract being made which established practically the same methods and rules as had formerly existed in the shop, and the men all returned to work. The company did not agree to employ exclusively union men, but is left at liberty to employ whom it will. It is the purpose of the company, however, to recognize a committee of the men in the shop at all times, and when it needs new employees to ask it to furnish them. The witness thinks that the settlement is entirely satisfactory to both sides. (290, 291, 293, 295.)

3. *Gates Iron Works.*—Mr. GATES, of the Gates Iron Works, manufacturers of rock breakers and of machinery for precious-metal mines, says that most of the employees of that company had, up to the time of the recent strike, been in its employ for a long time. Their wages had been increased in the past year or two, and averaged fully as high as in 1892, although the prices received for the products of the company are considerably less than at that time. The witness thinks that the majority of the men in his shop have been nonunion men. Recently the machinists have struck; the others are still at work. There was no demand or complaint regarding conditions in the shop itself. The strike was ordered by the district lodge of machinists. The company declared that it would not recognize a local organization, but wished to arbitrate along the lines established by the National Metal Trades Association and the Iron Moulders' Union.

Mr. Gates thinks that the great majority of the men on strike at present in Chicago would rather be at work. He believes that they are misrepresented by their officers. There are always a certain number of workmen who are dissatisfied, and it is these who largely control the situation, very much as in the city politicians of a low order control the primaries and make up the slate for the nomination of officers. (19, 20, 25.)

4. *Tin-can machinery manufacture.*—Mr. BOARD, a manufacturer of machinery, says that at the beginning of March, 1900, he had in his employ 390 men. About that time the machinists in the shop presented a demand for signature. This provided for a minimum rate of wages for machinists of 28 cents and 32 cents per hour for a 9-hour day; for employment of members of the International Association of Machinists in good standing exclusively on machinists' work and on die and tool work, and for settlement of disputes by arbitration. This demand was presented to the witness on Thursday, and he told the walking delegate that he would reply on Saturday. The walking delegate said there would be no interference until the reply was made, but he reported to the union that night that he did not think the witness would sign the paper, and advised a strike. One of the witness's foremen was told that there would be a strike, and for the sake of putting himself into a better position the witness discharged all of his machinists—290 men. He gave as a reason that he intended to move his shop, which was a fact. At the time of his testimony Mr. Board was just sending out, he declares, a letter

to all of the old men saying that if they wished to come back at the old wages and regulations they might do so, and that their places would be held for a few days. (39, 47.)

5. *Goss Printing Press Company.*—Mr. WALSER, president of the Goss Printing Press Company, says that the men in his shop have struck, but that they do not claim to have any grievance. They have not spoken to the company in any way as to demands, but the leaders of the machinists' union have presented the same contract for signature which was presented to the other machinery manufacturers.

Mr. Walser says that he tried to operate his plant for a time with nonunion men, but that at last through fear of violence he practically closed it down. In a few of the departments work is still going on, chiefly with apprentice labor. A good many of the men on strike have told the witness that they would be glad to go back to work, but that they dare not do so—that they think their lives would be in danger. (371, 374.)

6. *Webster Manufacturing Company.*—Mr. WEBSTER, president of the Webster Manufacturing Company, employing 350 to 400 men, says that the same demands have been made by the machinists' union upon his company as upon the other machinery manufacturers, but that, although the demands have not been acceded to, the men have not as yet struck. The company has asked them to wait until the matter can be settled by consultation between the International Association of Machinists and the National Metal Trades Association. The witness thinks that the men have recognized that the company has taken a stand somewhat more favorable to them in various ways than some of the other employers have taken. They may, however, strike at any time. (144, 147.)

7. *Western Electric Company.*—Mr. BARTON, president of the Western Electric Company, says that that company employs in Chicago about 5,200 or 5,300 men, some of whom are machinists. About the beginning of the present year representatives of the different labor unions among the men demanded that only union men be employed. This was refused, and on February 22 the machinists, 214 in number, quit work. About 3 weeks later the men working in the brass foundries, and the buffers, polishers, and platers, demanded that preference be given to members of the union in employment, and when this was refused they also quit. In both these cases there was no complaint against the conditions of work in the factory itself. The majority of the men who have struck are still out, and the company has made no particular effort to fill their places. There have been some negotiations with the union, but since they have always demanded that some preference be given to union men in employment the demands have been refused. The company will be glad to resume work, giving preference to its former employees. (296-298.)

8. *Turner Brass Works.*—Mr. ROUNTREE says that several different trade unions are represented among the workers in the Turner Brass Works. Some belong to the International Association of Brass Workers, some to the brass molders' union, some to the polishers' union, some to the finishers' union, and a few to the machinists' union. The witness has had various interviews with the business agents of the unions. They have approached him especially because he was regarded as a representative of the employers in the brass industry, having been instrumental in organizing the Brass Club among the employers in Chicago. At one time two business agents appeared and asked the witness to sign a contract. He refused, and afterwards they offered a new contract, but the witness stated that the company had decided not to unionize the shop. The company understood that to recognize the union men was to agree to employ only members of the union, which is the first article of these contracts. The Turner Brass Works have never made it a custom to inquire whether a man was a union man or not. Its employees are hired by individual contracts, practically by the week.

The witness says he was not waited upon by any committee of the workmen in his shop, nor was there any dissatisfaction as to the conditions of labor there. He has always stood in close connection with his men and their relations have been pleasant. He does not think that the men in the Turner Brass Works expected to be called out. Early in March, however, 23 men out of 150 employed struck at the call of the business agents. The witness thinks that this represented the entire number of union men at that time. Gradually the rest of the men were persuaded to quit work, nearly four times as many leaving as originally belonged to the union. Some of these afterwards became members of the union, so that about 49 are probably now union men. The witness thinks that some degree of compulsion was used to get these men to quit work. After a few days the works were closed, and there has been no attempt to reopen them. (28, 29, 32.)

9. *Fraser & Chalmers.*—Mr. CHALMERS, of Fraser & Chalmers, manufacturers of mining machinery, says that the machinists in the shop of that firm made no complaint before striking. A claim was made at the union headquarters that the

firm was going to lock out its men—a claim without foundation—and thereupon a strike was ordered. Mr. Chalmers says that Fraser & Chalmers have increased the wages of their men from 5 to 12½ per cent during the past 14 months. (15, 18.)

C. *Discussion of demands of machinists and attitude of employers toward them.*—1. *Generally.*—Mr. WEBSTER thinks that most of the demands made by the machinists' union are reasonable, or at any rate that they are fit subjects for arbitration. The demand concerning wages is entirely satisfactory. Employers differ as to granting the 9-hour day, but the witness believes personally that it ought to be granted, although it would be very desirable that it should be adopted by machinery manufacturers throughout the country. On the other hand the demand that only union men shall be employed is regarded as violating a great principle, and, moreover, the employers fear that if they should grant this the union would extend its demands—for example, would want to limit the amount of work to be done by the men. (147, 148.)

Mr. McGARRY, proprietor of the Washington Steam Boiler Works, thinks that the machinists and other strikers in Chicago are for the most part right in their demands. He declares that he does not permit labor difficulties to interfere with his business, because, having been a working man himself, he puts himself at the point of view of his employees. He has never lost sight of the fact that he may at any time have to be looking for a job himself. In 1899 the boiler makers working for the witness threatened to strike for an 8-hour day. The witness promised to sign the proposed agreement if some of his competitors would do so first, and two or three other signers having been obtained he willingly met the terms demanded. (307, 308.)

Mr. GATES declares that if this strike continues it will result either in reducing the business of his company to a few specialties or in driving it out of business entirely. It is simply impossible for the company to submit to the dictation of the local unions, especially because it comes in competition with manufacturers in other parts of the country and in other countries. The general attitude of the laboring men in Chicago at the present time is hostile to the best interests of Chicago as a manufacturing center. (24.)

2. *Recognition of union.*—The demand made in the original contract submitted by the machinists to their employers, as stated by Mr. REID, was that only members of the International Association of Machinists in good standing should be employed on machinists' and die and tool work. Mr. Reid says that the machinists believe that harmony is necessary to success in business, and that a shop whose employees are members of an organization which teaches them to be diligent and faithful will naturally be more successful than other shops. Moreover, the machinists believe that employees should be controlled by their organizations and that frivolous grievances tending to irritate employers should be suppressed, while grievances of a serious nature should be adjusted by arbitration. It is believed that only where the employees are governed by a responsible organization can arbitration be successfully conducted.

On the other hand, the machinists were perfectly willing to amend their proposed contract in this regard, but many of the manufacturers broke off negotiations so that the proposed amendment could not be presented. As evidence of the attitude of the machinists, Mr. Reid submitted a copy of the contract between the machinists' union and Siemens & Halske, which states that the company agrees that, should it require the services of a machinist or other skilled worker, the shop committee of the men will be given 48 hours in which to furnish a competent man, but that in case of failure to do so the company shall have the right to hire a union or a nonunion man at pleasure.

Mr. Reid says, further, that even under the original contract there was no provision to prevent an employer from discharging his men for any reasonable cause. The employer should be the judge of the competency of his men. The subject of discharging is not even mentioned in the contract. In case an employer should discharge a man apparently because he had been active in union work or for some such reason, it would be considered a grievance, but not otherwise. The organization simply seeks to protect its members from discrimination on the ground of their membership.

The union does attempt to make its membership a guaranty of competency. There are many branches of the machinists' trade, and each man is given a due book or traveling card which states in what branch he is specially skilled. It may, the witness admits, happen that incompetent men get into the union.

The constitution of the International Association of Machinists itself does not compel its members to refuse to work with nonunion men. The constitution simply asks that the members themselves be diligent. On the other hand, the international officers, like the witness, are not responsible for bitter feeling on the part of the men in the local organizations and can not prevent them from refusing to

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work with those whom they consider traitors. In practice the witness believes the men do sometimes refuse to work with nonunion men, but usually only where such men have proved traitors in a peculiar sense. (179,181,188.)

Mr. BARTON, president of the Western Electric Company, says that that company has no objection to dealing with its men through any representatives they may choose, whether a committee of their own number or the business agents of the unions to which the men may belong. The company has always discussed matters with representatives of the unions and is willing still to do so. There are probably six or eight different unions among the workmen in the company's shops. In some departments practically all of the employees are union men. This is, notably the case among the brass foundrymen and the iron foundrymen; their unions are of long standing and well managed. In the case of the machinists there is a smaller proportion of union men—not more than one-half in these shops. This is partly due to the fact that the machinists are less nomadic than many other workmen, but are permanently established and do not need the union so much for their protection. In some other departments there are no union men at all. The stockholders and directors of the company sustain the position of the officers that the company will not agree to give preference to union men, and especially will not employ them exclusively. The witness doubts whether the manufacturers of Chicago can get enough nonunion men to run their establishments but thinks that they intend to fight out the strike.

Mr. Barton declares that on general principles he is in favor of labor unions, and that he believes that, in spite of mistakes and drawbacks, they have benefited the laboring classes without seriously injuring any other class. It is legitimate for workmen to combine to secure shorter hours and higher wages. (299-301.)

Mr. Barton, on hearing a summary of the conditions of the contract made by the machinists' union with the firm of Siemens & Halske, says that, if stated correctly, practically nothing is involved in this contract which was not already in practice at the Western Electric Company's works before the recent strike, unless perhaps the provision concerning the shop committees. The witness sees no reason why work should not be resumed under such conditions. The Western Electric Company, however, would not be willing to have a steward, an official of the union, representing the organization among its employees. It will not make itself a recruiting agency nor a collection agency for the unions. (297,299.)

Mr. GATES says that the demands of the machinists in the present strike are not especially unreasonable, except their demand that every shop shall be a union shop, and that all of the employees shall submit to union rules. One of these rules provides that no member shall take a job for less than it formerly paid. If any workman shows himself superior and entitled to more than the minimum rate of wages, the employers, in view of this rule, will not advance his pay, since any other man who should afterwards take the job could not work at a lower rate. If a man knows that more efficient work will not result in higher wages, he will do as little work and as poor work as possible. The constitution of the machinists' union also provides that the local union must vote on the question of the reduction of wages; in case of hard times the employer may be unable to continue business because of refusal to accept lower wages. Another rule of the machinists' union limits workmen to the use of one tool. In every instance the tendency is to curtail the production of each man, and to make one level for all workmen, with no chance to rise. (24,25.)

Mr. ROUNTREE says that the Turner Brass Works have never made it a custom to inquire of workmen whether they were union men or not. The witness has no objection to dealing with union men if they are men of sufficient ability and honesty and if labor disputes are treated from a national standpoint. It will not do to settle disputes in the brass industry from a local standpoint. The International Association of Brass Workers is not very large or strong, and the employers are not warranted in believing that it could compel their competitors in other places to make the same terms as are demanded in Chicago. (31.)

Mr. WALSER, of the Goss Printing Press Company, thinks that Siemens & Halske were compelled by force of circumstances to operate their plant at any cost, and therefore made the agreement with the machinists' union. He does not believe they will be able to compete with the Eastern manufacturer under these conditions. (876.)

Mr. JONES, a nonunion machinist, says that he has been employed in shops where there is no distinction made between union and nonunion men. As far as he knows, the nonunion men are often as competent as the best union men. The witness himself gets as good pay as the union men. Employers usually care little for certificates of membership in the machinists' union as evidence of skill, although such a certificate might have some weight in certain shops. Practically, men are always taken on trial and must prove themselves skilled mechanics.

Mr. Jones says, further, that before the present strike one-third of the machinists in Chicago were members of the union. The membership of the union has been increased during the strike, partly, as the witness implies, by practical coercion of men to join the organization. (196, 197.)

Mr. WILSON, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists, says that that organization has never attempted to compel men to join it before allowing them to work. The rights of nonunionists are thoroughly respected, but the organization tries to induce them to join. This policy of open shops has, in the opinion of Mr. Wilson, tended to increase the membership of the union. (495.)

Mr. DEVENS, assistant secretary of the National Metal Trades' Association, asserts that the employers in the machine shops have never discriminated against union men, but have run open shops, insisting on the right of the employer to employ whom he will. They are perfectly willing that their men should organize. This practice is made general and permanent by the agreement adopted in New York in May, 1900. The witness believes that under the terms of this agreement it will be possible to check the various secret discriminations made by union men against nonunion men in machine shops. Mr. Devens states that it has often been the practice of union men to hide the tools of the nonunion men, or to refuse to assist them in emergencies. (509, 511.)

3. *Demand as to wages.*—Mr. REID says that the demand of the machinists for a minimum rate of wages did not aim to establish a uniform rate or to prevent the employer from paying higher wages to the more skilled workmen. The union believes that no workman who is competent to act as a machinist should receive less than 28 cents per hour, and that tool makers should receive 32½ cents. The high skill required deserves reasonable compensation. To become a skilled machinist a man must submit to instruction for a number of years, and must also apply himself to mechanical studies. Not only is skill of hand required, but the brain must be continually in operation. A man must be able to work to the thousandth part of an inch. As a matter of fact, the minimum demand is not higher than that usually paid in the past by Chicago manufacturers. The machinists are not asking for the 9-hour day with 10 hours' pay. They have been earning in the past from \$2.60 to \$3 per day for 10 hours' work, and the minimum fixed in the contract would amount to \$2.52 for the 9-hour day.

The increase in the prosperity of the manufacturers warrants an increase in the wages of the employees, and yet during the past year there have been no general advances, unless perhaps in the case of one or two firms. There may have been individual advances of wages.

It was not intended that the wages of individual workmen in the shop should be fixed by a contract with the shop committee or with the union. Each man's wages would be fixed by agreement with his employer individually, but a minimum would be fixed.

The machinists did not demand this minimum wage for any but skilled men, those technically known as machinists or die men. Men known as "handy men," who are able to work the simplest machines, drill presses, screw machines, etc., but who are able usually to do only one class of work, might receive lower wages. The skilled machinists will not allow men of this class to do regular machinists' work.

There was no strike among the employees of the Illinois Steel Company, although some machinists are employed by that company. The wages of these men have been raised, and their condition is entirely satisfactory. (179, 189-191.)

Mr. CHALMERS declares that the demands of the machinists are not really on the subject of wages. He does not believe that there is a machine shop in Chicago of any importance which pays less than 28 cents per hour to machinists. The average wages in Fraser & Chalmers's shop are from 26 to 35 cents per hour. The claim that hod carriers are paid a higher rate per hour than machinists fails to regard the fact that the work of hod carriers is very irregular. The actual average wages of hod carriers for the year are probably less than \$1.50 per day. The machinists work every day in the year except holidays, and their work is carried on under more comfortable conditions. (7, 8.)

Mr. BARTON, of the Western Electric Company, insists that the strikers in the shops of the Western Electric Company had no grievance of their own, especially as regards hours and wages. The competent machinists who struck had been receiving wages ranging from 26½ cents to 50 cents per hour, and the tool makers from 29½ to 37½ cents per hour. The brass molders, who struck afterwards, had been receiving from 26½ to 31½ cents per hour, and the buffers, platers, and polishers from 22½ cents to 35 cents per hour. The wages mentioned are those for the skilled men in each case, there being lower rates for helpers and learners. For women the wages are at first 7½ cents per hour and afterwards 9½ cents per hour, while the few who become specially skilled get 11½ cents per hour. (296, 297.)

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Mr. ROUNTREE, president of the Turner Brass Works, says that the men there have had no grievance of their own. The average wages paid in the works, nearly one-half of the men being under 21 years of age, are \$10.98. For skilled workmen the minimum wage is 25 cents per hour. The work is regular 300 days in the year, so that the men can earn \$750 yearly. Brass workers are better paid at \$2.50 than bricklayers at \$4 per day, since the work of bricklayers is less regular, and since they lose considerable time and spend considerable money going to and from work. The wages of brass workers have been increased about 10 per cent in 2 years and work has been steady. Most of the workmen at the Turner Brass Works are prosperous. Some of them have put their children through the high school, and the witness thinks that in few cases are the children of the workmen engaged in labor. They are able to advance to still higher occupations than that of their parents. The hours of labor at the Turner works have been 10½ per day, or 63 in a week; but the works closed at 3 o'clock on Saturdays, so that the total hours were 60 per week. (29, 33.)

Mr. BOARD says that the wages paid in his establishment before the strike averaged about \$2.80 for 10 hours, the best hands earning as much as \$3.50 per day. Wages have been raised during the past 2 years, but by arrangements with individuals, not generally. The witness says that during the recent hard times he did not lower wages at all, but that he took many contracts, out of which he made scarcely any profit, merely to keep the establishment running. (41.)

The average pay of the machinists in the employ of the Goss Company, according to Mr. WATKINS, has been about \$2.60 for 10 hours' work. The witness declares that his company could not grant higher wages and shorter hours and continue in competition with Eastern establishments, especially since the latter are nearer the markets than Chicago. If the demands of the union were granted the Goss Company would be paying from 15 to 25 per cent higher wages than its competitors at other points. The machinists claim that hod carriers get as high wages as they do, but they do not consider that hod carriers work only a fraction of the year. (372, 375.)

Mr. RYAN, of the Morgan-Gardner Electrical Company, says that the wages in its shop average \$2.28 per day, including unskilled laborers. The present hours of labor are 9 per day, but the witness favors reducing them sooner or later to 8. (292.)

4. *Demand for 9-hour day.*—Mr. REID says that the demand of the machinists for the 9-hour day is not based on the desire for 10 hours' pay for 9 hours' work, but rather on the belief that under the shorter day the physical condition of the men will be much improved; in fact, that they can work so much better that the output will be as large, if not larger, than under the 10-hour day. Machinery was intended to lighten labor rather than to increase its burdens. The work of the machinists is not light in comparison with that of other trades. The machines which they tend are speeded to the highest limit, and the nature of the work makes it necessary to pay rigid attention constantly. In a large city like Chicago workmen almost invariably have to travel long distances to their work, so that their hours are actually considerably longer than the time spent at the shop. The machinists want the 9-hour day, so that they may have more opportunities to become acquainted with their families and to enjoy the various comforts of home. The argument of their opponents that the extra hour will be spent in the grogshops is an ungentlemanly attack upon the character of the machinists, who are, Mr. Reid declares, exceedingly temperate men. The claim that Chicago manufacturers must have the 10-hour day because their competitors in other parts of the country work 10 hours is not thoroughly well founded. A majority of the machine shops in Pittsburg and in Greater New York are operated on the 9-hour day. (179, 180.)

Mr. MCGARRY thinks that 8 hours is amply sufficient for any man to work. He believes that his men work with far more pleasure and energy, so that the product throughout the year is not reduced by the shorter hours. The witness declares that his business comes into competition with that of other manufacturers. He is chiefly engaged in making tanks for ice machines, taking subcontracts from the manufacturers of those machines. He also does much local repair work. Mr. McGarry admits that if his competitors had as good and willing men as himself he might be at some disadvantage from working an hour or two less a day. (308, 309.)

Mr. WILSON, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists, declares that the main aim of that organization has been to reduce the hours of labor. They felt during 1900 that the time had come to demand a general 9-hour day. Although they realize the fact that a reduction of hours must reduce the output and must render idle for a proportional time the valuable machinery of

the employer, they believe that a shorter workday would give labor to the unemployed and that it is necessary for the well-being of the workers. In the larger cities a man has to leave his home very early in order to get to work at 7 o'clock, and he reaches home very late in the evening. (480.)

Mr. WEBSTER thinks the time has come when the hours of labor should be reduced, in many trades at least, to 9. In the case of heavy physical labor men can perhaps accomplish as much in 9 hours as in 10. This is not true, Mr. Webster thinks, of machinists and some other classes of skilled workmen. Their work is not severe physically. The machines are speeded at a fixed rate, and practically all the men have to do is to watch them carefully. The chief argument in favor of shorter hours in such trades is that the increased efficiency of labor and of labor-saving machinery in this country has brought us close to the line where the production is greater than the wants of the people. If we wish to give all men work, the hours of labor will probably have to be reduced.

In the case of a national industry, such as that of the machinery makers, it would be very desirable that the shorter workday should be adopted uniformly throughout the country, in order that no section might be placed at a disadvantage in competition. The reduction of hours in such a case would simply increase the fixed charges of the manufacturers. The witness does not think that shorter hours would prevent American manufacturers from competing with foreign manufacturers. The American workman can produce a very large amount in a day, both because of superior efficiency and because of the superior machinery which he uses. The witness thinks an American machinist, with the machinery which is employed here, can do as much work as two English machinists. (147, 148, 150.)

Mr. CHALMERS declares that the Chicago machine manufacturers can not afford to grant the 9-hour day on account of the longer hours of their competitors in other parts of the United States, and especially in Germany and Belgium. Labor is a comparatively small item in the expense of manufacture. The large capital invested in machinery can not afford to lie idle a tenth of the normal time. (7.)

Mr. BARTON says that the hours of labor at the Western Electric Company works are 9½ per day. The regular working hours for men at the Western Electric Works have been for many years 56 per week in winter and 52½ in summer, the limit per day being 9½ hours. In the women's department the regular hours are 53 per week in winter and 49½ in summer. He hopes that during his lifetime hours generally may be still further reduced without materially reducing the amount that men and women will earn. (296, 301.)

Mr. RYAN, employer, declares himself a believer in the 8-hour day, although his shop is at present working 9 hours. The shorter day can be made to the interest of the manufacturer as well as of the employees. When the witness began working at his trade, the hours of labor were 12, and there was the same talk about the danger of reducing them to 10 as is now heard when the 9-hour or the 8-hour day is discussed. As a matter of fact, improvements in machinery and methods have made it possible for manufacturers to reduce their hours and make as much money as formerly. However, the strain upon the workmen with improved machinery is, if anything, less than it used to be. (292.)

5. *Limiting of work.*—Mr. BOARD, a manufacturer of machinery, objects especially to the rules of certain unions limiting the amount of work which the men may do in a day. In his own business the witness has suffered from the rule of the machinists' union that no man shall run more than one machine at a time. Often a mechanic can run three or four machines as well as one. In times like the present, when there is demand for the labor of every good man, such a rule is especially absurd and unjust. (46.)

Mr. REID denies that the machinists' union attempts to limit the amount of work which a man shall do. In proof of this statement he submitted a copy of the contract between the organization and Siemens & Halske which specifically states: "Nothing in said agreement is to be interpreted as limiting the amount of work a man must do." (188.)

Mr. WILSON, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists, says that it has been the practice of the British Amalgamated Society of Engineers to restrict the output of machinists, but that American workmen work at high pressure all the time and get all possible output from the machines. All restrictions have been done away with. (488, 498.)

6. *Apprenticeship.*—The demand of the International Association of Machinists that the employers shall require 4 years apprenticeship and that no more than 1 apprentice shall be employed for each 5 machinists, is justified, according to Mr. REID, by the fact that the overproduction of machinists will not be conducive to

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the welfare of the trade, and that since the success of new workmen depends on the instruction given them by journeymen, the employees have the right to govern the apprenticeship system. (179.)

Mr. WILSON, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists, quotes from the constitution of the organization as follows:

"Any boy hereafter engaging himself to learn the trade of machinist must serve 4 years. He shall in no case leave his employer without just cause. The following ratio of apprentices shall be allowed: One to each shop, irrespective of the number of machinists employed, and 1 to every 5 machinists thereafter, and no boy shall begin to learn the trade of machinist until he is 16 years old, nor after he is 21 years of age."

He adds, however, that this provision was practically a dead letter, since the organization could not enforce it, until the manufacturers belonging to the Metal Trades Association agreed to this limitation in connection with their joint agreement with the International Association in May, 1900. Employers generally have before sought successfully to increase the number of apprentices.

7. *Overtime*.—Mr. REID says that the demand of the machinists that overtime be paid at higher rates is not due to a desire for excessive wages, but is made because the machinists consider overtime injurious to their health and wish to discourage it. The witness declares that he himself, like many other machinists, has often worked long extra hours, and attributes his poor health to that fact. (179, 180.)

D. *Negotiations for arbitration and final settlement*.¹ (See also under *Arbitration*, p. CXXXVIII.)

1. *Preliminary negotiations*.—Mr. REID says that the association of machinists believes in arbitration and has been willing to arbitrate the present difficulties. The international president and the witness, when they first came to Chicago during the present strike, held a conference with the manufacturers' association, but it was a dismal failure, since the manufacturers positively refused to discuss even the first clause of the contract proposed, that regarding recognition of the organization. Later on, the general board of the machinists' association met representatives of the National Metal Trades Association. The committee of the latter association proposed an agreement for arbitration of all future grievances, but added a clause demanding that all present strikes should be declared off. Mr. Reid says that, while the International Association of Machinists controlled nine-tenths of the machinists of Chicago, the National Metal Trades Association at that time embraced only 18 firms in Chicago out of a total of over 200, so that the vast majority of firms would not have been bound by the decision of the arbitrators chosen by this association. The machinists accordingly proposed that an agreement concerning arbitration be sent by the National Metal Trades Association to employers in the metal trades throughout the country, and that an arrangement be made by which the present difficulties could be arbitrated. The machinists were unwilling to call off the strike in anticipation of an arbitration which might take place at the pleasure of the employers. The committee of the National Metal Trades Association states practically that it had no final power to enter into an arbitration agreement, but it refused to take the course suggested by the machinists, and to secure authority from the organization throughout the country. Every amendment proposed by the machinists was rejected by the committee of the National Metal Trades Association. (181, 185.)

Mr. CHALMERS says that the local organization of the National Metal Trades Association in Chicago refused to recognize the local union of the machinists in negotiations or in arbitration, on the ground that the local organization did not have correct knowledge of the conditions of industry throughout the country. The National Metal Trades Association offered to refer all matters in dispute to the national executives of the organizations of employers and employees. The president of the machinists' union at first agreed to this, but when the representatives of the two organizations met the machinists declared that they could not "deliver the goods." The employers held that they would not arbitrate until the men had gone back to work, and when Mr. O'Connell, president of the machinists' union, refused to declare the strike off, they insisted that since he could not control his men then he could not do so after arbitration.

Mr. Chalmers presented a copy of the proposed contract submitted by the representatives of the National Metal Trades Association to the International Association of Machinists. The committee of the first-named association declared itself the duly appointed representative of the organization, proposed an agreement indorsing the principle of national arbitration, and recommended it for

¹Most of these witnesses testified before the final settlement of the strike; Mr. Wilson and Mr. Devens after it.

adoption by the members of the National Metal Trades Association and the International Association of Machinists. Pending the time necessary for ratifying the agreement, strikes and lockouts should be immediately called off. Should the agreement be ratified, either party to a labor dispute should have the right to demand its reference to a committee of arbitration, consisting of the president and two other representatives from each of the two associations, the finding of a majority of which committee should be considered final. Pending such arbitration there should be no cessation of work at the instance of either party.

Mr. Chalmers insists that the employers can not arbitrate with local organizations who know nothing of national conditions. He says that systems of arbitration such as that proposed by the National Metal Trades Association have been satisfactorily employed by the National Stove Founders' Association for 9 or 10 years, and by the National Founders' Association for several years. Neither of these organizations has suffered from a strike since the arrangement was established. (11, 13, 14.)

Mr. WEBSTER thinks that the wrong attitude taken by the employers toward the machinists' union at the outset now stands in the way of an agreement to arbitrate the difficulties. The employers are willing to arbitrate every question and are willing to grant some of the demands. All of them want to get help to run their shops, and can not get enough of it outside of the union. All the men want to remain in Chicago and work. But bad blood has been stirred up and it is hard to secure arbitration. If the employers had been well organized at the beginning, along the lines now adopted by the National Metal Trades Association, there might have been arbitration. As it was, perhaps the machinists had to strike. The manufacturers now demand that the men go back to work and that the differences be afterwards arbitrated. The men demand that the differences be first arbitrated and then they will go back to work. It seems impossible to come to any agreement on this point. The question as to whether the employers are right in this particular demand is one which appeals to different men in different ways. (146, 147.)

Mr. WALSER says that the National Metal Trades Association has been formed among the machinery manufacturers, not for the purpose of putting down strikes, but for the purpose of treating labor disputes from a national standpoint. It makes comparatively little difference to the manufacturers whether they pay one rate of wages or another, provided the rate is uniform throughout the country. The competition, especially between Western and Eastern manufacturers, is such that it is impossible for one city to pay more than another. The National Metal Trades Association is perfectly willing to negotiate or arbitrate with the different international associations of the workmen; but it can not settle strikes according to purely local conditions. The association includes manufacturers from all parts of the United States.

Mr. Walser declares further that the demand made by the National Metal Trades Association, that the machinists shall return to work before attempting to arbitrate the present difficulty, is a reasonable one. The men have left the employ of the manufacturers and can now have no grievance against them. The employers wish them to go back under the old conditions and will then be prepared to discuss or to arbitrate any grievance. (372, 376.)

Mr. DEVENS, assistant secretary of the national association, testifying in June, 1900, says that at the time when the strike in Chicago broke out that association had only 6 members in the city. Nevertheless the assistant secretary went to Chicago on February 15 and a meeting of the manufacturers was held with about 40 present. Eighteen of these decided to join the National Metal Trades Association, and a local organization, known as the Chicago Association of Machine Manufacturers, with about 70 members, was formed. The national organization, being still young and relatively weak, was obliged to await the action of this local association.

On March 15, however, the national administrative council of the Metal Trades Association was summoned to Chicago. On March 17 a committee of this organization met a committee of the International Association of Machinists, 6 on each side, and the committee of the employers submitted what is now known as the Chicago agreement. This agreement, which is more fully summarized below, provided for the establishment of a permanent system of arbitration, and for the cessation of all strikes pending such arbitration. The committee of the machinists was in favor of the agreement, but the president of that organization, Mr. O'Connell, stated that he could not accept it because he could not compel the members of the organization to abide by it.

Matters accordingly went unsettled until March 31. Just before that time 5 important manufacturers of Chicago wrote to the officers of the International

Association of Machinists again urging them to sign the agreement submitted on March 17, and declaring that the writers would do their best to secure the signatures of 5 or 6 prominent members of the National Metal Trades Association indorsing certain principles to be followed by the proposed arbitration committee. The officers of the International Association agreed to the recommendations of this letter, and the principles laid down in it were actually adopted in the agreement reached at New York in May. (501, 503.)

2. *Final settlement of strike and the establishment of arbitration system*.—Mr. DEVENS states that the agreement submitted by the Committee of the National Metal Trades Association on March 17 and concurred in by the International Association of Machinists on March 31 declared that the experience of the two organizations justified the opinion that the practice of national arbitration in the settlement of contentions was better than resort to strikes and lockouts; and that mutual agreement, conducing to greater harmony, would be of advantage. Accordingly it was resolved that in all pending disputes, and those thereafter arising, after every reasonable effort by the parties to effect a satisfactory adjustment should have failed, either party should have the right to ask for reference to a committee of arbitration, consisting of the presidents of the National Metal Trades Association and the International Association of Machinists, or their representatives, and two other representatives from each association appointed by the respective presidents. The findings of the committee by majority vote should be considered final. Pending adjudication there should be no cessation of work, and existing strikes and lockouts should be terminated, to await action concerning the causes of dispute.

In accordance with this agreement the Chicago strike was brought to an end by order of the International Association of Machinists early in April, and arrangements were made for a meeting of the arbitration committee at New York in the latter part of the month.

The first task of the arbitration committee was to bring about a cessation of the strikes which were still being carried on in Cleveland, Paterson, and Philadelphia. These strikes had been started partly in sympathy with the Chicago strike, and had not been called off when that was ended. In Cleveland the National Metal Trades Association had only one member, and neither this member nor the other manufacturers in the city would accept the Chicago agreement. The Paterson members of the association took the same stand; they declared that they would maintain open shops and take back their old men, whether union or otherwise, upon the old terms. The old men refused to apply and nonunion men were employed. The employers at the conference in New York insisted that the Cleveland strike should be called off as a preliminary to further negotiations, and this was finally agreed to, and the president of the machinists' organization telegraphed that the strike must be terminated. After 8 days of negotiations a general agreement concerning the most important conditions of employment aside from wages was reached. (504-506.)

Mr. Wilson, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists, who was also secretary of the Board of Arbitration of the National Metal Trades Association and the International Association of Machinists at New York, says that that board consisted of the presidents of the two organizations, and two others from each side appointed by them, and that a vote of 4 was necessary to carry any point. The board met at the Murray Hill Hotel, New York, in May, 1900, and sat for 8 days, both sides being in constant communication with their representatives in all parts of the country. The result was that a good understanding was reached, and the witness considers this experience and the resulting agreement for further arbitration the best step which an organization of labor has ever taken in America. It has shown that the principle of arbitration is scientific and correct. It has made employers more tolerant toward their workmen, and especially toward organizations, and has taught the employees that the employers are reasonable beings. (490, 492.)

3. *Terms of settlement*.—Mr. DEVENS describes the terms of the New York agreement in detail and comments upon them.

The agreement incorporates the terms of the Chicago agreement, providing for an adjustment of future disputes by a committee of arbitration in the manner above described.

The question of wages is not directly covered by the agreement, but a provision which Mr. Devens considers important, in view of probable future local agreements as to a minimum rate of wages, fixes the definition of a competent machinist. Mr. Devens declares that the machinists have hitherto attempted to enforce their minimum rates for incompetent men who are really only "handy men." By the agreement a machinist is defined to be a "competent general workman," a

competent floor hand, lathe hand, planer hand, vise hand, etc.; he must be able to take a blue print or a drawing and prosecute the work therefrom successfully within a reasonable time. The competency of the men is to be determined entirely by the judgment of the employer.

The agreement provides that overtime shall be paid at the rate of "time and a quarter" up to 10 o'clock, "time and a half" from 10 o'clock until midnight, and "double time" after midnight and on Sundays and holidays. Mr. Devens says that this arrangement probably represents, on the average, neither a gain to the employers nor to the employees, but simply systematizes overtime work, which was formerly paid at various different rates by different establishments.

The agreement further regulates the apprenticeship system, adopting the rule of the machinists' union as to the number of apprentices. Every shop is allowed 1 apprentice, and 1 additional for every 5 men employed.

Mr. Devens believes that this regulation will have little effect, because there are few regularly indentured apprentices, unskilled work being done by boys or "handy men," who receive no particular instruction. He does not consider that the agreement applies to this class of men. The agreement next declares that "no discrimination shall be made against union men, and every workman shall be free to belong to a trade union should he see fit. Every employer shall be free to employ any man whether he belongs or not to a trade union." Mr. Devens asserts that this provision is of very great importance, since it prevents the union from insisting that only union men shall be employed. He asserts that employers have never discriminated against union men, but have merely insisted on their right to employ whom they please. The hours of labor, under the agreement, are to be reduced to 57 per week after 6 months from date of the agreement, and to 54 after 12 months. This provision, Mr. Devens points out, provides for gradual adjustment to the new conditions and prevents hardship to employers through the fact of their being subject to existing contracts.

The International Association of Machinists binds itself by the agreement to place no restriction upon the management of shops, and to give a fair day's work for a fair day's wage. (509-512.)

Union men at the conference in New York City strongly opposed the provision permitting employers to employ men regardless of membership in the union. They hold that where the shop is unionized the men are all under control and the employer is less likely to have difficulty than where only part are members of the union. (509.)

4. *Effect of New York agreement.*—Mr. DEVENS says in one place that the New York agreement is entirely satisfactory to both sides, and that there is no question which, in his opinion, can not be settled through arbitration proceedings. It has been the endeavor to formulate a lasting agreement, and the witness believes that this method of settlement, by conciliation within a trade, is better than State arbitration.

On the other hand, Mr. Devens believes that many of the members of the International Association of Machinists do not altogether understand the conditions of the agreement, and that if they did, they might not be so well satisfied with it. He implies that the officers have concealed the provisions somewhat in order that the men might be more inclined to accede to them. He states that what purport to be copies of the agreement have been widely distributed, omitting the important provisions permitting the employers to employ whom they will regardless of union membership and prohibiting restrictions upon the amount of output or the methods of work. The copy of the report published in the June number of the Monthly Journal of the International Association of Machinists also left out the employment clause.¹ The incomplete form of agreement to which Mr. Devens refers is probably one which the International Association of Machinists drew up for presentation to the employers who were not members of the National Metal Trades Association, and in which it was not intended to make these concessions unless forced to do so. Mr. Devens feared at the time of his testimony that the International Association of Machinists would not be able to control its members so as to force them to live up to the agreement. He pointed out especially that there had already been a strike of members of the organization in New York City, and that the local lodge had declared that it would not follow the orders of the central organization. (508, 513, 514.)

Mr. WILSON says that the metal trades' association does not, by any means, include all employers in the machine trades. He believes that only 5 firms in Cleveland belong to the association. It is stronger in Chicago than elsewhere.

¹ It will be noted, however, that the full agreement, including these clauses, was printed in the July number of the Monthly Journal, with approval.

Nevertheless, the agreement made with the International Association of Mnaichists influences many employers who do not belong to the metal trades' association, and many of them have already signed an agreement to abide by the conditions fixed at the New York conference. (494, 495.)

Mr. DEVENS says further that the National Metal Trades Association is still accumulating its defense fund and may have occasion to use it. For example, in view of the reduction of hours the question whether there shall be an advance in pay per hour is likely to arise in the future, and it may be impossible to settle it by arbitration. (508.)

E. Character of members—Machinists' union.—Mr. REID protests against the attacks made by manufacturers upon the character of the machinists who are on strike. He declares that the standard of morality among them is as high as among the men who are trying to defame them; that with regard to temperance especially their standard is very high. The union would be willing to invite any member of the Industrial Commission freely to attend any meeting in the city. The organization will not allow dishonest men among its members; it will suspend them for failing to pay their debts. The witness denies also that the members of the organization have engaged in acts of violence. (191.)

Mr. Reid says that there is no prospect of settling the machinists' strike so long as the manufacturers continue to treat the men with contempt. They have called them hard names and the men have become exasperated. The strike will be contested bitterly, and the men can hold out a long time. (188, 193.)

Mr. WILSON says that the International Association of Machinists formerly had local unions in which various foreign languages—German, French, and Bohemian—were spoken. The organization had done everything possible to check the foreign spirit. It is an Americanizing institution. Although probably 50 per cent of the members are still foreign, English is used in all unions except a few German ones. These German unions are strongly tinged with socialism and sometimes "kick over the traces" of trades unionism. (495, 496.)

XI. STRIKES AND CONDITIONS IN CLOTHING TRADES.

A. Journeymen tailors' strike.—Mr. LINDHOLM, a journeyman tailor, says that the journeymen tailors' union consists only of those men who make the high-priced garments, only the upper crust of the trade.

The journeymen tailors are demanding that their employers shall establish shops of their own instead of giving out material to contractors for home work. At present journeymen tailors are paid by the piece for their work, and do not do it on the premises of the owner of the goods. If a man is married he does the work at his home, where he can economize in rent, and where his wife can help him. This kind of work injures the home, and the sanitary conditions are often bad, so that there is danger of contagious diseases being carried by the goods.

Tailors who are not married usually rent a place to work in a shop along with other men, each of whom may have a different boss. Some of these large shops are on the upper floors of buildings, and the accommodations are extremely bad. There are no shops worse than those of the custom tailors. The worker makes the shop his lodging place as well as his working place. He often lies down on the table, frequently covered with vermin.

A further evil of the present system is that the employer often keeps the tailor waiting to get goods to work upon. He has absolutely no care for the time of the worker. The result is that the men are compelled to work at all hours of the night. Many men make it a rule to work 7 days in the week, and many others work 6 days and 3 nights every week.

The tailors believe that if the employers would maintain workshops themselves they would be compelled to regard the time of the men. The demand of the men is that such workshops should not be open more than 12 hours. This demand is nothing new to the employers. The journeymen tailors' union resolved in January that it would ask for free workshops on April 1, 1900. Those employers who belonged to the Tailors and Drapers' Exchange replied by a circular letter addressed to each individual tailor asking him to sign an agreement not to demand free workshops or higher wages during the year 1900. The men refused to sign this agreement, and in the middle of February some of the bosses locked their men out. Three hundred have been out of employment for 6 weeks. Eighteen firms not belonging to this exchange, including some of the best tailors, have furnished shops, and they all express themselves in favor of the system.

Mr. Lindholm declares that the journeymen tailors are the hardest-worked laborers in existence, and that the effect of their excessively long hours and severe work on their morals and health is very bad. (424-426.)

Mr. TAGGART, a representative of the journeymen tailors' union, says that the members of that body are engaged in making the highest grade of clothing. There are about 725 tailors in the union. They have long been trying to induce their employers to furnish them shops in connection with the establishments. Until recently there were none even of the best merchant tailors who did not send their work out to be done in homes and in sweat shops. About 2 years ago the journeymen tailors made contracts with a number of employers, in connection with bills of prices, that the employers should furnish free shops at their earliest convenience. Since few of them took steps to do so, notice was given, soon after January 1, 1900, that shops must be furnished by April 1. A large number of employers accordingly locked their men out, taking advantage of the notice which was thus given them. There are only 6 or 7 establishments which have furnished shops for their workmen, while 16 or 18 more have promised to furnish shops, and about 15 have locked their men out. The number of men out of employment is about 295. (137, 139.)

Mr. Taggart declares that where work is sent out it is done, in the case of married men, largely in their own homes, in living rooms, while in the case of single men it is largely done in shops rented by the men clubbing together or in shops maintained by one man who rents sitting room to others. Under either of these systems the tailors never can regulate their hours. As a rule they spend a good part of the daylight down town waiting for customers to try on clothing or waiting for the work to be cut.

Home work especially is injurious to the health and interests of the tailors. It is impossible to regulate the sanitary conditions there, since the factory inspectors have no power to enter a man's home so long as he does not make it a public nuisance. There is constantly a temptation in the case of home work to call in the wife to help. The result is that the housework and the children are neglected. Soon, moreover, the boss, finding that the workman is getting more wages by his wife's assistance, cuts down the price for the work, so that in the long run the husband and wife together can earn no more than he could earn alone. The witness declares that he tried the system of home work himself and knows that it is a system of slavery. When men are too much at home, they lose the respect of their wives and families.

Mr. Taggart declares further that where work is done by men who rent sitting room in shops the impossibility of cooperation between the workers, each of whom is employed by a different boss, results in waste of time. The men in these shops also are unable to control their hours. The shops are open 7 days in the week; in fact, they never close.

Most of the journeymen tailors in Chicago were born in foreign countries and have been accustomed to working at home or in crowded shops, and to working excessively long hours; hence it has been more difficult to get them to demand that shops be furnished by employers. Nevertheless, although the employers have insisted that their men did not want shops, the demand has been repeatedly carried by a majority vote of the tailors, and recently by a majority of two-thirds.

The chief advantage which is expected from the establishment of free shops is that the employers will be made responsible for the conditions in the shop. Moreover, the men can thus better regulate their hours. The union has been willing to concede that such shops should be kept open 13 hours, no limit being set to the amount of work a man may do within the 13 hours, and that the men should supply the machinery and part of the necessary tools. It is believed also that men become better citizens by working together. Contact with one another develops their intelligence and especially tends to Americanize those of foreign birth.

The witness says also that it would not be a hardship for the employers to furnish shops, as is demanded. It has been calculated that it would cost only 25 cents a suit on the amount of business which is done. The witness himself was formerly engaged in home work, but he succeeded in inducing his employer to furnish a shop, and the system worked satisfactorily. It was shown that by working regular hours the men could accomplish more. The employer was entirely satisfied with the change. Later the witness went to work for another employer, and got him also to establish a shop; and here again the system worked to the satisfaction of the men and of the employer. None of the employers who have established shops wish to go back to the old system. The change makes necessary less use of errand boys in going to get clothing, and it makes possible greater supervision of the work.

Mr. Taggart says that the Consumers' League, in Chicago, has indorsed the movement for free shops, and has published a white list naming those employers who have furnished them. (137-142.)

Mr. JUNGSTRAND, a journeyman tailor, thinks that the attitude of the employers in the present lockout is not so much one of opposition to the demand for free workshops as of desire to break up the tailors' union. The employers have taken advantage of the fact that notice was given of the demand for free shops to secure other workmen. The witness declares that he himself was discharged because he was a union man. The witness thinks also that one reason for the opposition to the free workshop is that the bosses think that the men, by meeting one another, will become more intelligent and may perhaps make a demand for higher wages and better conditions. Mr. Jungstrand thinks that the necessity of the shop is apparent to everyone, and that the cost to employers of maintaining it would be very small. (143.)

Miss ADDAMS, matron of Hull House, Chicago, thinks that the opening of shops by merchant tailors would be the one thing which would make the garment workers' trade regular. Under the sweat-shop system the workers are very busy for 3 or 4 months in the spring, and for a time in the fall, during which periods they have to work excessively long hours. The rest of the year they are in idleness. Owing to the intermittent character of the work, men who take shops get the poorest accommodations possible. If the merchant tailors had factories of their own, they would try to plan the work so as to keep the men busy the year round. (428.)

B. Conditions of tailors and garment workers—1. Generally.—Mrs. HENROTTIN, president of the Consumers' League, of Chicago, says that there are about 13,000 men, 11,000 women, 500 boys, and 1,600 girls employed in making garments in Chicago. She thinks it is a mistake to suppose that the boss sweaters are prosperous men. There is excessive competition among them, and they are growing poorer. The sweater has to pay rent and furnish motive power for his machines. The wages of workers in sweat shops, especially of those working at their own homes, are excessively low. The witness found one woman finishing overalls at 10 cents a dozen. She could only make 2 dozen a day. Other women sometimes get 12 or 15 cents a dozen for doing this same work. For making and finishing fine "tailor-made" skirts, which are sold for from \$35 to \$45, the worker is paid only \$1 10. There seems to be some mystery about the word "tailor made," which makes it possible for a fashionable tailor to ask almost any price for his work.

Mrs. Henrotin thinks the first step toward securing improvement in the conditions of the garment workers would be to make the merchant tailors provide workshops for their men. The Consumers' League is working in this direction, and intends to indorse the strike of the journeymen tailors. (427.)

Miss COPE, deputy State factory inspector, says that there are about 25,000 garment makers in Chicago, of whom 11,000 are women and 1,600 children under 16 years of age, mostly girls about 15. The wages paid to the workers, both the tailors and the garment makers, are, in the opinion of the witness, fair. Miss Cope mentions two instances in which women earn from 66 to 72 cents per day in home work, finishing men's trousers. She says that usually women working 10 hours per day can earn \$4 per week in their homes, while women in the shops who are somewhat skilled earn from \$5 to \$7 per week. The average male journeyman tailor earns from \$10 to \$12 per week, while the more skilled get from \$15 to \$30 per week. In the regular factories where garments are made girls under 16 generally earn from \$2.50 to \$4 per week; the average woman of ordinary skill can, after learning the trade, earn from \$8 to \$12 per week; and the men earn from \$7 to \$12 per week, a little less, usually, than journeymen tailors earn. In support of these statements Miss Cope mentioned several specific establishments, stating the wages paid in detail.

Miss Cope declares further that the conditions of work are not usually severe or unsanitary. Girls under 17 do not do much work with foot-power machines. In fact, many of the machines are being run by electricity or steam. The usual day is 10 hours, although when work is slack there are many short days, while during the rush season the shops run overtime about 2 days in the week. Most shops work steadily 8 months during the year. The condition of the home workers is as satisfactory as that of most other working classes.

The garment trade has kept pace with modern improvements. There is no other industry which is more generally distributed among managers of small means and among independent workers. The proposed change in the tailoring trade to work in shops furnished by the merchant tailors would tend to centralize the industry, to drive out of business many small merchant tailors, to deprive some finishers of the little work which they now can do, and to drive out many older and feebler journeymen tailors who can not keep the pace set by younger men.

The women and girls employed in the garment factories are nearly all of foreign parentage. They are vigorous and strong and get as good or better pay in

that industry than they could get in any other. The work is not as hard as in many other industries. (483-485.)

2. *Wages of merchant tailors.*—Mr. TAGGART, a journeyman tailor, says that some men in that trade make fair wages. Some are strong and can stand the excessively hard work and long hours. The amount of work which such men can do is taken by employers as a standard in fixing the scale of prices. The witness says that for making a suit which will sell for \$75, the tailors get on the coat from \$12 to \$14, on the vest from \$3 to \$4, and on the trousers \$3 to \$4. The better stores are supposed to furnish the tailor with all the trimmings, although they do not actually furnish machine sewing silk. The cheaper the work is the more trimmings the workmen have to furnish. (140, 142.)

3. *Factory inspection.*—Mr. TAGGART, a journeyman tailor, says that the factory-inspection laws of Illinois are entirely inadequate to reach the evils of the sweating system. It is impossible for the inspector to force his way into a man's own home so long as he does not make himself a public nuisance. The factory inspectors can in any case get around only once or twice a year, because their number is wholly inadequate. The system has checked child labor to a certain extent, but in the case of home workers it is impossible to prevent it altogether.

The factory inspectors themselves recognize the need of further legislation, especially to remedy the evils of sweating. One recommendation is that a label or tag shall be placed on all garments made in sweat shops. Another very important recommendation is that the employer himself shall be held responsible for violations of the law in making clothing. At present the poor worker himself is prosecuted. Often he does not know the language and has no idea why he is being prosecuted.

Mr. Taggart thinks that it might be desirable to have a Federal tax upon goods manufactured in sweat shops in order that the central government might establish some control over them. He does not think such a proposal would be popular, but he believes that the people would favor any law that would tend to prevent the spread of contagious diseases through sweat-shop-made clothing. (138, 140, 141.)

4. *Contagious diseases in clothing.*—Mr. TAGGART, a journeyman tailor, says that the best tailors in Chicago, those who supply the so-called aristocracy, largely send their goods out to be made in small shops and in the homes of the workers. The witness says that when he himself was working at home his children suffered with contagious diseases. He felt then that if the users of the clothing made under such circumstances knew the conditions they would force the employers to furnish their own workshops. (138.)

Mr. JUNGSTRAND, a journeyman tailor, says that he has known clothing to be made in homes where contagious diseases existed. When a man has sickness in the family he needs money especially, and that makes him try to cover up the existence of the disease and to continue working. The witness has heard a report that work has recently been traced to a house bearing a scarlet-fever placard. (143.)

Mr. LINDHOLM, a journeyman tailor, says that much work is done on garments in the homes of the workers where there are frequently diseases. He believes that many cases of contagious diseases in the homes of the richer classes could be traced to garments made under these unsanitary conditions. (424, 426.)

Miss CORE, deputy state factory inspector, says that garments are not usually retained long in the homes, and that persons in whose homes there is serious sickness are not likely to bring more work, so that the danger of spreading contagious diseases from home shops is slight. (485.)

5. *Chicago cloakmakers' union.*—Mr. BISNO, formerly business agent of the Chicago cloakmakers' union, says that that organization was broken up by the strength of the employers about 2 years ago, at the close of an unsuccessful strike. (48.)

XII. LABOR TROUBLES IN SEVERAL TRADES.

A. *Marble cutters.*—Mr. BAGLEY, a wholesale marble dealer, states that no labor troubles arose in his trade until last year. In April, 1899, the marble cutters' union demanded an 8-hour day on the buildings and in shops, with an increase of wages of a dollar a day. Some of the shops were running 10 hours and some 9 hours. The men also demanded that all cutting of marble for Chicago work be done within the city by members of the Chicago union. The manufacturers did not object to the increase of wages or the reduction of hours on buildings, because all competitors would be in the same position. They did object to the

proposed arrangement of wages and hours in the shops, on the ground that it would prevent them from competing for work outside of the city. They also objected to giving the control of the shops to an organization affiliated with the building trades council. The experience of other trades under those circumstances warned them that it would result in constant trouble. Several firms were compelled to yield after 2 or 3 months of struggle. Four or five firms, doing 80 per cent of the business, have refused to yield, and have since been compelled to work with nonunion men. (389-390.)

Mr. McCULLOUGH, business agent of the marble cutters' union, says that he spent the greater part of two days at Mr. Bagley's house arranging a new agreement, and succeeded in settling everything, until the question of the disposal of Mr. Bagley's nonunion employees came up. Mr. Bagley was supplied with men who had taken the places of union men during the strike, and would not discharge them; and this broke off the negotiations. (215.)

B. Carpenters.—Mr. CLARK states that a strike of his men, begun to enforce the wage demands of the building laborers, was continued on the ground of his refusal to become a member of the boss carpenters' association. He afterwards discovered, however, that the real trouble was his employment of some members of the journeymen carpenters' organization, and their working for him. After some 10 weeks of struggle, the matter was referred to the Philadelphia headquarters, and the officers there decided it was an unjust fight and called it off. (400.)

Mr. WOODBURY, president of the carpenters' district council, says that the contractors and builders' association had long tried to get the carpenters' union to drive Mr. A. R. Clark into their association. The union refused to do so for some time, but yielded at last, and did compel Mr. Clark to join the employers' association. Some members of the union, employed by Mr. Clark against whom charges had been preferred under the rules of the organization, appealed their case to the central office at Philadelphia. This appeal had nothing to do with Mr. Clark's own case, and the sustaining of it would not necessarily sustain Mr. Clark's contentions. (459, 461.)

C. Sheet-metal workers.—Mr. MILLER, a manufacturer of sheet-metal work for building, testifies that during 1899 there was a strike among the sheet-metal workers, in the course of which the sheet-metal workers' union brought back to Chicago some men who were working for the Sykes Steel Roofing Company of Chicago, who had been sent to Moline by that company. In the settlement of this strike an agreement was made between the sheet-metal contractors' association and the sheet-metal workers' union, providing that disputes under the agreement should be submitted to arbitration. Several months later the union demanded that the fares paid by the men returning from Moline to Chicago, \$24.80, be repaid to them. The Sykes Company refused, on the ground that the men had been sent to Moline with the understanding that they should remain until the job was finished, but offered to arbitrate the question. The union replied that there was nothing to arbitrate, and the men working for the Sykes Company on one of the city pumping stations were called out on strike. These men afterwards returned to work, the union paying them the \$70 wages which they had lost by the strike. Soon after the union called out all the employees of the Sykes Company, demanding pay for the time of the men who had been on strike, and refusing to arbitrate that question. The contractors' association then took the matter up and locked out all their men. After a few days the matter was settled by the Sykes Company paying the \$24.80, the union and the company agreeing to arbitrate as to the question of paying for the time of the men while on strike. The association submitted the names of arbitrators to the union, but the union paid no further attention to the matter. The net result of all this difficulty was that the men lost about \$3,000 in wages to collect \$24.80. Moreover the contractors' association holds that it is no longer bound by the agreement, since the union refused to arbitrate, the only obligation upon it under the agreement being to submit disputes to arbitration. (345-347.)

Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet metal workers' union, says that the Sykes Roofing Company had taken a number of men to Moline, agreeing to pay their railroad fare both ways. During their absence a strike was declared against the Sykes Company in Chicago. The men at Moline were summoned to return, and the union paid their fare back. It was never demanded that the company pay this return fare. When the strike was settled the men went to work again for the Sykes Company. The company deducted from their wages the fare from Chicago to Moline, which it had paid. When the union protested the company desired to arbitrate the matter. The union refused, on the ground that the company had violated a definite part of the existing agreement. The agreement pro-

vided that all workmen sent out of Cook County should receive actual expenses, unless otherwise agreed, and that no definite part of the agreement should be subject to arbitration. The union ultimately called out its men, not from all the Sykes Company's work, but from one of its jobs. The union notified the company that it would insist upon payment for waiting time to the men who struck to enforce this demand. The Sykes Company finally paid the railroad fare demanded, \$24.85, and it was agreed between the company and the union that the payment of waiting time should be left to arbitration. (430, 433.)

Mr. WELLS, a general contractor, states that the sheet-metal workers went on a strike 15 days or more before the time which had been set for the signing up of a contract or the settlement of a dispute. Just at this time Mr. Wells had opened the roof of the McClurg Building to put in a large skylight. The roof had to stand open about 6 weeks, because if any effort had been made to put in a skylight with other men the finishing of the remainder of the building would have been stopped by a sympathetic strike. The contractors had to pay the owner \$500 for loss of rent on account of the delay, and a great deal of the calcimining had to be done over. (377.)

D. Mosaic decorators.—Mr. DAVIS, a mosaic decoration contractor, states that the mosaic union ordered his men to quit work on May 1, 1899, because he would not sign their scale providing for 8 hours' work in the shop. He was willing to have the men work 8 hours on buildings, but was not willing to restrict the shop hours so that he could not manufacture work in Chicago in competition with other towns. He has always paid his men more than the union wages. He asked his men to refrain from working for a month, hoping that the union would agree to some fair settlement. The union did not do so, and his men went back to work without its permission. The union fined them \$300 or \$400 apiece, and has persecuted and abused them since. It has also notified all Chicago architects that Mr. Davis is the only mosaic manufacturer in Chicago who has refused to sign the union agreement, and has requested that no contract be let to him. (420-422.)

Mr. CLARK, a contractor, submits a copy of the letter which was sent out to contractors by the mosaic workers' union, warning them that sympathetic strikes would result if any contracts were let to Mr. Frank L. Davis. (403.)

Mr. McCULLOUGH, business agent of the marble setters' union, makes statements intended to show that Mr. Davis has displayed an unnecessary hostility to union labor. He was manager of the marble work on the library building in 1897, and he then refused to sign the agreement which the union presented to him, although the firm which he represented had previously signed it. The differences between the union and Mr. Davis were finally settled by arbitration, but Mr. McCullough thinks that Mr. Davis was entrapped into arbitration against his will, and that he put all possible obstacles in the way of success. (215.)

E. Painters.—Mr. MURPHY, vice-president of the painters' district council, says that it has been the practice of the organization to make agreements for 2 years at a time with the organization of master painters. When the new agreement was up for discussion early in 1900, it was understood that the committees of both organizations had full power to act. These committees reached an understanding and all signed an agreement. The association of employers met the following week and expelled all the members of its committee who had signed the agreement, including the president, secretary, treasurer, and many of the prominent members of the organization. The painters are now working for these men who have been expelled from the organization, who represent about 70 per cent of the employers.

The witness declares that Mr. Stiles, the newly chosen president of the organization of master painters, does not count for anything in the trade. He says that Mr. Stiles has repeatedly violated or evaded his agreements, and that it was on this account that he was asked by the union to give a bond of \$500 in connection with his signature. (453.)

F. Boiler makers.—Mr. PRATT, secretary of the Tobin-Hamler Manufacturing Company, which is chiefly engaged in making and repairing boilers, says that in July, 1899, the union men in the shop, about 90 per cent of all, struck. The company at that time had a number of contracts on hand. The union asked the company to sign an agreement. The most important demand was that hours be reduced to 44 per week, the hours at that time prevailing being 54. An increase of wages was also asked, although the company had been paying about 27 cents per hour, and had not reduced wages during the period of hard times succeeding 1893. In fact, the witness insists, the wages paid were quite a little higher than those of competing boiler concerns in other places. It was also demanded that boiler makers should be employed to do certain work, such as running a punch, which did not require the skill of a boiler maker.

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The company refused these demands, although it was willing to grant to the men working outside the shop, at repairing, etc., the 8-hour day with 9 hours pay. The men accordingly left work and have not returned. New men have taken their places—none of them union men, although the witness would be willing to employ union men if they would accept the terms.

Mr. Pratt declares that it would have been impossible for him to accede to the demands made and to continue in business in competition with other firms. There are no boiler concerns in the country who work less than 54 hours per week. Some of the shops in Chicago doing a purely local business accepted the terms of the union, but if the Tobin-Hamler Company had done so it would have been forced to give up its large general business. The company would not have objected materially to granting the demands if its competitors had been in the same position as regards hours and wages. (302, 303.)

G. Bicycle workers.—Mr. SIEG says that he was for 4 years engaged in manufacturing wheels at Kenosha, Wis., but that at the beginning of 1900 he was compelled to abandon the business on account of the cost of labor, enhanced by the unjust demands of the unions. The locality itself was doubtless unfavorable for getting labor, but the works went on nicely until the men joined the bicycle workers' union. This organization has no requirement concerning apprenticeship. Many of the men in the witness's shop were not highly skilled, and the union demanded excessively high wages for them. The union also sought to limit the amount of work which the men might do in a day. It thought the firm ought to employ more men. Thus in the case of one operation, of which a man should be able to complete 80 in a day, the union cut down the rate to 40. Many of the best workmen in the shop, the witness declares, called on him personally and expressed their regret at being so restricted by the union. The witness offered to the president of the bicycle workers' union, Mr. Mulholland, to pay the same wages as 8 manufacturers whom he named in Toledo, Milwaukee, and Chicago, but the offer was refused. In one case the committee demanded that a certain man, who was receiving \$1 per day, should be paid \$1.50. This employee proved to be a boy who had just reached the age of 18 and had joined the union the night before the demand was made.

These, together with other demands of the union, made the firm feel that it could not control its investment at all. It was obliged to discharge its superintendent in order to avert a strike. Finally, after its output had been reduced to one-half the former amount, the works were closed altogether. The plant was worth, Mr. Sieg says, about \$200,000. (135, 136.)

Mr. HARRIS, a representative of the union of polishers and buffers in Kenosha, says that Mr. Sieg did have some trouble with the metal polishers about a year ago on account of a superintendent who had reduced wages in some instances 33½ per cent, and who had discharged several men without a reason. The men struck, but an adjustment was reached with Mr. Sieg personally. Mr. Harris declares that Mr. Sieg at various times told him distinctly that he was never so well pleased with the way his factory was running, as since it was organized. After the shop had run a certain length of time it was found that the men were working so harmoniously that the superintendent was discharged to reduce the cost. (262.)

Mr. WORKMAN says that he was president of the bicycle workers' union at the Sterling Bicycle Works in Kenosha, Wis., at the time the men in the Sieg factory were organized. These men were organized by their own choice. Mr. Workman confirms the testimony of Mr. Harris as to the cause of the strike at the Sieg works, as to its settlement, and as to the expressions of satisfaction by Mr. Sieg, as well as by two other members of the firm, regarding the working of the shop since the men were organized.

Mr. Workman denies that the plant abandoned by the Sieg firm was worth \$200,000. He says it has just been sold for either \$65,000 or \$50,000. He thinks that the establishment would have been closed, even if there had been no union in existence; believing, indeed, that it was closed on account of a mortgage. (203, 204.)

XIII. CONDITIONS OF LABOR IN CHICAGO.

A. Earnings and cost of living.—*Generally.*—Mr. BISNO says that some of the present strikes in Chicago, notably that among the machinists, have been due to the failure of wages to increase in recent years commensurately with the increase in the cost of living. The price of meat, according to the statement of the dealers themselves, is 30 per cent higher now than it was two years ago. The bakers declare that bread has increased in price 25 per cent. Three years ago the witness used to buy a kind of bread for 3 cents a loaf which now costs 5 cents, and

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he can see no difference in the weight of the loaf. Mr. Bisno, however, does not know exactly the changes in the price of flour, nor is he certain as to possible changes in the weight of loaves of bread. The witness also declares that butterine has increased 30 per cent in price; potatoes, 30 per cent, and coal, 40 per cent. He says also that the rent of a flat that formerly was \$7 a month would now be about \$8, and that other rents have increased in about the same proportion.

As to wages there have been increases in various cases, but these increases have not usually been proportional to the increase in the cost of living, and in some cases there has been no increase at all. The witness submitted the following statement collected from his own observation as a walking delegate and as a former inspector of factories, showing the increase in wages in various establishments since 1898:

Rise in wages since January, 1898.

	Per cent of increase.	Number employed.
Mills and foundries	20	15,000
Pullman		5,500
Western Electric		5,500
Norton Brothers	5	1,600
Pianos and organs	10	5,000
Lumber, doors, etc.	12	5,000
Furniture	12	4,000
Stock yards	12	2,500
Printing	10	2,500
Garments	10	3,000
Average	11	

In the case of the printers, the increase referred to is really a reduction in hours from 10 to 9, the same wages being maintained as before. The wages of coal miners have also been increased, and the same is true of the wages in many factories. On the other hand, street railway employees receive no more pay than before. They are working 12 hours a day for \$1.50. They are not organized and have little opportunity to organize on account of the strength of their employers. Common labor, which constitutes a large proportion of the total amount of labor in many large factories, is still paid only about \$1.50 for a day of 10 hours. It is chiefly among the unorganized workmen that wages have failed to rise in the past year or two.

Mr. Bisno thinks that the greater prosperity of manufacturing industry at present would permit the payment of higher wages in practically all lines. It is unjustifiable for an employer to attempt to make up losses incurred during hard times by keeping down wages when he is prosperous. The witness knows of no instance in which working men have pledged themselves by any contract to accept lower wages on condition that employers will keep running during hard times. As a matter of fact, manufacturers do sometimes run their business for a time at a loss, but they do it for the sake of killing off the smaller men in the trade and extending the markets for their goods, so that in the long run they are benefited. (50, 54, 59.)

Mr. GINDELE, a general contractor, states that his father, a stonecutter, came to Chicago in 1852 and got work at \$1.25 for a 10-hour day. His wages were soon raised to \$1.75 and then to \$2, and it was not long before he was appointed foreman at \$2.50 a day. In 1859 he started a stone yard where he paid his men \$1.50 during the building season. In the winter some job was generally taken at a low price, and the men were kept employed at reduced wages. There were no strikes and no assessments for unions, and by working steadily the men accumulated property. The first labor organization in Chicago, the witness thinks, was the stonecutters' association, which was formed in 1866. Wages were then regulated by supply and demand, and some of the stonecutters got \$2 a day, and others got less, according to their ability. In 1867, with the help of the employers themselves, the union established the 8-hour day. About 1879 and 1880 more labor organizations sprang up. The first real trouble occurred in 1883, when the bricklayers' and stone masons' association demanded 40 cents an hour. This demand was conceded after a short strike. In 1886 they also got the 8-hour day. (Sic.) In 1887 there was a very serious strike, caused by a trivial dispute over changing the pay day from Saturday to Monday. The outcome of the strike was an agreement for arbitration between the two associations. This agreement was maintained for 10 years, up to 1897, without any strike or interruption in the mason

line. The building trades council had been established in 1894. The bricklayers' and stone masons' organization did not go into it at first. It was finally forced in by the threat of establishing another bricklayers' union. Since 1897 there has been a succession of strikes one after another. In spite of the high nominal wages, the workmen are not in as good a condition as they were in in the early days when the wages were lower but the work was steadier. Moreover, the mechanics of the present day have not the skill which mechanics used to have before the uniform union wage took away the incentive to acquire skill. (365, 366.)

B. Wages.—1. *Building trades, different cities.*—Mr. CLARK, general contractor, states that he has been engaged in building chiefly in other cities than Chicago, and he finds wages lower everywhere else, generally by from 10 to 30 per cent. He speaks particularly as to bricklayers. In most places the day is 9 hours. Last year Mr. Clark paid carpenters 25 and 27½ cents an hour for a 9-hour day in Albany, while in Chicago he paid 42½ cents an hour for an 8-hour day. Iron setters received 25 cents an hour in Albany, against 45 cents in Chicago. Bricklayers, 45 cents in Albany, against 50 cents in Chicago. But the steadiness of work is so much greater in other places that carpenters and bricklayers preferred to go from Chicago to Albany and work the longer day at the lower price. (415, 416.)

2. *Bricklayers.*—Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, states that the bricklayers have a minimum wage of \$4 for an 8-hour day. At present there is practically no deviation from this scale. During the World's Fair, while the union's minimum was the same, many bricklayers got more because of the strong demand for their services. Before the union was organized wages were about \$1.75 and the hours were 10. (231.)

Mr. PREECE, of the bricklayers' union, states that there has been no change in the bricklayers' wages during the past 7 or 8 years. They got the regulation rate, 50 cents an hour, all through the hard times. When prosperity comes they get 55 or 60 cents. Mr. Preece does not think that he has worked for as little as union wages more than 3 months in his life. (480.)

The bricklayers' agreement, made after the strike, provided for a rate of 50 cents per hour, wages to be paid every two weeks. (527.)

3. *Building laborers.*—Mr. CLARK, a contractor, states that going wages for building laborers in the summer of 1897 were from 18 to 20 cents an hour. The demand was made by the union for 25 cents an hour, which Mr. Clark conceded when he found that other contractors were conceding it. (399.)

Mr. LILLIEN, president of the hod carriers' union, states that in 1893 the scale of wages of building laborers was \$2 for 8 hours work, and \$2.40 for hod carriers proper or plasterers' laborers. The laborers' organization fell to pieces after the World's Fair, and wages went down to as little as 10 cents an hour. In the winter of 1895 and 1896 Mr. Lillien was working on a job where the men worked 10 hours a day for from 10 to 12½ cents an hour. In 1896 the hod carriers' union was reorganized. Its representatives went to the bosses and begged for some assistance in raising their pay above the pittance of \$1 to \$1.25 a day. The union was weak, with a membership of only about 500, and its prayers were disregarded. In 1897 the effort was renewed, with the same results. It was made again in 1898. By this time the union had considerably increased its membership and had joined the building trades council. It was now able to conclude the agreement with the employers. One June 29, 1898, an agreement was formed to last 1 year. The scale of wages seems to have been the same as that which existed in 1893. On March 1, 1900, the union made a request for an additional 5 cents per hour, so that the present scale is 30 cents per hour for building laborers and 35 cents for hod carriers or plasterers' laborers. The master masons' ultimatum of February 5 fixed wages for building laborers at 25 cents an hour. (114, 115, 117.)

4. *Plasterers and laborers.*—Mr. BLISS, a plastering contractor, testifies that he is now doing work with men who do not belong to the old unions and is paying them the union wages, \$4 a day for plasterers and \$2.40 a day for laborers. (394.)

5. *Lathers.*—Mr. REGAN, of the lathers' union, states that before this union was formed the lathers were working for as little as 90 cents a day. The union was formed on Washington's birthday, 1899. Since that time the lathers have got \$3 a day. They have not been able to get work more than half the time, but the witness implies that this was also true before the union was formed and when wages were much lower. (207, 208.)

6. *Carpenters.*—Mr. NICHOLSON submits the carpenters' agreement for 1899, which provides for a minimum rate of wages of 42½ cents per hour, with double time for Sundays and holidays. Work is forbidden on Labor Day and after 12 o'clock on Saturday. The demand for the period beginning April 1, 1900, was 50 cents per hour, and Mr. Nicholson's firm signed an agreement to this effect. (97, 98.)

The carpenters' agreement of February, 1901, after the strike, fixes the minimum wages until April 1, 1902, at 42½ cents per hour, and thereafter at 45 cents per hour, wages to be paid weekly. (528.)

7. *Sheet-metal workers.*—Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet-metal workers' union, states that that union established a wage rate of 35 cents an hour for an eight-hour day in 1892. On January 1, 1899, it asked for an increase to 45 cents an hour. This was refused, and after the strike of 7 to 10 weeks an agreement was made for 38½ cents an hour up to June 1, 40 cents an hour from June 1 to February 1, 1900, and 42½ cents an hour from February 1, 1900, to January 1, 1901. (429.)

Mr. MILLER, a manufacturer of sheet-metal work, declares that the wages per hour agreed upon between the contractors and the sheet-metal workers in Chicago have for years been higher than the wages of equally competent men in other cities. In fact, union men in Chicago are always ready to go away long distances and work for less than Chicago rates. The result is that manufacturers hesitate about settling in Chicago, and that Chicago builders suffer. The witness does not think that the sheet-metal workers get higher wages throughout the year by demanding excessively high wages per hour. (346, 351.)

8. *Structural-iron men.*—The proposed agreement of the structural-iron men for 1900, submitted by Mr. Nicholson, provides for a minimum wage scale of 50 cents per hour, with double pay for overtime and for work on Sundays and holidays. On Labor Day work is forbidden. (99.)

Mr. BUCHANAN, of the structural-iron workers' union, declares that members of that union are frequently taken to other places at higher wages than they get in Chicago. A year ago last summer 40 men were taken over to St. Louis at 10 cents an hour more than the St. Louis scale. Last spring a gang of riveters went to Milwaukee, where the scale was 30 cents an hour. The witness does not state what they got in Milwaukee, but seems to imply that it was not less than the Chicago scale. Twelve men were sent to Mexico last year at \$4 a day, payable in gold. Some members of the Chicago union are now in Japan putting up a mansion for a prince. Some went to New York for larger wages than are paid in Chicago. The New York men feel somewhat bitter against the Chicago men for doing so much more work in a day than they were accustomed to do. (473.)

Mr. Buchanan says that while the heating of rivets in shops can be done by boys, rivet heating on buildings and bridges requires men of a high degree of skill. If a rivet is burned up or melted it means 5 minutes lost for three men. Moreover, a rivet heater must be able to work on scaffolding, to walk a 6-inch beam and carry a forge. There are only a few really first-class rivet heaters even in the union in Chicago. (473, 474.)

9. *Architectural-iron workers.*—The existing agreement between the architectural-iron league, the organization of employers, and the architectural-iron workers of Chicago provides for an 8-hour day, and for a minimum rate of wages, at first 37½ cents per hour, but increasing to 42½ cents per hour on November 1, 1900. (451.)

10. *Slate roofers.*—Mr. HILL, of the slate-roofers' union, states that the wages in his trade were 35 cents an hour up to August, 1899, and have been 40 cents since that time. The men are able to work only about 4½ or 5 months in the year. (482.)

11. *Painters.*—Mr. BLISS, a painting contractor, states that painters' wages were about \$3 in greenbacks before the Chicago fire, gold being at a premium of about 10 per cent in 1872. Two years ago wages were \$2.80. Last year they were fixed at \$3—that is, 37½ cents an hour. They are now asking 40 cents an hour. (253.)

The articles of agreement of the painters' district council of Chicago and vicinity provide for a wage of 40 cents per hour, with an 8-hour day, from March 1, 1900, to March 1, 1902; time and a half for overtime work, and double time for Sundays and holidays. (356.)

12. *Plumbers.*—Mr. SMITH, a plumbing contractor, states that by an agreement made in June, 1896, the wages of plumbers were to be \$3.75 per 8-hour day, between June 1 and September 1, excepting Saturdays, for which the hours were to be 4 and the wages \$2.25. Overtime was to be paid at one and a half times the regular rates, and work on Sundays and holidays at double rates. Apprentices, after 4 years of apprenticeship, were to receive \$10 per week for the fifth year and \$12 per week for the sixth. On April 14, 1899, the wages of journeymen plumbers were raised from \$3.75 to \$4. (403, 406.)

13. *Steam fitters.*—Mr. MANGAN, of the steam-fitters' union, states that before the formation of that union in 1885 the wages of steam fitters ran from \$1.75 to \$3.50 for 10 hours, and the men who got \$3.50 could be counted on the fingers of one hand. It was not until 1892 that the union was able to establish the rate of \$3.50

and the 8-hour day, with double pay for overtime, Sundays, and holidays. (443, 444.)

14. *Marble cutters.*—Mr. McCULLOUGH, business agent of the 'marble-cutters' union, states that the wages of the men working on buildings in Chicago are \$3.50 per day. Shop hands get \$2.75. In Vermont and Georgia and Tennessee, where the marble comes from and where the most of it is cut, there are no labor unions, and wages run from \$1.25 to \$2, and in some cases less.

Mr. STRUBLE states that men employed on buildings get about \$4 in New York and \$3.25 in St. Louis. In Milwaukee there is a sliding scale which goes from \$2.25 up. The Chicago men do more work than the men in other cities. (213, 214, 218.)

15. *Mosaic decorators.*—Mr. DAVIS, a mosaic decoration contractor, employing nonunion men, says that he pays his men in the shop \$2.25 a day for 9 hours. This is more than the union rate. It is not necessary that more than 15 or 20 per cent of the hands be highly skilled, and the work can perfectly well be done by women. In Europe it is done regularly by women. He could probably get women or boys to do the work for half the price he pays, but he believes it right always to get men to do the work if possible. (423, 424.)

16. *Intervals of payment.*—Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, thinks that the workman should be paid once a week. One union has demanded to be paid at noon on Saturday for the whole of the week. This is an unreasonable demand, because it is a physical impossibility to make up the pay roll and pay at the moment of quitting work. (100.)

The articles of agreement of the painters' district council provide for a weekly pay up on Saturday, between 12 and 1 p. m. (356.)

C. *Steadiness of employment.*—1. *Generally.*—Mr. CLARK refers to the great influx of men caused by the World's Fair, and to the fact that the relatively high wages in Chicago caused a great many men to stay there who prefer to work 2 or 3 days at high prices rather than the whole week at low prices. Last season there was some shortage of labor; but up to that time there had been a constant surplus. (418.)

Mr. CONROY, a plumbing contractor, states that many mechanics are attracted to Chicago by the short hours and the large pay which prevail there. Because Chicago is so great a railroad terminal, it happens also that many men traveling across the country stop off there and remain. These causes give rise to a perpetual surplus of labor. (414, 415.)

Mr. NICHOLSON states that employment is much steadier in Scotland, where he formerly lived, and indeed all over Europe, than in this country. He attributes the difference in part to the rapid changes that go on here. Though the pulling down of old buildings and the putting up of new would seem to make more work for the men, the work is in fact much more uncertain. The uncertainty and unsteadiness of work are increased by the rapidity with which buildings are put up here. In Europe a big building takes a year. Here very few buildings take more than 3 or 4 months. Most buildings do not give employment for more than 2 or 4 weeks. (101.)

2. *Building laborers.*—Mr. LILLIEN, president of the hod carriers' union, states that a large proportion of the members of that union do nothing for a living but carry the hod. Even when work is abundant it is subject to constant interruptions. The laborer can not work in rainy weather nor in freezing weather, and he is frequently interrupted by a shortage of brick or lime or sand. Moreover, the character of the work makes constant employment on any job impossible. In building a 3-story house there is 5 days' work from the digging of the trenches to the completion of the basement wall. Then 1 day is lost while the basement joists are set. The first floor takes a day or a day and a quarter; then there is an interruption of a day or more while the joists are put in. The second story is a repetition of the first, and the third is worse. There is less interruption on large steel-frame buildings than on small jobs, because when there is no work outside there is often something to do in the basement; but on small jobs, with the best of fortune, it is impossible to average over 4½ days a week. A man can not average 4 days a week upon the whole. (117-119.)

3. *Bricklayers.*—Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, states that the members of that union as a whole earn on an average \$1.75 per day the year round, though they receive \$4 per day for 8 hours when they work. A few men, employed by contractors who have work constantly, may earn about \$300 or \$1,000 a year. The witness has known of men who have not worked at their trade for 18 months, because they could not get work to do. (225.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, declares that the common laboring man, with \$2 a day, will make as good an average in the year as the bricklayer at \$4 a day,

because his work is steadier. The witness does not believe that the average earnings of bricklayers in Chicago last year were more than \$400. (190.)

4. *Plasterers*.—Mr. CARROLL, of the plasterers' union, says that he has recently made inquiries of the members of that union as to their average earnings during 1899. The plasterers get \$4 a day when they work, but the highest average earnings reported to him were \$1.63. (270.)

5. *Carpenters*.—Mr. CLARK says that he recently happened to fall in with several carpenters at Grand Rapids. They told him that their wages were 20 cents an hour. They preferred 20 cents at Grand Rapids to 42½ cents at Chicago; they could make more money in the year, and could live in peace with their families. (401.)

D. *Hours of labor*.—1. *Sheet metal workers*.—Mr. POUCHOT, business agent of the sheet metal workers' union, states that the metal workers worked 10 hours a day up to 1890. In that year they went on a strike, which lasted until February 1, 1891, and by which they established the 8-hour day. (429.)

2. *Steam fitters*.—Mr. MANGAN, of the steam fitters' union, states that the steam fitters of Chicago obtained the 8-hour day in 1892. They had apparently been working 10 hours up to that time. (443.)

3. *Plumbers*.—Mr. SMITH, a plumbing contractor, exhibits an agreement of June, 1896, between the master plumbers and the plumbers' union of Chicago, which provided for an 8-hour day, a 7-hour day on Saturday in the winter, and a 4-hour day on Saturday from June 1 to September 1. (403.)

4. *Painters*.—Mr. STILES, a master painter, submits a copy of the articles of agreement proposed by the painters' district council of Chicago and vicinity, which includes an 8-hour day, with no work after 12 o'clock on Saturday. (344.)

5. *Structural iron workers*.—The agreement proposed by the structural iron men for 1900, submitted by Mr. Nicholson, provides for an 8-hour day except on Saturday, when work is to cease at noon. No work is to be permitted on Labor Day. (99.) The same is true of the agreement of the architectural iron workers. (451.)

6. *Carpenters*.—Mr. NICHOLSON submits the carpenters' agreement of 1899, showing the 8-hour day and an absolute prohibition of work on Labor Day and after 12 o'clock noon on Saturday. If two or more shifts of men are employed, 6 hours shall constitute a night shift, and the wages for such 6 hours shall be the same as for 8 hours during the day. (97, 98.)

7. *Provisions of agreements after strike*.—The contractors' ultimatum of April 30, 1900, provided for an 8-hour day in the building trades, with a 4-hour day on Saturday during the 3 summer months. This agreement was adopted by the bricklayers in the settlement of the strike, but the carpenters and some other trades secured the Saturday half holiday throughout the year.

The contractors' ultimatum further provided that overtime should be paid at 1½ rates, and labor on Sundays and holidays at double rates, and these provisions were retained in the agreements of the bricklayers, carpenters, and others. (527, 528.)

8. *Effects of 8-hour day*.—Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, says that he never worked more than 51 hours a week in the poor country of Scotland, and he does not think that anyone should have to work more than 8 hours a day in this rich country. He declares that the introduction of the 8-hour day in bricklaying doubled the number of American boys who applied to him for places as apprentices. It gives better men and better work than the long hours gave. The men are steadier. The witness would not say that the men do more work proportionately in 8 hours than in 9, but it is a fact that buildings can be put up as cheaply now as in 1872 and 1873. This is due to the advance of invention and the increased use of machinery. (100, 107.)

Mr. FRANK M. RYAN says that in the structural iron and steel trade the amount of work done by each workman has increased under the 8-hour day beyond that under the 10-hour day, a fact which is supported by the evidence of the contractors themselves. The witness thinks that a similar result has often come in other trades, although he is inclined also to hold that the shortening of hours gives opportunity for the employment of more men. (286.)

E. *Child labor in Chicago*.—Miss COPE, deputy factory inspector of Illinois, testifies that the number of children under 16 years of age working in Illinois in 1898, according to the factory inspector's report, was 11,845. In Chicago there are employed 3,730 girls, and 5,535 boys. The largest numbers are employed in stores, and offices, in making garments, and in the metal trades.

Miss Cope declares that these children usually receive a reasonable wage. The messenger boys of the Illinois District Telegraph Company, mostly between 15 and 16 years of age, receive \$15 or \$18 per month. The girls working in the

Fair department store receive at first \$2.50 per week, and some at 16 can earn \$4 per week. A school is furnished by the proprietors of this store, which the children can attend between 8 and 10 in the morning. Errand boys in offices, between 14 and 16 years of age, earn from \$3 to \$5 per week, and their situation is especially fortunate.

The witness says also that the child workers in Chicago are mostly vigorous, energetic, and cheerful, although there are occasional instances of abuse of them by their employers. They are not inferior in intelligence and physical development to the unemployed children of the same age. Their work is not more exacting than that of children on the farms. There are no textile factories in the city, so that there is little demand for the work of children under 15 years of age; for example, in the garment trade young girls are quite useless. While some children are at work who ought to be at school, they are forced to it by poverty. Miss Cope thinks that it is a great evil for young boys to be idle. A boy at 14 who is not at school ought to work at least part of the year. (485-487.)

Mrs. HENROTIN, president of the Consumers' League of Chicago, says that through the operation of the Illinois factory law the condition of children has become much better, but there are still an enormous number of young girls from 15 to 20 years of age who are working at tasks for which they are ill-fitted. (428.)

XIV. GENERAL DISCUSSION OF ARBITRATION.

A. Arbitration between national organizations. (See, also, as to attempted arbitration of Chicago strikes, pp. XXXVII, CXXII.)

Mr. WEBSTER strongly advocates arbitration between national organizations of employees on the one side and of employers on the other. Labor disputes must be settled with a view to national conditions, in order that competition between different manufacturing sections may be carried on fairly. In most cases, if employers and employees approach one another in a fair spirit, agreements can be reached between their representatives without formal arbitration. Such conferences have been sought and have worked successfully in the case of the National Stove Founders' Association, organized about 8 years ago, and strikes in that trade have been avoided. The National Founders' Association, organized 3 years ago, has also successfully avoided strikes by similar methods. In 1899, when the foundry workers in Chicago made certain demands, the representatives of the employers met the representatives of the employees, there was a discussion free from all passion, and an agreement satisfactory to both sides was reached. The policy of these two organizations, as well as that of the more recently formed National Metal Trades' Association, is to have conferences or arbitration before a strike or a lockout is permitted. The witness thinks that there is a growing disposition on the part of the employers to treat their men fairly, and on the part of the men to be reasonable in their demands. If the parties to labor disputes refuse to come together in this way, Mr. Webster thinks compulsory arbitration would be desirable. (145, 146, 151, 153.)

Mr. GATES, a manufacturer of mining machinery, says that the National Founders' Association and National Metal Trades' Association have recently been formed among the employers of labor in the metal trades with a view chiefly to settling labor disputes by arbitration and conciliation between national organizations of employers and employees. The system was first inaugurated by the National Stove Founders' Association in connection with the Iron Molders' Union. Since 1890 there has been no strike in the stove-molders' trade. The National Founders' Association has made an arrangement by which differences are to be settled by a national arbitration board. It has so far held the various employers closely in line, and more members are joining it continually, recognizing the justice of its principle of arbitration. The aim is to secure arbitration before strikes rather than after they have taken place. If two nations had differences with one another and wanted to arbitrate, they would not declare war first and arbitrate afterwards. If a strike has been once begun there are apt to be bitter feelings on both sides; the employees get more or less under the influence of the saloons, while the employers are embittered by the violence often shown toward their men who refuse to join the strike. The employers believe that, in the case of trades of national scope, the conditions of labor must be determined in view of national considerations rather than of purely local considerations, in order that there may be fair competition. The members of the National Metal Trades' Association and the National Founders' Association, therefore, are unwilling to arbitrate with local unions and organizations of workmen. Moreover, when the matter is handled by representatives of national organizations on both sides a higher order of intelligence will be brought to bear in the discussions.

These two associations provide for arbitration or conciliation by boards composed of an equal number of representatives from each side, a majority vote being required to decide. No provision has been made for a referee in case of failure to agree, the belief being that there would be danger that the decision of such a referee would be so unsatisfactory to one side or the other as to prevent harmonious action.

Mr. GATES thinks that similar arrangements for arbitration should be established in connection with all trades, so far as possible. He does not consider legislation on the subject necessary. The New Zealand law regarding arbitration has worked successfully, but a similar system in this country would not be likely to be so satisfactory. The witness fears that political influences will always have more or less to do with State arbitration boards in this country. (19, 24, 26.)

Mr. REID says that the International Association of Machinists believes in arbitration, and so states emphatically in its constitution. The witness believes that strikes and lockouts are a curse to the country, and says that his organization has fought to eliminate them. He thinks that ultimately there will be thorough organization of employers on the one side and of employees on the other, since this is the only system under which arbitration can be made effective. If arbitration could be carried on in a strictly fair manner the witness would consider it a logical and proper thing to make it compulsory. There have been cases where voluntary arbitration has been successful. The witness would consider such a system of arbitration as that provided for in the proposed contract of the machinists with their employers to be in a sense compulsory, since the honor of both parties is at stake, both agreeing in the contract to abide by the decision of the arbitrators. (185, 187.)

Mr. WILSON, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists believes that arbitration within the trade is, where possible, much better than State arbitration. It brings the employers and employees into contact and helps them to understand one another. It is far better to trust to the honor of the parties to carry out agreements or awards than to enforce them by law. Nevertheless, the witness thinks that where a strike endangers the public peace and welfare, as, for example, where the calling out of troops becomes necessary, the parties ought to be compelled to arbitrate. He says further that he has never known an instance where employees have refused to arbitrate. It is always the employers who refuse. Mr. Wilson thinks that the parties to the building trades strike in Chicago should be forced to arbitrate. He says there was no chance to arbitrate the St. Louis street railway strike, because the company would not recognize the right of the men to organize and would not arbitrate with them as an organization. (492, 493.)

Mr. Wilson says further that the people of the United States are so disposed to personal freedom that they are not likely to favor compulsory arbitration or other socialistic measures. If the State compels a man to work it may also dictate concerning his religion or his politics. Moreover, the State is apparently at present more friendly to employers than to employees, and compulsory arbitration would in general be unfavorable to the latter. (492, 494.)

Mr. DEVENS, assistant secretary of the National Metal Trades Association, believes that the system of arbitration and conciliation between employers and employees within the trade, on the lines adopted by the National Metal Trades Association, is more advantageous than arbitration by State authorities. The members of the arbitration board on both sides are experienced men, in constant touch with shop methods and with business. They only are competent to give the subject the expert consideration which it requires. The agreement of the National Metal Trades Association requires that arbitration shall be brought about within two weeks. Men not familiar with the conditions could not reach a decision in that length of time satisfactorily. (507, 508.)

Mr. JONES, a nonunion machinist, declares he is opposed to strikes and lockouts. He thinks that local organizations should be subordinate to national organizations, and that disputes should be arbitrated between national organizations of employers and employees. As it is to-day, the various local organizations can call a strike at any moment without control by a higher authority. (196.)

Mr. ROUNTREE, of the Turner Brass Works, thinks that we should have a national system of arbitration. To be successful this would require thorough organization of labor. The witness thinks that strikes should be declared illegal pending arbitration. The great difficulty in the case of strikes is that a few men lead all the rest to leave employment. A settlement could be easily reached in most cases if it were not for such influence. The strikes in Chicago are affecting every business concern in the city, causing suffering to several hundred thousand people. Some method should be devised by which such a condition can be prevented. (34, 36.)

CXL INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION:—CHICAGO LABOR DISPUTES.

Mr. MADDEN, president of the Western Stone Company, would favor a permanent board of arbitration consisting of an equal number of men selected by the employers and by the employees. He would have the business agents of the unions directed to investigate every difficulty and refer it to the board of arbitration before calling a strike. If the question is not of very great importance the board should be required to make a decision within a limited time, say 24 hours. In any case, no interruption of work should be permitted while the arbitration goes on. The witness has never talked with any member of the union or with any member of a contractors' organization who did not agree that this is the right plan to work on. Since there seems to be a universal approval of it, there does not appear to be any reason why it should not be successfully adopted. The witness believes it would avert 999 out of 1,000 strikes. (110.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, says that a fight like that now existing in Chicago gives no solution of industrial questions. It simply determines which side is at present stronger. An arrangement for mutual arbitration is the only thing that can give peace and prosperity. While the bricklayers worked for 10 years under an arbitration agreement without the loss of a day by strikers, the witness has seen a stoppage of 3 days since the arbitration clause was abrogated which cost the laborers perhaps \$400 or \$500, when the matter in dispute did not amount to \$5. (89.)

Mr. Nicholson regards the central organization of both workmen and employers as desirable. It is better to deal with one institution than with a dozen. But so long as one central body is strong and another is weak, the strong one has nothing to arbitrate. If a proper scheme of arbitration were fixed, there could be no strike unless in case of an unjust verdict. There ought to be a chance of appeal in case of gross injustice, especially in such cases as the unjust levying of a fine. (90, 91.)

B. Building trades arbitration agreements. (See also *Agreements between unions and contractors*, p. LXII; as to system adopted in settlement of the building trades strike, see p. XLVI.)

Mr. FALKENAU, a general contractor, states that the bricklayers and master masons of Boston have settled their differences successfully by arbitration for 9 years.⁸⁷ They have excluded the sympathetic strike. There has been an effort to maintain an amalgamated building trades council there, but the agreement between the bricklayers' union and the master masons provides that all questions shall be settled by their own trade without any intervention of any other trade whatsoever. Union and nonunion men work together. (324.)

The structural iron workers' agreement for 1900 provides that differences with employers shall be arbitrated by a board of three, one selected by the employer, one by the union, and one by these two. During the arbitration, work shall proceed. (99.) A similar provision is contained in the agreement of the architectural iron workers. (431.)

Mr. SMITH, a plumbing contractor, states that by an agreement of June, 1896, between the master plumbers and the plumbers' union, every dispute was to be submitted to an arbitration committee, consisting of one man appointed by the plumbers' union, one by the employer concerned or the employers' association, and, if these two could not agree, a third chosen by them. The decision of the committee was to be binding upon both parties. No general strike was to be ordered without such arbitration. (403.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, refers to an agreement which existed for 10 years between the bricklayers' union and the building contractors. There was a regular arbitration committee, with a provision for calling in an umpire in case of disagreement. The witness thinks that the umpire was not needed three times in the 10 years which the arrangement lasted. The agreement was given up when the bricklayers' union joined the building trades council. The bricklayers held that, since the central organization had no provision for arbitration, they could not maintain the system. Mr. Nicholson does not know that any direct effort has been made to induce the building trades council to adopt such a system of arbitration. Some such system is the only solution of the questions which are now troubling the builders of Chicago. (88.)

C. Arbitration laws.—State boards.—Mr. WALSER, president of the Goss Printing Press Company, thinks that the best solution of the labor difficulties in this country would be for Congress to establish a commission with full power to investigate, regulate, and arbitrate all disputes. Manufacturers should be required to make sworn reports in detail to this commission, showing the class of labor employed, wages, etc. The laws should be so made that there could be practically no strikes or lockouts. Every grievance should be settled before the men quit work. No political influence should be allowed to enter into the conduct of such a board. (373.)

Mr. BOARD says that he would be in favor of a State or national arbitration law, if it could be made certain that the arbitrators would be free from political influences. Although the witness strongly opposes trade unions, he says that we must acknowledge the existence of the unions, and that, so long as they exist, arbitration is perhaps the only remedy. (46.)

Mr. WEBSTER thinks that most disputes could be satisfactorily settled by conferences between national organizations of employers and of employees. If the parties refuse to attempt such settlement, the witness thinks that compulsory arbitration is justifiable. It would prevent great losses to the public. (147.)

Mr. McGARRY, a manufacturer of boilers, believes that all difficulties between employers and employees should be settled by friendly negotiations between them, or, in event of failure to do so, by compulsory arbitration. He thinks that the workman would almost always be found to be in the right. (310.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, while believing that arbitration is the only remedy for industrial difficulties, does not think that arbitration can be effectively provided by law. He fears that it would be a one-sided arbitration, because the employers' association has only 1,300 votes, and the workmen have 25,000 votes. Mr. Nicholson does not think it would be possible to get a compulsory arbitration law passed, and if it could be passed he does not think it would last long. (92, 95.)

Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, would favor making arbitration compulsory, if necessary. He does not believe anybody is afraid to arbitrate unless there is something wrong that he is afraid to bring before the public. (239.)

Mr. DARROW, a lawyer, declares that the interests of the public are involved in strikes as well as the selfish interests of the employers and employees. Everybody in the United States is interested in the operation of the railroads. If the railroads that enter New York or Chicago should stop running the cities would soon be a heap of ruins. In fact, our industrial life has become so complex that there is really no such thing as private business. For these reasons the witness believes that compulsory arbitration of labor difficulties is advisable. There should be a board in every State and a United States board to take cognizance of railroad strikes. The present boards of arbitration have no power except where the parties interested in the strike consent to their intervention. The witness thinks that capital generally is opposed to the idea of compulsory arbitration, but that the labor unions for the most part favor it. He admits that all movements in the direction of compulsory arbitration are virtually in the direction of State socialism, although it is not necessarily true that they will lead to thorough-going socialism. Mr. Darrow believes that the great majority of students of labor questions favor compulsory arbitration. The system may, of course, be abused, as in fact all institutions may be abused. (71-73.)

Mr. BONNER declares that there are some questions that can not be arbitrated; whether a man's house or place of business shall be picketed or patrolled, whether a man has the right to hire and discharge whom he pleases, whether a man has a right to work for whom he pleases. These questions pertain to the fundamental rights which can not be arbitrated or questioned for a moment. In taking this position Mr. Bonner believes that he represents the rights and true interests of the workmen themselves. Even as to such questions as wages, Mr. Bonner does not see how any legal enactment could effect a just and proper settlement. Such a settlement might be obtained in some few particular lines of manufacturing, as where the same cloth is woven on the same loom day after day and month after month. The witness does not see how wages can be adjusted in general business otherwise than by free contract. (386, 387.)

Mr. STILES, a master painter, does not see how the employment of "free men," that is, nonunion men, can properly be made a matter of arbitration. (342.)

While Mr. WEBSTER, a machinery manufacturer, is in favor of labor unions generally, and believes that many of their demands are just, he declares that the demands of the building trades council are arbitrary and outrageous, and that the only thing to do is to fight them. While arbitration is desirable so far as possible, it may be out of the question to arbitrate such demands as go against the very principles of our free institutions. (154.)

Professor TAYLOR says that he does not believe in compulsory arbitration, because there would be no way of enforcing the decisions upon the employees except by imprisonment, so that their liberty would be pitted against the money of the employer, who could pay fines. On the other hand, the establishment of councils of conciliation similar to those in France would be very advantageous. Such councils or boards of arbitration ought to have the power to compel the parties to disputes to appear before them and to endeavor to bring about a settlement. Pending such a negotiation, strikes and lockouts should be prohibited and the interests of the whole people thus protected. Public sentiment would be a

very powerful factor in bringing about a just settlement if the facts were made known by the investigations of such councils. (533, 534, 544.)

Mr. GINDELE, a general contractor, used to think that arbitration would be a proper method of settling labor difficulties, provided the arbitration were just. He served as a member of a board of arbitration for several years, and it was constantly necessary for the contractors to make unjust concessions in order to maintain harmony and peace between the two organizations. Moreover the labor union finally got such an idea of its strength that its representatives would come in with a list of written demands the concession of which they would demand as a preliminary to arbitration. Mr. Gindele does not care for arbitration of this kind. (367.)

D. Difficulties and limits of arbitration.—Mr. BISNO, former deputy factory inspector of Illinois, believes that the condition of both employers and employees would be improved if strikes and lockouts were prevented and if all differences were submitted to arbitration. It has been the experience of the workmen, however, he declares, that employers have usually refused to arbitrate when the workmen have offered to do so. This was the case in various strikes of the coat manufacturers in Chicago. It was also the case in the Pullman strike and in the Norton Brothers' strike. There is a feeling among the workmen of the city that the employers regard an offer to arbitrate as a sign that the workmen do not expect to win; so that it is not a wise thing often for the workmen to clamor for arbitration. Nevertheless, the working classes, the witness thinks, can be brought to favor settling all difficulties by arbitration, provided it is fair arbitration. They would not be willing to have their disputes submitted to some arbitrator or judge over whose selection they had no influence. (65.)

XV. MISCELLANEOUS EVIDENCE AS TO LABOR MATTERS.

A. Efforts for bettering conditions in Chicago.—1. *Social settlement work in Chicago.*—Professor TAYLOR, president of the Chicago Commons Association, states that the Chicago Commons is a social settlement which was established 6 years ago. There are 13 such settlements in Chicago now, the first being Hull House, which was established 1 year before the Chicago Commons. These settlements are mostly nonsectarian. Some of them are chiefly intended for the Jewish population. There is a federation of Chicago settlements, which meets 3 or 4 four times a year for mutual advice and information. All of the settlements work in entire harmony.

Social settlements were first started by university men, and there is still a connection in many instances between the universities and the settlements. In the case of the Chicago Commons there is a small group of people, representing the more privileged classes, who voluntarily live at the settlement and conduct work there. Other persons come to aid in the various forms of activity. The residents live cooperatively at their own expense, while the cost of the building and of the maintenance and apparatus, which now amounts to nearly \$6,500 per year, is made by contributions from various sources. Contributions are especially secured through the influence of the Commons, a paper published by the settlement.

The Chicago Commons has recently been erecting a new building, part of which is now completed, at a cost of \$35,000. It contains many rooms for various clubs and educational work, a large hall seating about 500, a gymnasium, and a group of living rooms.

The most important work is that of the various classes and clubs, and this is especially significant, in Professor Taylor's opinion, because of the contact of personalities. The more privileged and less reserved give out to the less privileged and more reserved, but the instructors themselves receive also many benefits. The people have met the workers more than halfway; they come scarcely at all for charity, but chiefly for social privileges and instruction. There are now about 89 different clubs and other occasions of meeting weekly at the settlement, with an average of 3,775 attendants weekly. There is usually a fee of 25 cents, merely nominal, for membership in the various clubs and classes, the fee itself being imposed by the members and being in some cases waived. The witness submitted a detailed schedule of the various appointments and meetings.

The work of the settlement is nonsectarian. The new building has been erected on the site of an old church, and as a condition of giving the land free of rent the church has been permitted to hold its services in the building. To this, however, there has been no objection from the Catholics and secularists, or any other constituents of the settlement. It has been so free from proselyting and has so succeeded in unifying the community that no sectarian objections were raised.

Professor Taylor believes that the Chicago Commons and the other settlements have exercised a material influence in improving conditions, although they are only a drop in the bucket. Juvenile crime in the neighborhood of the Commons has been reduced to some extent by the provision of opportunities, formerly lacking, for play and instruction. There has been little violence in the streets in the vicinity of the settlement. Women come and go there unattended in perfect safety. There has been a great improvement in cleanliness on the part of the people, especially of the lower grade of Italians, despite the fact that housing conditions in the neighborhood are still pitifully inadequate. In the 6 years there has never been in the house of the settlement any contagious diseases, except mumps and whooping cough, although children have lived there. The settlement has also made it a practice to take children on excursions or to camp in the country. Last year 1,385 people were taken into the country for periods ranging from 1 day to 6 weeks. Many of the children had never seen the country before.

The Chicago Commons and other settlements have also exercised influence in connection with the city government. The aim has been to cooperate with the various public departments, especially those of schools, health, police, and buildings, and in no way to duplicate agencies. A club is being formed in the Seventeenth ward, where the Chicago Commons is located, for the purpose of educating voters, by meetings held in their own houses, on the value of their ballots and on the issues of the day. The workers in the settlement have also been active in securing the prosecution of corrupt election officials, and Professor Taylor believes that municipal reform can be greatly promoted by the rallying of the better elements of both parties in neutral centers of this sort for the purpose of getting the balance of power and influencing party methods and municipal politics.

Finally, Professor Taylor holds that one of the principal results of social settlement work is its reflex influence on the more privileged classes themselves. The witness would not be willing to lose the larger contact with people and with life which comes from living in such a place. The more privileged class learn from the work of such institutions to take a different point of view regarding the working classes, and to treat them differently. Professor Taylor does not believe that workers in the settlement become warped or radical, but thinks that the employing classes should be grateful to those who live where they can get influence over the working people and become familiar with their conditions and thoughts. (545-553.)

B. Other evidence.—1. *General character of working people in Chicago.*—Professor TAYLOR says that 6 years ago the Chicago Commons started a series of weekly meetings for free discussion of topics interesting to the working classes. It was announced that no favor would be shown and that all sides of questions would be freely considered. The liberty of speech at these meetings has never been restricted. There is an average attendance of 100 men, and the extremes of thought meet there. There are anarchists and over against them socialists, with a strong conservative group between the two extremes. The attendants include many trade unionists. They represent various nationalities. There are also numbers of the more highly educated class, who attend largely for the purpose of learning the views and characteristics of the people. All sorts of questions have been discussed at these meetings. While extreme views are often presented on various questions, there has practically never been any occasion to appeal for order, and there has been apparently a growing spirit of toleration and a toning down of the extreme views. The witness believes, in fact, that opportunities for absolutely unrestricted discussion of this sort constitute a safety valve, and that they knock off the sharp edges of the various opinions. He does not believe that nihilists and anarchists make converts at these meetings, but that they make their position better understood, and that they often come to see that they do not stand so far apart from more conservative people. Thus the witness has heard anarchists so define the self-interest which they claim as their only motive as to include sympathy and service to others and to approach toward the socialist point of view. Among anarchists there are very few Americans, most of them being Russians and Germans. A good many Americans are coming to be socialists, not usually so much in the broad sense of favoring state collectivism as in the sense of favoring increased public activity, municipal ownership of public utilities, etc. Among anarchists the witness believes that he has observed during the past 6 years a great decrease in the reference to and defense of the use of force; in fact it is much oftener deprecated than advocated. In practice, many anarchists seem to recognize the necessity of some form of government, although they would refer to it as voluntary cooperation rather than as coercion.

Professor Taylor says further that as the result of his 6 years' residence among

the common working people his respect for the average man and woman has increased a thousandfold. He has found them more patient, more faithful, more desirous of earning their own support, less given to drunkenness, and more law-abiding and peaceful than is ordinarily believed. (545-548, 551.)

2. *Wages and general condition of labor.*—Mr. RYAN, of the Morgan-Gardner Electrical Company, declares that the workmen of the country generally, especially mechanics, are much better educated to-day than 20 years or 30 years ago; that their wages are about double, and their general condition of living much better. On the other hand, he questions whether, as a rule, they are quite as honest in rendering a day's work for a day's wage as formerly. (290.)

Mr. BLISS, a painting contractor, declares that, as a rule, all over the country wages are falling. In Massachusetts, according to the State bureau of labor, average annual earnings were \$446.41 in 1895, \$426.26 in 1896, \$422.26 in 1897, and \$421.28 in 1898. In Pennsylvania, as reported by the commissioner of internal affairs, the average wages, obtained by dividing the total wages paid by the average number employed, were \$489.14 in 1892, \$462.50 in 1893, \$412.07 in 1894, \$443.52 in 1895, \$439.36 in 1896, and \$428.75 in 1897. The figures of wages in the Aldrich report show a decrease of about 20 per cent from 1872 to 1891. As summarized by the statistician of that report, they show an increase of 6 per cent. That, however, is obtained by a juggle. The statistician put the foremen and overseers of departments each in a class by himself, and the increase in wages of each such person was given the same weight as the increase or decrease in wages of classes including large numbers. The increased wages of foremen do not represent increased pay for the same work, but increased pay for greater efficiency in a position of greater responsibility.

The purchasing power of wages has increased, if only food and clothing are taken into account. It is probably not increased when the increased rents and expenses for car fares are taken into consideration. A workman with a family can not earn a living in Chicago without sending his children into the department stores and the factories. The girl who goes into a store has to dress better than she otherwise would have to dress, and from this cause and others the necessary expenses of the working people are greater than they formerly were. There is evidence to show that the girls in the department stores can not support themselves without resorting to immoral practices. If a man loses his job, it is almost hopeless to look for one. The opportunities for general education are better than they used to be, but in many respects the condition of the body of the people is growing worse. (254-256.)

Mr. GEORGE F. HARDING, Sr., does not think that the ordinary man is more prosperous than he was years ago. At the present moment there is an upward tendency, but this is only a reaction from the period of depression, exactly similar to the reaction of 1879. We are settling down toward pauperism. (167.)

Mr. ROUNTREE, of the Turner Brass Works, says that most of the men employed work by the day. The company prides itself on its high grade of work, and piecework tends to lower the grade. The success of such work as is done by this company depends greatly on the interest and high skill of the individual workmen. (31.)

3. *General relations of employers and employees.*—Mr. WEBSTER, a machinery manufacturer, thinks that some manufacturers want to make as much as possible out of their employees, but that there are others who would rather see their men happy and comfortable than to make all the profits themselves. Men who are working happily and contentedly will produce more; they will try to make everything count. Both employers and employees are apparently becoming gradually more altruistic, more regardful of one another's interests. The real interests of both are identical.

Mr. Webster thinks that we are gradually coming to recognize that there is another unit of value than the dollar. He believes the time will come when a man will be disgraced in society for taking the blood out of his employees; when people will not think it is the greatest thing in the world to accumulate a vast sum of money; when manufacturers will recognize that great ethical principles are more to be considered than mere profit. At present men are thought none the worse of because of commercial piracy, but the witness thinks the idea of fair dealing is growing steadily. (153.)

Mr. RYAN, of the Morgan-Gardner Electrical Company, Chicago, states that he began life as a workman, and has learned that it is desirable for employers to treat their men well. He has accordingly made it a rule to meet his employees at all times, no matter when or how they came to him. He makes it a practice to recognize committees of the men, although he does not deal with representatives of the unions as such. He pays his men well, and takes care to make the

sanitary condition of the factory as good as possible. The result is that he has no men who do not try to render him an equivalent for their wages. The witness admits that the fact that his establishment is comparatively free from competition and has a constant demand for its product enables him to be more liberal with his men than some other employers.

Mr. RYAN believes that there would be much less friction between employers and employees if they should try to get together and adjust difficulties without strikes. The American mechanic is an intelligent man, who wants to do right, and if he is treated rightly he is easy to get along with. Where strikes occur there is usually hard feeling between the parties even after the settlement. (290-295.)

Mr. MCGARRY, a boiler manufacturer, thinks that a great deal of the difficulty with strikes would be avoided if the employers would take the workman's place for a week. Most of them do not understand the workman. If the representatives of the various unions and of the contractors should come together with good feeling they could easily settle the difficulty. A great many employers have never had any practical experience either as workmen or in business. They can not figure what a man is able to do in a day. If, after carrying on business for a time, they find they are losing money, they think they must cut wages down. It is easier for workmen to deal with employers who have been workmen themselves. In the experience of the witness the workmen have practically always been on the right side of labor disputes. (307-311.)

Mr. DAVIS, a contractor, believes that the only remedy for industrial troubles is mutual service and even self-sacrifice on the part of employer and employee. The employer should put the best that is in him into his business, employ all the men he can, and pay the highest wages he can. When the men feel that he is a part of them and they are a part of him, and not until then, we can settle this question. (423.)

4. *Labor legislation.*—Mr. BISNO, formerly factory inspector of Illinois, is in favor of legislation to protect labor, especially by limiting the hours of labor and by restricting child labor. He thinks that the constitutions of the States and of the Union should be amended so as to permit legislation which is now held to be contrary to the right of free contract.

The witness does not believe that it would be wise for one State to hold back in enacting desired legislation until other States or all the States join in such legislation. The establishment of a reform in one State will tend to promote agitation in its favor in other States. The witness refers, for example, to the fact that certain employers in Illinois, after the passage of the child-labor law in that State, exerted themselves actively to secure the passage of a similar law in Indiana, in order that they might not suffer from the competition of the adjoining State. It is true that the laws in the South are less stringent as to the hours of labor and the employment of children than those in the North. There are other advantages also which Southern manufacturers have in competition, but the high skill and intelligence of Northern workmen is able to overcome these differences in conditions. The bureau of labor statistics of Massachusetts, for example, declares that there need be no alarm over the competition of the Southern States. The witness recognizes, however, on being questioned more closely, that wages and conditions of labor are materially affected by general competition. (59, 62, 64.)

Mr. MADDEN says that we must have laws under which we can live, they must be so executed as not to be burdensome on the people, and the people must have confidence in those who pass the laws and those who execute them. A right public sentiment and the active exercise of the duties of citizenship must be depended upon to give better social conditions. (113.)

Mr. PLAMONDON, president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, says that the present prosperity of the country might easily be checked by careless legislation, which should frighten capital and interfere with progress. On the other hand, he admits that the interests of labor deserve recognition as truly as those of capital. (3.)

Mr. MCGARRY, who formerly was a workman in England, thinks that the British Government has taken greater care of its workmen by legislation than the American government. (308.)

5. *Reduction of hours of labor.* (See also as to machinists' strike, p. CXX. CXXV; as to hours in building trades, p. XLVI.)

Mr. BISNO, formerly factory inspector of Illinois, thinks that the hours of labor, both of children and of adults, should be limited by law. The witness is in favor of the 8-hour day, but thinks that even a 10-hour limit would be an advantage. During the present busy times manufacturers in Chicago are working their men

12 or even 14 hours a day. Overtime is paid extra, but men are injured by working such long hours, and for them to work extra time tends to keep others from securing employment. Their working overtime is not entirely voluntary; they would lose their positions often if they did not do it. The witness thinks that the improvements of machinery have so increased the ability of the country to produce wealth that a limitation of the hours of labor is necessary to prevent overproduction. By limiting the hours, work could be distributed more equally among the people. If it should be found that the 8-hour day would still leave men unemployed, the hours might be reduced to 6 or even to 4. The witness does not especially favor limiting the hours of labor on farms, but he does not consider that special laws concerning factory employees constitute undesirable class legislation. If hours were fixed by law, the witness believes that wages would adjust themselves without legislation.

Mr. Bisno thinks that immediate legislation should be enacted for the protection of persons under 21, and of women, so far as this can be done constitutionally, and that steps should be taken to amend the constitutions of the States so as to permit legislation restricting the hours of adult male labor.

Mr. MILLER, a manufacturer of sheet iron, says that the 8-hour day is satisfactory in large cities. There men have to travel an hour or more to get to their work, so that 8 hours of actual labor often amounts to the 10-hour day. (352.)

6. *Attitude of employers toward unions.*—Mr. BISNO, formerly factory inspector of Illinois, says that there are in Chicago nearly 110,000 persons working for employers who refuse to permit them to join unions. For example, the street-car men, those employed at the stock yards, the employees of the Pullman Company, of the Deering, McCormick, and Crane establishments are not permitted to join unions. If the men attempt to form an organization they are discharged. Any committee which appears before any of the firms represented in the stock yards, or any man who is connected with an organization, is discharged. Three of the largest printing establishments in the city have also defeated the employees in strikes and are now maintaining scab shops. The same thing is true of some of the large cigar manufacturers. There is no chance for men to form an organization where the employer has large capital and can afford to send his agents into the South and into other States to bring men to take the place of strikers. Almost every workman in Chicago has been a member of a trade union at one time or another, but many have been unable to maintain organizations. The building trades are the best organized in the city. (49.)

7. *Trade schools.*—Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, thinks that one of our most serious troubles is the difficulty of teaching handicrafts to American young men. The trades unions have their restrictions upon apprentices, but, besides that, the apprenticeship system has been outgrown. It was suited to a time of small employers, who could have each his own apprentice in his own house, and teach him his trade and watch his habits and his morals. The employer of this day can not teach an apprentice, and the men have neither time nor inclination to do it. A boy learns bad habits, bad ideas, and discontent quite as fast as he learns his trade by association with the workmen. Germany owes her industrial advancement very largely to trade schools. The witness knows of only one trade school in the country whose methods he approves; that is in New York. There ought to be schools all over the country where boys could become expert both in the manual and in the theoretical parts of handicrafts. (105, 106.)

8. *American and European labor.* (See also under *Foreign trade*, p. CXLIX.)

Mr. McGARRY, a boiler manufacturer, who was formerly a workman in England, thinks that American mechanics will turn out more work in 2 days than European mechanics turn out in 3 days. English mechanics are remarkably skilled, but they fool away their time and do not show the energy which is found in this country. They are, however, getting constantly better educated. There is no danger that the mechanic of England or any other country will cut out the American mechanic. (310.)

Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, says that the European mechanic is slower than the American; he does not work as hard as the American, and he clings to old and clumsy methods; but he does his work very well. In Germany and Sweden and Bohemia the bricks are so big and clumsy that a man has to lay them with both hands, 1 brick at a time. Machinery is used much more freely in America. Germany is buying our machinery, as, for instance, that for making boots and shoes. On the other hand, we are buying Germany's sugar machinery. (107.)

9. *Foreign born—Character and progress.*—Mr. MADDEN, president of the Western Stone Company, says that Chicago has people of every nationality under the sun, but that they are all law-abiding citizens and are rapidly becoming assimilated to the native population. Their children attend the public schools, and nearly all the children of the poorer people go through all the grades of the grammar school. (112.)

10. *Cooperation.*—Mr. ROUNTREE says that he has given some thought to the subject of cooperation and profit sharing as remedies for labor difficulties, but that, so far as he knows, no such scheme has ever been successful for any considerable length of time. He fears that human nature, both on the side of the employers and of the employees, is such as to prevent its success. (37.)

Mr. NICHOLSON laments the lack of cooperation among the workmen, both in respect to stores and in respect to the acquirement of homes. He contrasts our conditions unfavorably, in this respect, with those of England. (101, 103.)

11. *Homes for workmen.*—Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, declares that he never yet saw a person who did not want to own a home, except, perhaps, a tramp. It has not been possible in recent years for workmen in American cities to buy homes. He believes that 20 per cent of those who did own homes have lost them during the last 10 years. The ownership of homes has a most conservative and helpful influence upon the workmen. The conditions in this respect are much better in small cities than in Chicago. The high prices at which lots are held and the unsteadiness of work are the two great influences which make home ownership impossible. The unfair assessment of vacant lots as "acre property" at a nominal valuation encourages the holding of vacant lots for speculation, and increases the difficulty of home owning. (101-103.)

Mr. Nicholson speaks with admiration of the city of Birmingham, England, which destroyed some of its plague spots, and rebuilt them as a municipal investment. The result has not been unprofitable financially, and has been most excellent socially. The witness also approves of the New Zealand law under which the government has bought large domains, cut them up, and sold them on easy terms to small purchasers. (103.)

12. *Strikes and prosperity.*—Mr. WEBSTER, a machinery manufacturer, says that there is more likely to be agitation among laboring men during times of prosperity than at other times, because they believe that they can accomplish more. On the other hand, a strike may also be an indication of bad times. (152.)

Mr. PREECE, of the bricklayers' union, says that prosperous times are best for strikes. In dull times there is no opportunity to strike—there is nothing to do. (480.)

13. *Contracting system vs. day labor.*—Mr. WOODBURY, president of the carpenters' district council, believes that the old system of day work is better for the owner and better for the journeyman than the present contract system. For this reason, as well as from an indisposition to use the workmen's strength to build up the employers' organizations, he is opposed to the agreements which bind the union men not to work for any but the members of the contractors' associations. (459.)

14. *Attitude of workmen toward public work.*—Mr. BLISS, a painting contractor, declares that the workmen have no regard for the public interest in public work, such as schoolhouses. They say that the contractors ought to get a good price for such work, so that the men may have jobs there and not have to work so hard. (251, 252.)

15. *Large employers favored by workmen.*—Mr. BLISS, a painting contractor, declares that he has noticed among the painters that they have been rather desirous of crushing out the smaller contractors. The bricklayers also seem to be favorable to the large bosses rather than the small. Before the bricklayers had trouble with the bosses one of them could not start an independent business. The unions seem to think that it is better to have a few large employers. (252, 254.)

16. *Government savings banks.*—Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, thinks that government savings banks should be established. He has known several workmen to lose one or two, or three hundred dollars by savings bank failures, and he mentions several such failures by which he and his friends have lost. Under existing conditions there is no safe place for a workman to put small savings. (107.)

17. *Pensions for workmen.*—Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, approves of the systems of old age pensions which exist in Germany and New Zealand, and wishes that a similar system might be established in Illinois. (104.)

18. *Machinery—Effect on labor.*—Mr. RYAN, of the Morgan-Gardner Electrical Company, thinks that the strain on mechanics is made less by the use of improved machinery than it formerly was. On the other hand, workmen must be better educated than before; they must understand the machines they are handling. In the use of most modern machines it is possible for workmen to sit down and often to do nothing but watch the machine. (292.)

19. *Street car service in workmen's districts.*—Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, protests against the wretched street car service which is furnished in the workmen's districts of Chicago, and declares that, simply by reason of the poor service, the dwellers in those districts ought to ride at half fare. (104.)

20. *Amalgamated Society of Engineers.*—Mr. REID says that he has no doubt that the great strike of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers of Great Britain resulted

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in sending a large amount of work to this country which would otherwise have been done in England. During that strike the machinists in the United States assisted their fellow-workmen in Great Britain, and the amalgamated society is preparing to return the debt by assisting the strikers in this country. (193.)

21. *Why American boys do not learn trades.*—Mr. NICHOLSON declares that after the 8-hour system was established in bricklaying twice as many American boys as before applied for places as apprentices. The better the conditions of labor are made the better the class of men that will go into the mechanical trades. (106.)

22. *Right to employment.*—Mr. BISSE thinks that under modern conditions, where a man's labor becomes so specialized that he can only work in immediate connection with a particular machine, so that in fact he becomes a part of a machine, he earns a certain right to employment in connection with that machine; it constitutes his sole means of support. For an employer to reduce wages is to interfere with his civil rights; it is an act of war. The business of the employer has grown up partially because of the labor of the workman, and the workman has some moral right to retain his job. Accordingly, the workman on strike has a certain right concerning the property of his employer; this is the justification of picketing, and of all attempts to prevent the employer from getting other workmen. (56, 57.)

23. *Chicago schools.*—Mr. MADDEN states that the average daily attendance at the Chicago public schools is about 331,000. Nearly all of the children of the poorer class go through all the grades of the grammar school. Nothing will advance the interests of the country more for the future than to enable the men of the present to earn money enough to let their children get a decent education. (112.)

24. *Incorporation of trade unions.*—Mr. WILSON, vice-president of the Amalgamated Association of Machinists, says that that organization has not considered it wise as yet to incorporate, because it is ignorant as to what the advantages and disadvantages and the general effects of incorporation would be. The funds of the organization are safeguarded by requiring bonds from the officers. (489.)

25. *Sliding scales.*—Mr. WILSON, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists, believes that sliding scales for the governing of wages should be established wherever possible, although they are very difficult to work satisfactorily. He believes that ultimately there will come a system of cooperation between labor and capital, with the entire elimination of ordinary wages. (498.)

XVI. MISCELLANEOUS TESTIMONY NOT RELATING TO LABOR.

A. *Character and prosperity of certain industries.*—1. *Turner Brass Works.*—Mr. ROYSTREE, president of the Turner Brass Works, Chicago, says that that concern manufactures various kinds of brass specialties. It casts its own brass, and has a finishing and polishing department. The witness believes that cast brass is made in exactly the same way to-day as it was a thousand years ago. The company employs about 150 persons, all men and boys. About half of the grown men are native Americans. The company has customers all over the United States, in various lines of business. The use of brass is governed to a considerable extent by fashion. In times of prosperity more brass will be used, and in times of depression more iron. Iron can be plated to look like brass. Nickel goods can be made with iron as the basis instead of brass, although they are not so good. (28, 30.)

2. *Manufacture of mining machinery.*—Mr. GATES, a manufacturer of mining machinery, says that the business of his firm is at present highly prosperous. In fact, the business done has increased about threefold since the panic of 1893, notwithstanding the lower prices. The establishment is now from 3 to 9 months behind in some of its work. There is some difficulty in making collections, but the losses are still slight, and the witness thinks that his customers are generally prosperous. The foreign trade is an important feature of the business, and the witness believes that the prosperity of American manufacturers generally will depend more and more on their foreign trade. (20, 21.)

3. *Coal-mining machinery.*—Mr. RYAN, of the Morgan-Gardner Electrical Company, Chicago, states that that company has been engaged in the manufacture of machinery for mining bituminous coal for the past 13 years. The machines made are intended to undercut the coal. The company also manufactures the dynamos which furnish power for the machines, and motors for hauling the coal to the main entry, by a rail return system. The witness thinks that one of these machines will undercut as much coal in a day as 15 miners, but that the increased number of men required for loading and handling the coal prevents

any extensive displacement of labor. He believes that in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana about two-thirds of the mines are equipped with either electrical or compressed air machines, and in Illinois about one-third of the mines. The natural conditions in some mines prevent the use of machinery. There are only three establishments regularly engaged in the manufacture of coal-mining machines, and the competition is not very close. The Morgan-Gardner Company, at any rate, has always had all the work it could do. The use of machines has become general only during the past 4 or 5 years. (289, 291.)

4. *Mosaic work.*—Mr. DAVIS states that the first mosaic work that was used, an imitation of the Roman work, was made of bits of marble. The design is drawn on paper, of full size, the bits of stone are glued to the paper, and then the whole is pressed into the bed of cement prepared for it and the paper is soaked off. There is another kind of mosaic known as ceramic, made of tiles. (423.)

B. *Foreign trade in machinery.*—Mr. CHALMERS, of Fraser & Chalmers, manufacturers of machinery, says that that company does a large export trade, about 40 per cent of its entire business being foreign. The company manufactures all kinds of machinery for mining and treating the various precious metals. It sends its mining machinery to every country where mines are carried on. Its chief competitors in the business are Belgium, England, and Germany. The lower wages, the longer working hours (particularly in Germany and Belgium), and the favorable rates of freight give these countries an advantage. Fraser & Chalmers have a shop in England, and the wages there average 40 per cent less than in Chicago. On the other hand, manufacturers in the United States have some advantage in the way of cheaper fuel and cheaper and better iron. Moreover, there is no country in the world where the individual workman turns out as large a product as in the United States. Men here are fed better, they are more intelligent and energetic, and less often drunk. Nevertheless, if machinery manufacturers granted the present demands of the unions they could not compete against the world at large.

Mr. Chalmers says that the reason why his firm has established a large plant in England is that it found that its patterns and models were being copied there, and that it found the conditions of shipment to various foreign markets more favorable from Great Britain than from the United States. (11, 16.)

Mr. GATES, a manufacturer of mining machinery, says that during the recent trade depression the foreign business of his firm was sometimes as high as 35 per cent of the total. It is still from 20 to 25 per cent. The firm has been steadily working for foreign trade since 1887. The witness believes that if it had not been for the foreign trade the firm would have failed during the hard times. At present it is inclined to sacrifice its domestic trade for the sake of keeping its foreign trade, with a view to protecting itself against another period of depression. The prices in foreign markets do not fluctuate as much as in this country. The chief foreign markets are Great Britain, Germany, Australia, and South Africa, but there are various others. Most of the foreign trade is done strictly with the consumers, chiefly large mine owners, having large capital and fully responsible. The American manufacturers of mining machinery meet competition from England and Germany chiefly. The manufacturers in those countries have a great advantage in the cheapness of labor. Their wages, as a rule, are less than half those paid in this country. But the American workmen are of higher efficiency, and American manufacturers have improved tools and better superintendence. The average quality of the foreign product is about equal to that of the American product. The foreign manufacturers have some advantage in water transportation as compared with American manufacturers, but the rates of railroad transportation are lower in this country. (22, 23.)

Mr. LARSON, of the Western Electric Company, says that that company has factories at Chicago and New York, and also large establishments at Antwerp, Paris, Berlin, and London. In Europe hours of labor are long and wages much less than in this country, common labor being paid about one-fifth as much as here. Nevertheless economy of production is not the motive that leads the company to manufacture in Europe. It wishes to have its factories nearer to the market, so that it can meet exactly the demands of its customers. Moreover the foreign governments, which are themselves large customers of the company, require the articles that they buy to be made in their own countries. The Western Electric Company still exports its products largely from the United States. The electrical manufacturing concerns generally in Germany are very prosperous and are growing rapidly. (298.)

Mr. L. BOARD testifies that he manufactures chiefly automatic machinery for making tinware and particularly tin cans. This machinery is largely subject to patents. The chief users of the machinery are manufacturers of tin cans and

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packers of meat, manufacturers of condensed milk and fruit packers, who themselves frequently manufacture cans. The witness has a large number of customers who are machinists, and they are affected by the present strike, so that the demand for his machinery has fallen off.

The witness has shipped machines to foreign countries to a considerable extent. In 1898 fully 40 per cent of his product went abroad, chiefly to Australia, New Zealand, South America, and Great Britain. At present the foreign trade is only about 10 per cent of the whole, owing to the better demand in this country. The witness says that a large amount of English steel is used in the manufacture of his machinery, partly on account of its better quality, and partly because of the preference of the foreign trade for English steel. No drawback is received on the export of machines. The chief competitors in foreign markets are the English and the Germans. They have the advantage of very much lower wages, those in England being about two-thirds of those paid here. On the other hand American mechanics are more expert and work faster. The machines are so arranged here that men have to get into the habit of working more rapidly. The low cost of labor in foreign countries tends to check the use of automatic machinery of the kind made by the witness. (39, 44.)

Mr. ROENTREE, of the Turner Brass Works, says that that company has very little foreign trade. It manufactures some aluminum products which go abroad, but the brass products do not. (34.)

C. Combinations of capital and trusts.—1. *General character and effects.*—Mr. CHALMERS, a manufacturer of machinery, says that the attitude of the legislature and the courts in Illinois toward combinations of capital is tending to drive them out of the State. Recently the American Tin Plate Company, the National Steel Company, and one or two others have moved their offices to other States, especially because of the decision of the supreme court of Illinois in the glucose case.

Mr. Chalmers thinks that there are some bad combinations, but that where a combination is formed on a fair capitalization it can manufacture cheaper than small concerns and can benefit the consumers. (10.)

Mr. BOARD, a manufacturer of machinery, thinks that industrial combinations are usually advantageous, although those which are formed simply to force up prices are evil. When competition is so fierce that there is no profit to anyone, and when buyers can not tell what their competitors are paying for goods, industry suffers. It is better to have open prices, so that each buyer may know what his competitor pays, and this result comes about from the combination. (13.)

Mr. GEORGE F. HARDING, Sr., declares that the trusts ought to have been stopped long ago; they ought to have been prosecuted. There are laws against trusts, just as there are laws which forbid the violence of trade-union men against nonunionists, but they are not enforced. The public authorities do nothing against the trusts. The witness has no faith in restrictive laws against them. He thinks little of publicity as a remedy for the evils they bring. If publicity would limit the rates of dividends or the prices of the trusts, then it would be of value. "There has been a great deal of publicity about the Standard oil; but I never heard of Rockefeller feeling bad about it, or anyone blushing for his acquaintance." He would limit the capitalization of the trusts, their charges, and their dividends.

Mr. Harding has never had his attention called to any case in which a trust has reduced the price of any commodity which it furnishes. He mentions the case of paint, which was worth from 62 to 65 cents per hundred several years ago, and which, when the trust was formed, was put up to \$3 and has since been kept at about \$2 to \$3.

Mr. Harding declares that trusts have so advanced the price of building materials as to increase the cost of building by from 50 to 100 per cent, as compared with the cost a year ago. Nothing is of greater public importance to-day than the search for some mode of checking the power of these great corporations. They have their workmen entirely at their mercy. If their men resist their encroachments in one place they have only to close that plant and do their manufacturing elsewhere. The greatest danger to the public at large, however, is the danger of a combination between trusts and the labor unions. Such a combination would be irresistible to the outside public, and Mr. Harding believes that it will come and has come. (160-167.)

Mr. BLISS, a painting contractor, does not believe that combinations of any kind are right in principle. He can defend them only as he can defend war, on grounds of self-defense. When combinations are formed to put up prices and limit product the workmen are compelled to form combinations also. (253.)

Professor TAYLOR says that the working people of Chicago look upon the trusts and other combinations as a transitional phase of the evolution of unrestricted

competition to a more cooperative commonwealth. Recently some of the workmen refused to support the movements against department stores, declaring that combination is one of the elements of progress. (552.)

2. *Effect on labor.*—Mr. BLISS declares that if a man is out of a job it is almost hopeless to look for one, and that this is due to the existence of industrial combinations, which destroy competition and limit opportunities for employment. The labor unions are a help to the workmen under these conditions, but they are only a palliative. To get at the root of the matter the workmen must vote to do away with the conditions that make labor organizations necessary. The trusts increase the cost of building, and this will increase his rents and decrease his employment. (254, 255.)

Mr. HILL, business agent of the slate roofers' union, fears that with the growing power of the trusts, to be discharged by a trust is equivalent to giving up the occupation to which a man has been trained for a lifetime. Even if a trust concedes higher wages and shorter hours, this may not be permanently advantageous to the workmen if the trust refuses to recognize the labor unions. The question is, what will be the policy toward united labor when the trust is more fully established. When the workmen have to meet a single employer who speaks for any trade the need is greater than ever that the workmen also be represented by a unified organization. (483.)

3. *The American Bicycle Company.*—Mr. JEFFERY, a bicycle manufacturer says that the manufacturers of bicycles, before the formation of the American Bicycle Company in 1899, found competition very close. There had been a very large number of failures among them. In fact there are in existence now only 2 firms which were in existence 10 years ago. Mr. A. G. Spalding was the first to propose the formation of the American Bicycle Company. The various concerns which entered the company sold out their business absolutely. The Gormully & Jeffery Company sold for a certain price and took as part of the purchase price some stock and bonds of the new company. The witness made an agreement that he would not again enter the business as an independent manufacturer. He is now an employee of the American Bicycle Company. He would prefer to be in business independently, but he thinks that the American Bicycle Company will be advantageous in preventing such losses as have occurred in the past. The company is so new that it has not been able to calculate the actual reduction in the cost of manufacture, but it has run long enough to show the economies can be effected, and later on the public will be benefited. The tendency will be to sell goods cheaper than in the past, and the profit of the manufacturers although greater than before, will not be very great. The company, in fact, has no power to raise prices. There are so many outside concerns that these can make the price for the American Bicycle Company.

The American Bicycle Company has no direct relation to labor. The manager of the different factories employ men and manage the establishments as if they were independent. The company therefore has taken no stand regarding organized labor. (129-133.)

Mr. Jeffery says that there has been a very great growth in the bicycle business. The sales during the year 1899 aggregated fully \$30,000,000. The foreign market for American bicycles has also been increasing. (129.)

Mr. SIEG says that the American Bicycle Company did not agree to buy his plant in Kenosha, Wis. It did take in the Sterling plant in that city, and is not now employing very many hands there. The witness thinks that a good many more bicycle plants have been built than will ever be needed. (136, 137.)

Mr. WORKMAN, a member of the bicycle workers' union, says that the Sterling works at Kenosha, Wis., have entered the American Bicycle Company. The number of men employed has since been reduced from 300 or 400 to about 160. The witness does not think that the combination has shown any opposition to organized labor, but believes that it has reduced the amount of employment in various cases. (264.)

D. *Inequality of wealth.*—Mr. WEBSTER, a machinery manufacturer, thinks that there is a strong and growing sentiment as to the danger of vast accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few. There is a tendency for fortunes of three or four or five millions to become dissipated, but enormous fortunes of several hundred millions practically can not be dissipated, but go on heaping themselves up. (154.)

Mr. GEORGE F. HARDING, sr., points out that the acquisition of great fortune by the few makes it impossible for nine-tenths of the men to acquire property. A man who has made four or five million dollars believes, of course, that he has made it rightfully. He may have made much of it rightfully, but not much will be left for mankind if some are made immensely rich by interests in trusts. The right of property is based on the presumption of public interest in the encourage-

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ment of industry. When a man is given a million or a hundred million dollars, that is too much. It should be possible to accumulate property only to an extent consistent with the interests of the public. The witness would limit the amount of wealth a man can have by an income tax, or in some other way.

Mr. Harding declares that the opportunities which formerly existed for prosperity and advancement are no longer available. Men can not go into business unless they have a large amount of money to start with. The body of the people are settling down toward pauperism. (161, 166, 167.)

E. American merchant marine—Transportation.—Mr. CHALMERS, manufacturer of mining machinery, says that the shipping facilities from New York to South Africa are good, but that the vessels are all English. A great deal of machinery has to be shipped to Liverpool or Hamburg in order to reach Australia and other foreign countries. One reason for the cheaper transportation from Europe to other foreign countries is that vessels can get return cargoes to Europe. At present immense shipments of ore are being made from Central and South America to United States ports, so that direct transportation from New York to those countries is possible. The witness declares that machinery manufacturers hope to see an increase in the American merchant marine, and advocate Government action to aid in its development. (17, 18.)

Mr. GATES, a manufacturer of mining machinery, says that the foreign competitors of American manufacturers have an advantage in the matter of water transportation, growing out of the fact that they have a merchant marine under the flags of their own nations. The wages of foreign seamen are usually lower than those of American seamen and the standard of living not quite so high. The witness thinks it possible to establish an American merchant marine in course of time without Government aid, but thinks that Government aid would greatly hasten its development. He would like to see the Hanna-Paine subsidy bill passed. (23.)

Mr. CHALMERS says that the railroads are inclined to make rates such as to favor the building up of local industries in far Western points, such as Denver, to the injury of Chicago. Nevertheless Chicago manufacturers are fairly satisfied with their treatment by the railways, and the witness does not desire to increase the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission. (11.)

F. Protective tariff and taxation.—1. *Tariff.*—Mr. WEBSTER, a machinery manufacturer, thinks that the protective tariff should be gradually reduced and our markets opened to the world. He thinks that American manufacturers can more and more compete with those of any other nation. There are a great many more things which America could ship abroad if there was reciprocity between the nations than other nations could ship to us. Of course protective duties should be removed only gradually, and the standard of American labor should not be lowered. (149.)

2. *War revenue law.*—Mr. GATES, a manufacturer of mining machinery, says that the taxes imposed by the war revenue act of 1898 are annoying and sometimes exceedingly unjust. The chief complaint is the personal annoyance of having to affix stamps. The witness refers also to an instance where a certificate of stock was sold on a note carrying an agreement and all three of these instruments had to be stamped with the same number of stamps, although the transaction was really a single one. Mr. Gates does not, however, claim that these taxes are a serious interference with the prosperity of business. (21.)

Mr. PLAMONDON, president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, thinks that it would be a benefit to capital and labor if the stamp tax established by the war revenue act could be abolished.

Mr. Plamondon also favors a reciprocity treaty with France. (3.)

Mr. CHALMERS, manufacturer of machinery, thinks that it is too early to remove the war stamp tax and other special taxes. He thinks that the stamp taxes are not especially inconvenient or burdensome, and that the only persons who object greatly to the war taxes are the brewers. (5.)

3. *Taxation of vacant lots.*—Mr. NICHOLSON, a contractor, states that lots held for speculation are assessed at "acre prices," a merely nominal valuation, until the workingman puts a cottage on them, and then the assessment is immediately raised. The assessment is generally made by men who know nothing about the values of property. The witness would have everything valued and taxed at its fair price. This would cause vacant lots held for speculation to change hands, and would encourage ownership of homes. (103.)

G. Legislation against corporate interests.—Mr. MAYER, a lawyer, who has been attorney for various large corporations, thinks that "we are now in the midst of a hungry, rapacious rebellion against property rights when those property rights are owned by corporations." The actions of the legislature and of the courts in Illinois and Chicago are appalling when one considers what may be the goal of

this precipitate attack upon corporate interests. The outcry against trusts and monopolies is only a repetition of the populistic craze of a generation ago, which produced the so-called Granger legislation. The fact is that the rich, and particularly those whose wealth is in a corporate form, do not to-day stand before the law equal with other classes. These onslaughts which are being made upon corporate interests are injurious to labor, as well as to industry and the country generally.

As a matter of fact most private corporations are merely individuals in another form. They receive from the State no special privileges, such as those which are granted to railroad companies and other quasi-public corporations. A corporation is merely a convenient association by which individuals put a limited amount of capital into a common enterprise. There are in Illinois to-day about 25,000 corporations, and most of these are merely mercantile and manufacturing concerns. It is remarkable how soon the rights of the individual are disregarded when he enters into a corporate form of organization.

As an illustration of the character of the attacks made upon corporate property, Mr. Mayer refers to the antitrust law, by which any two or more individuals or interests are prevented from making any kind of agreement which will affect the price of a commodity. Thus, if three men in the honest pursuit of legitimate enterprise, driven by the ravages of overkeen competition, agree to merge their little businesses into one, they are punishable. On the other hand, the law specifically exempts associations and agreements for the purpose of maintaining or increasing wages.

So, too, the legislature of Illinois has passed a law making it a misdemeanor to interfere with the use of a trade-union label, while a label of a similar character, if adopted by a so-called combination, is treated as prima facie evidence of conspiracy.

The latest act of the Illinois legislature discriminating against capital is that which makes it a penal offense for an employer of men, whose men are upon strike, to advertise for labor without at the same time stating the fact that there is a strike or lockout at his plant.

The courts also, Mr. Mayer declares, and more especially the State courts, have been inclined to favor labor and to attack capital, and particularly corporations. A further difficulty arises from the fact that a corporation organized in one State is treated as an alien in every other State, and practically, in fact, as an enemy. There is no reason why a corporation organized in one State should be treated as a foreign corporation in another—why, for example, it should be forced to pay a second franchise tax.

As remedies for these various evils Mr. Mayer suggests the following: (1) Uniform corporation laws in the different States, so that a corporation may not be tempted to go from the place where its property is located to another State, because it can there get greater franchise privileges. (2) Private corporations should be given every power which an individual or an association of individuals possesses. This again would remove the temptation to organize in States where the statutes are especially liberal. (3) A national incorporation act applying to corporations carrying on business which extends beyond the confines of a particular State would be desirable. This would probably require a constitutional amendment. In the absence of such an act foreign corporations should be given the same rights by the States as domestic corporations. (4) The judges of the State courts, like those of the Federal courts, should be appointed, and should hold office preferably for life. This would do away with the practice of organizing corporations outside of the State in which their chief business is located for the sake of enabling them to bring their suits in the Federal courts. (73-76.)

Federal legislation.—Mr. OFFIELD, a patent lawyer, believes that some form of Federal enactment for the protection of property rights in case of strikes is desirable. He especially believes that a Federal incorporation law would be advantageous and that it would be constitutional. (86.)

Illinois Manufacturers' Association.—Mr. PLAMONDON, president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, says that it is the purpose of that organization to improve the business conditions of the State. One method is by preventing careless legislation. The association includes concerns having capital of over a billion dollars and employing about 800,000 men. The directors meet twice a month and the association itself once or twice or more yearly, as occasion demands. The association has never taken up the question of labor in any manner. (3, 4.)

Real-estate agents, fraudulent practices.—Mr. GUBBINS, president of the bricklayers' union, says that many real-estate agents are in the habit of making fraudulent profits on repairs which they have made for their principals. If the contractor's bill is \$75, they will have him give them a bill for \$100, which they will forward to the owner and charge to him. Mr. Gubbins says: "I have done some

jobs of that kind myself when I was contracting work, where he will say, 'Well, you give me a bill for \$100,' when it only amounted to so much less." (185c.)

J. Political and social reforms.—1. *Generally.*—Professor TAYLOR, of the Chicago Commons, regards the congestion of foreign-born people in our cities as a great social and political menace. In Chicago there are 80,000 or 70,000 Poles in one great mass, 40,000 Bohemians in another group, and these are practically foreign communities. In many cases these foreigners have no comprehension of our political institutions. The witness saw a parade of Italians before the last Presidential election carrying transparencies inscribed, "This club is open to political engagements," thus virtually offering their votes for sale. One employer of 400 Italians declared that the men voted as he said, and asked, "What are you going to do about it?" The workers at the Chicago Commons and other settlements have tried to exercise an influence in favor of pure elections and political reforms. Three years ago an election judge was arrested, and admitted that 70 votes had been miscounted in order to throw out an independent candidate for the city council. Several clerks and judges were arrested and sent to State prison for 3 years. Since that time there has been liberty in the exercise of the franchise in that ward.

The witness believes that the reform of the nominating system is one of the most important needs of the time, and especially that officials should be nominated practically by petition. If this reform is to be effective, there must be a rallying of the better elements of both parties to get the balance of power and to secure good nominations. Social settlements are useful centers for such movements.

Professor Taylor believes also that the greatest menace to our social and political life is the corrupt commercialism of politics, education, and religion, which introduces wrong motives and standards in all these fields. He feels on the whole that progress is being made, although centuries are too short to judge by. It is highly important that the more privileged class should come into closer contact with the less privileged; that there should be a movement toward social unification; that the foreign born should be taught the meaning of our institutions and brought into closer touch with our civilization. (547, 551, 552.)

2. *Public ownership of street railroads.*—Professor TAYLOR declares that there is a rapidly growing sentiment on the part of working classes of Chicago in favor of municipal ownership of public utilities, and that this subject will be a very important one in the coming municipal campaign. (551.)

3. *Importance of education.*—Professor TAYLOR believes that the greatest duty of the day is the education and unification of our heterogeneous citizenship and the socializing of our views of the relationships of different classes in society. This can be done only patiently and gradually, and the educator, whatever position he may hold, is the leader. It is especially desirable that provision should be made for instructing adults. We should have public school extension as well as university extension. (553.)

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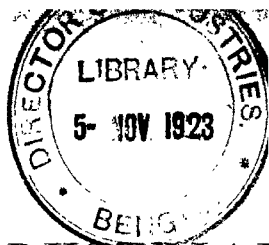
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INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

CHICAGO LABOR TROUBLES.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 20, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. CHARLES A. PLAMONDON,

President of Illinois Manufacturers' Association.

The special subcommission met at the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Ill., Tuesday, March 20, 1900, at 10.15 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At that time Mr. Charles A. Plamondon, president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association and vice-president of the Plamondon Manufacturing Company, Chicago, Ill., was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You will please give your full name and post-office address.—A. 57 South Clinton street, Chicago.

Q. And your occupation?—A. I am vice-president of the A. Plamondon Manufacturing Company.

Q. And president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association?—A. President of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association. One of the purposes of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association is to improve business conditions in this State, and if the inquiry of the Government, as carried on through this Commission, will aid the manufacturers, or will lead to legislation that will benefit them, much good will have been accomplished. The purpose the association had in asking the Commission last summer to hear some of its members was that the Commission might be fully advised as to the conditions from the standpoint of those who invest their money in manufacturing industries. We feel that such recommendations as are made by the Commission should include the necessities of the manufacturer as well as those of the man employed. With this idea in view I think most of the members of the association are willing to do what they can to inform the Government of the situation. While general business has rapidly improved during the last two years, and the country seems to be about to enter on an era of great prosperity, the situation could be easily changed by careless legislation that would frighten capital and interfere with progress. There is no disposition, so far as the manufacturers are concerned, to have the Commission investigate one side of the situation. The men employed are entitled to as much consideration as the man who employs them, and I think that the Commission will find that thus far labor has benefited much more by the wave of prosperity than the men who furnish the money. Some lines have been able to make profits, but in most lines of manufacturing the point has just been reached where the profits have commenced to show. It is gratifying to business men here to have the Government take so much interest in their affairs as to send the Commission to inquire into the conditions, with a view to correcting such evils as it is able to remove through legislation.

The Illinois Manufacturers' Association feels that it would be a benefit to capital and to labor if Congress could see its way clear to repeal the war revenue act and abolish the stamp taxes. It is now preparing to circulate a petition asking Congress to do this. The Government now has a large surplus, and the feeling in this section is that inasmuch as the revenue is no longer needed for war purposes it should be repealed. We also feel that the reciprocity treaty with France, if executed, would materially aid the manufacturers of the country, and that the Senate should ratify it.

Q. How many members are there in the Illinois Manufacturers' Association?—
A. A little more than 350.

Q. Are they mostly resident or doing business in Chicago?—A. No, throughout the State.

Q. What lines of manufacturing do they mostly carry on?—A. We have members in every kind of manufacturing.

Q. Is there much manufacturing of textiles in this vicinity?—A. No, very little.

Q. It is chiefly then metals and—A. (Interrupting.) Metals, yes.

Q. Boots and shoes, I suppose, and clothing?—A. Yes; clothing, boots and shoes, agricultural implements, wagons, etc.

Q. Yes. Have you any idea of the amount of capital employed in business by the members of this association?—A. It is over a billion dollars.

Q. Do you know the number of employees?—A. No, I do not. Can you tell?

Q. (By Mr. GLENN.) Well, it is around 300,000.

Q. Is a good deal of the manufacturing in this vicinity carried on by people who are not members of the association?—A. Oh, yes.

Q. How often does the association hold meetings?—A. The directors meet twice a month, and the association meets as occasion demands—once or twice or three times a year.

Q. Have you reason to believe that there is considerable unanimity of opinion in reference to the subjects that you considered in your statement—recommendations to Congress?—A. Yes; I think there is.

Q. I understood you to state that the business in which most of your members are engaged is now generally prosperous?—A. Yes.

Q. And that it has only recently begun to show profits to the manufacturers themselves?—A. Yes; that has been the experience of most of the manufacturers that I have talked with.

Q. Have the wages of labor been generally increased?—A. Yes.

Q. How recently and how much?—A. I could not say; they have been increasing steadily for the past 2 years.

Q. Varying somewhat, I suppose, in different lines of business and in different establishments?—A. Yes.

Q. Is union labor pretty generally employed in these manufacturing establishments?—A. I could not answer that; I do not know. It is pretty hard to find out here whether a union is employed until you have a controversy with labor.

Q. Are there, so far as you know, any labor difficulties in any of the manufacturing establishments constituent to your association?—A. Oh, yes, yes; considerable difficulty just at the present time.

Q. Is there more now than formerly?—A. Yes; I think more.

Q. Out of what questions do these difficulties arise?—A. I think principally recognition of unions and shorter hours.

Q. What is the demand of the working people, so far as you know?—A. I think that the demand made upon the manufacturers here in Chicago by the machinists was recognition of the union, 9 hours' labor, and a minimum rate of wages of 28 cents an hour, and a committee of one member from the union, one member by the manufacturers, and those two to choose a third—or else it was two and two, I do not remember which—to arbitrate all questions of difference in each of the factories.

Q. Was that demand made generally upon the members of your association?—A. Yes; upon those who were using machinists.

Q. Does your association act upon such matters as a body?—A. No.

Q. Its individual members determine all those questions for themselves?—A. Yes; the Illinois Manufacturers' Association has never gone into the question of labor in any way, shape, or manner.

Q. Is there any association or combination of manufacturers in any of the trades or industries which act as a unit or body on these labor questions?—A. Yes; I believe there is the International Metal Workers' Association, and I think there is the International Foundrymen's Association to take up those questions.

Q. Those are manufacturers' associations, are they?—A. No; they are—yes; they are international associations that are contributed to by the manufacturers, and difficulties with the various unions are left to them to settle.

Q. Is there any general objection among manufacturers to the employment of union labor and to the recognition of labor unions?—A. They have made concessions a great many times to the labor unions and the result has always been the same; that it never was satisfactory, and the more you conceded the more they wanted.

Q. Do the employers in these several lines of manufacturing generally contract with their workmen individually, or with some committee of the union?—A. I think that in some shops where they have the union they contract with it.

Q. Is there a larger number of men employed at the present time than two years ago in these several industries?—A. I think not, now. There has been very little done for the past three or four weeks on account of the strike that is on now with the machinists.

Q. Has that strike tended to cripple the manufacturing industry in this district?—A. Oh, yes.

Q. Generally?—A. Generally, yes.

Q. If it were not for that strike, is it your opinion that labor would be more generally employed here than it was two years ago?—A. Yes.

Q. Or four years ago?—A. Yes.

Q. Or at any previous time?—A. Yes; since 1892.

Q. And at better wages?—A. I do not know about better wages than in 1892. We had very prosperous times here for a year or two before the World's Fair. I think wages would be fully as high and certainly higher than any time since 1892.

Q. In your recommendations you said nothing about the present tariff. Are the members of your association generally pretty well satisfied with the working of the present tariff?—A. I think so. We have not had any complaints.

Q. Is any method of arbitration for the settlement of labor difficulties generally practiced among your members?—A. I understand that they have submitted the matter—they wanted to submit to arbitration, but could not agree on the terms. I think Mr. Chalmers is better prepared to testify on this point than I am. He is much more interested in that than I am: his factory is very much larger, and he has more to do with these people than we have.

Q. Is there any general feeling among the manufacturers that our transportation laws and regulation require any modification?—A. There is a question there that we have up almost daily in the association in various ways. I think, before going into that matter, we ought to make some preparation.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Are the members of your association in any of these great industrial combinations that have been made in the past few years?—A. Yes.

Q. Are many of them not in those companies?—A. Oh, yes, a great many are not in them.

Q. Do those who are not in make complaint that the larger combinations get advantages in the way of transportation rates?—A. That is one of the points that I was going to suggest that we have some time on. There have been a few complaints of that kind, I believe.

Q. Have they substantiated any of them, or proved that the large combinations have an advantage in transportation?—A. I should not like to answer that.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 20, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. W. J. CHALMERS,

President of Fraser & Chalmers, manufacturers of machinery.

The special subcommission met at 10.15, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 10.35 Mr. W. J. Chalmers, of Chicago, president of Fraser & Chalmers, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. William J. Chalmers, manufacturer, president of Fraser & Chalmers, Chicago.

Q. Post-office address?—A. Twelfth street and Washtenaw avenue, Chicago.

Q. In what line of business are you engaged?—A. Manufacturing of mining machinery, pumping, hoisting and power-station engines.

Q. Have you a statement to make?—A. I should like to say in connection with Mr. Plamondon's remarks that I differ with him as to the war tax. It seems to me a little early to take the tax off; I do not believe it is a burden. Personally I think that after we get our colonies into somewhat better condition than they are in now, and know how much of a standing Army and Navy we need and what the local governments are going to cost and what revenue we are going to get out of our new possessions, it will be time enough to take off the tax.

Q. You say that it is not really felt as a serious burden?—A. I have never heard it discussed as a burden. I know of no one in my large circle of acquaintances that has ever objected to it, with the possible exception of those who may be engaged in the brewery business; they feel that it is a burden, but with that single exception I have never heard it so discussed.

Q. Generally then you think it is more of an inconvenience than a burden?—A. Yes, it is an inconvenience to some extent. I do not think that the stamp tax

on checks is much of an inconvenience, but I suppose it renders a large revenue. I do not know how much; I never looked it up.

Q. Do you think that that tax usually falls upon the class of people who are best able to pay it?—A. I think if a man wants to pay a bill by check that he ought to be willing to pay the government the tax.

Q. Now, we should be glad to hear you with reference to your own industry.—A. The labor question is a very interesting subject, and the time has arrived when, possibly in Chicago, it has got to be faced because it is so serious. Chicago to-day is the hotbed of trades unionism; and trades unionism, as represented and practiced by the labor unions throughout the United States, is the most gigantic trust known to the world—arrogant, dictatorial, led by incompetent and selfish men, represented by walking delegates who know more of mischief and slugging than business affairs.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY, interrupting.) Will you permit me to interrupt as you go along? Are you referring now to organized labor generally, or what you know of it?—A. I say I am referring to Chicago locally.

Q. I understood you to state generally.—A. I say that trades unionism throughout the United States generally is, in my judgment, the most gigantic trust. I will say the rest of my remarks referred to the local condition in Chicago.

Q. Oh, very well.—A. We may speak of one company's name because it is so generally known and so generally talked of throughout the United States; I refer to Carnegie's. I have never known Carnegie to interfere with competition. I have never heard of Carnegie's objecting to a rolling mill or a steel plant being built anywhere in the United States, or interfering with its building, or objecting to the capital being raised that it might be built; but trades unionism objects to a man's exercising his freedom—exercising a constitutional right. Trade unionism, as it is practiced to-day here and all over the United States, says to any other laboring man: "You must join our union or you shall not work; and if you do not join our union and if you try to work, we will use persuasion to prevent you." And persuasion, gentlemen, always means violence. That is the condition that exists, and that is what trade unionism is as practiced to-day.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) That is only your opinion?—A. I am giving my personal opinion, that is all, sir, for what it is worth; I can not state for the rest of the people in this country. We believe here in Chicago—and now I am going to take up the local conditions—that unless something is done in Chicago soon and that something radical, so radical as to affect the political machinery in Chicago, it is doomed as an industrial center, and we believe that here—and I speak now for the manufacturers—there is a condition existing in Chicago to-day that is most lamentable. Some 3 weeks ago, 4 weeks ago, the various machinery manufacturers of the city received by mail a circular letter informing them that on the first of March, unless they arranged to meet the union men signing this letter and other delegates that might come to Chicago at the Briggs House here, a strike would be called in all the factories of this city. The manufacturers in Chicago never object to meeting with their own employees. The employees of an individual manufacturer can meet him either as individuals or as a body represented by a committee. The manufacturers knew nothing of these men who sent out these notices as business agents, and they refused to attend any meeting or to do their bidding. The consequence was that the shops were called out, and to-day about 6,000 machinists are on a strike. Those 6,000 men have been out for 3 weeks; their average wage is \$15,000 a day, so that the loss in wages to the machinists alone in Chicago is about \$90,000 a week, and for the 3 weeks \$270,000. These men that are out say you shall not work because you have refused to recognize our walking delegates and our business agents, and to adjust a grievance which we have never put before you as individual men but which our business agent has put before you, or attempted to, and you have refused to say anything. Not only shall we refuse to work, but we say to you that we shall not let anyone else work, and that is the condition to-day.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do they say that in their circular or in conversation?—A. No, sir; they say that in conversation. That is what is known as persuasion. If we are not persuaded, then what happens? Just what has happened here in Chicago the last three weeks. The first incident, and notably so, was at the works of the Link Belt Machinery Company, where a small party of 7 workmen were being conducted home by the general manager and general superintendent; one policeman in uniform and one policeman in citizen's dress were all that they could get for protection. These police officers fell in with 150 striking machinists and then deserted this little party of 7. When they were a short distance from the factory of the Link Belt Company the men were assaulted, the superintendent was nearly killed, the general manager was hammered all out of shape and the

rest of the men were done up in the same way. A shot was fired, but, of course, the man that fired it was the superintendent, and he was arrested for attempting to kill and wound an innocent man—always the innocent man that is in these mobs. This led up to an attack at the Gates Iron Works, where a watchman, an old man of 65, was pounded almost to death three nights ago. The machinists working for them received the same punishment. Last night at Fraser & Chalmers' factory, Twelfth and Rockwell streets, where we employ 1,500 men, 200 men gathered about the premises, and the same number of men were there guarding the property, too, and they knew there was going to be a riot and a mob, and our men were assaulted going home, pounded, jumped on, and kicked. A man was arrested, taken to the station, and dismissed on a trivial charge that he had some little street broil. That is the protection the manufacturer gets. This condition here, Mr. Chairman, is not a condition of wages. The demand of the union, it is true, mentions a minimum rate of wage, 28 cents an hour, for what they call competent machinists, and by competent machinists Mr. O'Connell, the president of the union, has told us that he means a man that can do any job on any special tool that that tool was designed to do. I do not believe that there is a shop in Chicago of any importance—there may be some small repair shops—but pay their men 28 cents an hour, because those men are very scarce. They demand 32½ cents per hour for a tool maker, a man who is skilled in the art of making tools. They pay—I know in our shop and in most shops—anywhere from 32 to 47½ cents an hour for that class of labor. It is very rare, very scarce, and skilled. The average rate of wage in our shop, taking the entire skilled pay roll, taking the men who are skilled machinery men, who do work on special tools, was 26 to 35 cents an hour. The union here demands 9 hours as a maximum day's work. They want to begin, as they put it, their fight in Chicago. They say, "If we can make 9 hours a day's work in Chicago, we will then see what we can do all over the United States." Meanwhile the concerns with large capital here, the labor is a very small item in the general capital of the business. Take my own company as a fair illustration of others. We have upwards of \$3,000,000 invested in plant and property. Our pay roll is \$750,000 a year. The labor union asks, for the sake of paying \$750,000 a year to labor, that we will allow our capital, our investment, to lie idle one-tenth of its time as compared with all our competitors in our line of business in every section of the United States; and as the American trade is constantly growing to be more of an export trade, we to-day, while we are successful in making our sales abroad because of our probably better selling capacity, our greater energy, our desire to expand, at the same time find in Germany and Belgium, where they are working long hours at a small rate of wages and turning out good material, that we have got just about all we can stand now to be successful in our competition. Talking of the effect in Chicago, I know of two corporations that were formed and the capital raised, one \$1,200,000 and the other \$500,000, that have disbanded; they have returned the money paid in and have refused to locate in Chicago. One of them was the representative of a very large concern in England employing 2,500 hands; were they to be here, as many more would be employed in this city and vicinity. In my remarks I do not want you for a moment to think that the Chicago manufacturers decline to employ union labor. It does not make one particle of difference to a Chicago manufacturer whether he employs union or nonunion labor. We never ask a man's creed nor his nationality, nor do we ask him if he belongs to a union, whether he is an Odd Fellow or a Mason, or any other secret organization, but we do claim the right here in Chicago—and we propose to fight for that right even if it goes to the closing down of our factories—to hire and discharge whom we please, and not to allow any walking delegate or any business agent to come into our shop and either tell a man how wide or how deep his cut shall be on the tool, or what wage we shall pay him for doing a specified amount of work, or what that specified amount of work shall be; and that, gentlemen, is what the union demands. They say to us: "You can not discharge a man in your employ without cause." We say to them: "But what constitutes cause?" They say to us: "The union will tell you whether it is satisfactory cause and you must be bound by what the union says." They go further in their late demand; they say: "If you discharge a man you can never reengage a man until you have reemployed every man you have discharged, in the order of their discharge, unless the union says that you are justified in the discharge by cause." So that you can keep a man out forever, and your shops in a little while would become a floating hospital. That is another one of their demands. They say to some shops as a compromise: "We will let you, as the head of the organization having your capital invested, appoint a committee of three in your workshop, and that committee shall be known as the engaging committee, and when you want a workman you will notify that engaging committee of the man you want, and if they fail to supply

you with his services within 48 hours, then we will let you hire that man yourself." That is their consideration. Now, a great many corporations in Chicago, knowing how difficult it has been to get any satisfaction in the courts because of the elective judiciary, are seriously considering, and some of them have already filed their papers or are about ready to file them, giving up their corporate existence in the State of Illinois and going to some foreign State and filing their articles of incorporation, in order that they may get into the Federal court, where elective judiciary cuts no figure. The elective judiciary as practiced in this State, as practiced in this county and in this city, is almost a crime in itself. In the last strike that was here in Chicago last fall in our factory, lasting over a period of 12 weeks, where the same demands were made and we won out and the men went back, we got an injunction—of course you know all the discussion there has been about government by injunction. The injunction was issued by one of the county judges. It was *ex parte*: in that respect it was wrong. They went before another judge and asked for an immediate modification or dissolution of that injunction, and that judge made this statement: "That the unions' capital was the boycott and the picket." They had so boycotted our place that we could not buy a pound of castings in any shop in the United States; they had watched the railroads so that we could not ship tools out of the city. They had so picketed us that when we brought a load of men—we brought 202 men to Chicago and we put up a building, we built a restaurant and fed them, and we could not buy bread or food; they would not sell any member of our company or office staff a newspaper in the vicinity; we could not hire a carriage; and they went around and said, "If you sell anything to this house, if you supply this firm with anything for their men, we will withdraw our patronage and you will have to go out of business." This judge says it is a perfectly legitimate instrument; it is their capital, as your money is yours. He says—this is about his language—: They have a perfect right to picket your premises. The only question in my mind is how many pickets should they have. How many men do you employ? I think that six pickets will be ample to commence with; I might have made it twelve and I might have made it six. But six men can stand at the entrance of your factory and they can persuade every man that comes in and goes out not to work for you because he is not a union man or the union is out on a strike."

They speak of the black list. I can guarantee that there is no black list among any manufacturing concerns in the city of Chicago and there never has been; but the greatest black list that exists in America is the black list of the union that sends a photograph of every workman that works for a firm when their men are out on a strike, and they tell that man, "If you do not join our union or if you do not stop working in that shop, you can not get work in any other shop in the United States because we are going to unionize them all and we will have your picture in every man's hands. And they are doing that to-day, and they boast of it openly; and yet there is nothing done. The Northwestern Railroad, and other large corporations, are mulcted here because some one comes in and swears that he could not get a job during the last labor troubles at Pullman because he has been blacklisted, but the laboring man does not blacklist. Now, as to a comparison of wages—this is local—they say to a man that was in this strike with the machinists, "The hod carriers get 35 cents an hour; other men in the building trades get 40 cents an hour; and yet all we demand for skilled machinists—and we admit they must be a better class of labor; they are men of education, they must read drawings, they must know how to turn work to a thousandth part of an inch, and they are worth the best wages paid—they say, "Here is the hod carrier who puts a hod on his shoulder and some one else does the work; he gets 35 cents an hour, and yet all we demand of you is 28." And yet in the same issue of the paper they go down to the trades council and they try to get the trades council that are out on a strike now to the number of 50,000 or 60,000 in Chicago—they say to you, "This strike will be ended if you will guarantee your men 60 per cent working time." Now, this 60 per cent of 35 cents an hour is what that man does not get now, because they asked for it. He does not get 60 per cent; he probably earns less than \$1.50 a day. The iron men in our shop work every day but Sundays and legal holidays, do work in a heated shop with perfect sanitary conditions, have every comfort that workmen can have, get their pay every Saturday night, and they lose no time unless they lose it of their own accord. Twenty-eight cents an hour to our machinists is not to be compared with 35 cents to a hod carrier or 40 to 45 cents to a bricklayer. They only get paid for the few months they are working on a building. If a rain storm or something else happens, their pay stops immediately and the work stops; with us it goes on for 10 hours a day.

I said this was the hotbed of unionism. It is made so because politics cuts such

a figure in it. Politics has always cut a figure. The contractors or manufacturers on the one side, a few hundred men; the laboring men, the voters, on the other side, a hundred thousand men; it is very easy to see why the police get their instructions, and why we have no police protection in Chicago. It is a farce, the protection here. The other day one of the chief officers of the police department sent around to the association of manufacturers a letter saying that he begged to introduce two men who were two of the best police officers ever known in Chicago. This is very nice, to tell us that we have got recognition; at least the city of Chicago is going to do something to protect us in our property. We asked the gentleman to make his statement. It turned out that they were two ex-police officers, and they wanted \$3 a day, and had been sent around by one of the officials at the City Hall to get that job. That is the protection that we taxpayers get here in Chicago.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Is the police of Chicago under a State commission?—A. No, they are under politics. They say it is under civil service reform; and the president of the building council is the president of the civil service commission of Chicago. We have got 22 laboring men in the City Hall to-day, leading men in the labor organizations; their names have been published and they are held there and it is all politics. And the policemen—we have good policemen here, gentlemen; I do not want to cast a slur upon an individual officer of the force; they are good, brave men; but we also know they can not do anything.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You make a point against the chief of the civil service commission because he is a labor leader?—A. No, not at all. But there are plenty of men in Chicago who are not bound to any labor organizations, who are not bound to large corporations, that would be better suited for the position of president of the civil service commission than either a large capitalist or a labor leader.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do these members of the civil service commission all others who have control over the appointment and management of the police force all belong to one party?—A. Chicago to-day is Democratic in its politics. Cook County and the State of Illinois, Republican. The only department in Chicago that is and has been for years out of politics is our fire department. Every other department is in politics. When the civil service commission was formed it was, unfortunately, made by Mayor Swift to become operative a little time in the future, say 60 or 90 days. In this period of time Mr. Mayor Swift who was then a Republican, it was said, removed all the Democratic people from the force and from the city offices and put Republicans in their places, and when his successor, a Democratic mayor, came in he began to look for ways and means to see how he could make another upheaval and kick those fellows out and put in his own men. That is the way the civil service is worked here to-day. It has been a farce to a very large extent. They say this man is not under civil service and that man is not under civil service, but we hope gradually in time to make it better. It is working our way all right, and we believe that the end is nearer in view now than it was a little while ago. Gradually these men will be promoted for efficiency, and there will be fewer changes probably in the police department. But my remark about lacking police control is that unless the head men give to the subordinates positive instructions that the manufacturers must be protected, or that the men must be protected—not the manufacturer, but the men must be protected whether they be union men or nonunion men—the police do not protect them. Now, I was in a station here the other day and I heard a very significant remark. There was a riot, and as the men were sent out of the station I heard the officer in charge of the station say, "This time bring them in, no matter what part they belong to." I will not say that the other times they did not do that, but I struck me, as a thinking man, that they had had some instructions that were not similar to that. We know another instance where a labor man was approached by a police officer, and that police officer said to the man, "Do not make a disturbance in front of the factory; take him around the corner and then kick him out of him." That shows what kind of protection we got.

We have a very bad justice system here. In the justice courts if a man is arrested, and he is a laboring man, and he is a union man, and he is on a strike, the most positive case may be made against him for assault, yet the chances are ten to one that he is dismissed; and they will cook up some bill against the fellow that had him arrested, and they will fine him so much and costs. That has been done repeatedly. We have had it happen often; and we got indictments and took it up to the courts, but the delays of the courts and the amount of business they have to attend to so far delays the trial of the case after the man is indicted, that when it comes up for trial you have not your witnesses, or your men have disappeared, and you have no case.

Q. Are you able to explain your judicial system, or should we call some other witness on that subject?—A. I think you had better call some other witness on that subject, who could go into it more in detail than I.

Q. Is it your opinion that the law is so administered here as to discriminate against manufacturers and in favor of strikers?—A. I would answer that in two parts, I think. Our supreme court has made some decisions that some of these large combinations, like the American Tin Plate Company and others, felt were prejudicial to their remaining in this State with their general offices and conducting their general business here. That case is known as the Glucose Decision. I am not speaking now either for or against it; I am merely answering that manufacturers of that type, huge combinations, I think do feel that legislation is against them in the State of Illinois, and they are gradually drifting away; in fact, in Chicago, within the last 2 months we have lost some of the very largest corporations that operated here, notably the American Tin Plate Company, the National Steel Company, and I think the American Steel Company—well, it is two or three of those large combinations in which the Moore Brothers were interested.

Q. You think their removal was chiefly due to what they considered lack of suitable protection here?—A. Not that, no; I think their removal was because of the action of the supreme court of this State in the glucose case.

Now, in regard to manufacturers and protection—that is the second subject—I did not want to answer both at the same time. The manufacturers of Chicago are very much discouraged; they do not get protection; they never have received protection, and they feel that it is further off to-day than ever. If it were not for the huge investment they have in their machines and plants, many of them would leave Chicago at once, because of the labor trouble that exists here. Chicago is known as the hotbed of labor unionism.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You denounced what you call "labor trusts." Have you anything to say about the industrial combinations and so-called trusts?—A. No, I merely brought it up to show that if one was bad the other was worse.

Q. You evidently think the labor trust is very bad; what do you think of the other kind?—A. I think there have been good combinations and bad ones. I think where a combination has been put together upon a fair basis of valuation it is better for the consumer than separate small concerns. They could manufacture cheaper. The consumer always has to pay for the dead expense in the conduct of any business, whether it be selling dry goods or manufacturing any kind of ware, and I think that by a combination put together on a proper basis, not overcapitalized, where safeguards are thrown around it, so the innocent public won't be swindled, is a good thing.

Q. You think, then, there are good industrial combinations and bad ones?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you think all labor unions are bad?—A. All I have come in contact with have been bad, but I believe labor unions could be made a good thing if they were on the proper basis. We have no objections to our men belonging to unions. We say to our men, if you do belong to the union, whether you do or not, don't bring it into your shopwork. If you have a grievance, come to us with that grievance; let us consider it fairly, and if we can not agree let us see if we can not get somebody else to come in as an arbitrator; but you do a foolish thing when you go on a strike and then talk about arbitration. I want to make this remark right here: There was formed some time ago in the United States the National Metal Trades Association, which takes in the largest manufacturers of metals and kindred articles in this country. Their headquarters are in New York. The president of the corporation is Mr. Seldon, the president of the Erie City Iron Works, of Erie, Pa. They have an executive committee of 15. We in Chicago have a local organization. When this machinists' strike took place we refused to recognize the local union on this ground: If, as they have done, they say a rate of wages in Columbus, Ohio, should be 25 cents, we say then, why should not that same minimum be established in Chicago? You make it 28 in Chicago, you make it 25 in Columbus, you make it 23 in some other place, and 24 in some other place. Your organization does not have a correct knowledge of industries as they affect the country at large. Therefore, in order that this thing may be brought down to a proper basis, we refuse to recognize your local unions, but we will recognize your national union through our national association; and if you will refer all your matters to the executive committee of your national union we on our part will refer all our matters to our national executive committee, and those two committees can meet at such time and place as may be determined upon and come to a conclusion by arbitration of all grievances. In the meanwhile you put your men back to work, put the conditions exactly where they were before you went on a strike, and when you agree to do that we will bring our body here if you will yours. We presented that matter to Mr. O'Connell, president of the machinists'

union. He agreed to it. As a consequence he telegraphed for his men; we telegraphed for ours. Some were traveling in Mexico. They met here last Saturday and went into session; it lasted until 8 o'clock Sunday morning. Mr. O'Connell absolutely refused to carry out his promise, saying he could not deliver the goods. We said to him, "What do you want?" "We will arbitrate this while the strike lasts, but we will refuse to arbitrate it and at the same time put the men back." "Well, Mr. O'Connell, if, as president of the National Association of Machinists, you can not control your men now, how can you hope to control them after that arbitration? They may be locally dissatisfied. You say you have no control over them; therefore the thing is off." The arbitration bill was submitted—written up.

Q. Do you conceive that the workmen in your establishment, for instance, have as much right as you in determining what the wages and hours of work and labor conditions should be?—A. I think it is a matter of discussion; I think it is a matter for conference.

Q. You let them have some voice in those matters?—A. We feel this way: If our men consider that they are not properly paid, if they consider any conditions existing in our shops are not for their benefit, they have a perfect right to make their complaint to us, and we have a perfect right to give it consideration.

Q. Is your company independent of any other concerns in the same line of business?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you had occasion to make complaints against the railroads in that they gave other corporations transportation favors as against you?—A. No; we are perfectly satisfied with our treatment by the railroads. We consider them fair, and we have never presented anything to them that they have not met with perfect fairness so far as we are concerned.

Q. Are the freight classifications satisfactory to you?—A. Well, no; but that is local. I will say no in this respect. The railroads believe in building up local industries in far Western points on the ground, as I understand it, that if they can keep the rates moderately high between Chicago, say, and Denver, Colo., or Chicago and Butte, Mont., they can build up an industry there, and this will give them the best results. We, of course, should like to see those rates reduced, but I do not consider that they are high.

Q. Should you be in favor of giving the Interstate Commerce Commission power to change classifications?—A. I don't think I should. It appears to me that the Interstate Commerce Commission is not always for the best interests of the shippers or the railroads.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) You mentioned incidentally in your statement the effect of present conditions here upon the foreign market. I wish you would go into that a little further and state the result as you see it now, both to the manufacturer and the labor union.—A. Fraser & Chalmers do a large export business. Our competitors are in Belgium, England, and Germany principally. We find that the working hours in Germany, particularly, and Belgium are long; that their equipment is good. The living is cheaper; the rates of freight are much less to all foreign parts than they are for us located as we are 1,000 miles from the seaboard in one direction and 3,000 miles in the other; and it is only by the excessive amount of work turned out by the American workmen with improved American tools that we are able to compete to-day. If our hours were shortened or our wages much increased the small margin of profit that now results on all foreign business would be entirely wiped out.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) I suppose you have some advantage over foreign competitors in respect of fuel and raw material, have you not?—A. Yes; raw material is getting cheaper in this country all the time, and we have a further advantage in that respect by better material, I think, as compared with England. A mode of a machine made from American pig (by American pig I mean that combination of all qualities of pig iron that may be brought here to make a certain mixture) is 25 per cent stronger than the metal that would be put into the same model or pattern by an English workshop; but, unfortunately, they have got now to establishing the English model that whereas in past years we used to have on our own models and our own drawings to work by and could get the benefit of that 25 per cent by making our castings 25 per cent lighter, now we have to make our castings according to English drawings, and that difference is wiped out.

Q. You, then, have to cater to the bias and prejudice, the preconceived notions of your foreign customers?—A. Yes. I can give you, gentlemen, this statement which is probably as correct a one as you can get from anyone: We operate in Kent, England, a shop employing the same number of men on an average the year round that we employ in Chicago, and our wage per week in England is 4 per cent less than it is in Chicago.

Q. Is that the actual wage?—A. That is the actual wage paid to the workmen

If we have, for instance, a thousand men on our pay roll here and a thousand men on the English pay roll, our work here is 40 per cent higher in wages for that thousand men than where we are working on identically the same models, the same type of work. It is true there may be more of this particular class to do there than there is here, but averaging it by the year it is a pretty fair supposition to say our output on all the different lines is the same.

Q. Is the output per man and machine about the same?—A. Much less. There is no country in the world where an individual man turns out so much work as an American. Just what causes that I am not prepared to say. We feed our men better here; we house them better, and they are able and capable of doing more work. Now, I am speaking more particularly of the English workman. The German workman is well housed, and so is the Belgian workman; but the English and Scotch workmen are not nearly as well housed or as well fed; for instance, get meat about once a week.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Are our men more intelligent and energetic?—A. And less drunk—I think the three things combined. They have a very bad practice in England of going to work before breakfast, and then shutting down for breakfast. We do not do it in our shop; but in many factories they shut down at 9 o'clock and go out for breakfast, and it is almost a certainty that every man before he comes back has had one or two drinks in him. I do not consider that they can do as well as our men who have a hearty breakfast.

Q. If the demands now made by labor organizations were conceded by your firm, what would be the result?—A. We should have to close up our factory. Our profits would be more than wiped out.

Q. What effect would that have both upon you and your labor?—A. Bad for both of us. Our labor would go to other sections and get work elsewhere at longer hours and less wages than in Chicago.

Q. You feel, then, that the present condition has gone about as far as it is possible to go and still command the foreign trade?—A. Yes; I do. I do not know that that is the fact as regards the steel industry, because I am not familiar with that. I am speaking now of the general machinery industry in this country. Of course, in inventions, where larger profits may be obtained because of special make of tools, it may not apply; but where the world at large has the right to become a free competitor it would apply.

Q. Why has Chicago been selected as the most important place to start this movement?—A. I can only answer that by saying that they find conditions politically in their favor. In New York City it must be said for the police department that a nonunion man is absolutely protected; and they allow a nonunion man to work alongside the union man.

Q. Does or does not unionism produce a more intelligent class of workmen?—A. We do not consider that it does. I can state emphatically that it does not, so far as I know. I am talking of my individual business now.

Q. The requirements of the union, you think, do not go to the intelligence?—A. I do not consider that they do. I will answer that a little more fully in this way: The union prohibits the engagement of any man over 21 years old as an apprentice. That age limit absolutely bars out all college boys or graduates of manual-training schools. We have of that class in our factory to-day probably 15 fellows, graduates of Cornell, of Yale, of Harvard, Stevens, and all the other polytechnic schools in the country. They come to us with trained minds, but without practical education of their hands. We say to those boys: We won't make you an apprentice in its full sense, because that means 4 years in the shop, but with your mental training and the little shop practice you have had, we can probably graduate you in a year or two, and as you advance we will put you up. We take these young men and put them in charge of our erecting in all parts of the world. Those men, with their intelligence and their shop practice, become the best and most efficient men we have. We take young men from the Navy. The union absolutely prohibits us from taking those boys; and when I asked Mr. O'Connell why they had made such class distinctions, he said he never knew a college boy who was worth working in any shop.

Q. Does not unionism encourage morality and sobriety among workmen?—A. Well, I do not think that unionism or nonunionism has much effect on that as it is practiced to-day? If you would attend some of the union meetings of the machinists or foundrymen, you would not think that morality cuts much of a figure.

Q. Do they not advocate education among their neighbors?—A. And then refuse to have them get employment after they are educated. They say you can only engage so many apprentices for the number of workmen you have in your shop. That is fixed by the union. Then they believe that every man is born free under our Constitution, and therefore they say, you can not engage a colored man in any branch of business, and we on our part refuse to allow them to join the

union. Of course, what we have gone through and fought for amounts to nothing now with the union. In their last constitution, which they have just had printed, they wiped out the word "white;" but they told us in convention that they would not allow a negro to work or become a member of their union.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Do you find any negroes as clerks in stores, etc.?—A. We do not have them as clerks, but we have them as workmen. I served my time in the shop under a colored man.

Q. You do not see them in the stores in Chicago as salesmen?—A. Perhaps not. I very seldom go into the stores except for my own personal wants.

Q. Isn't it, after all, a prejudice against the colored man that extends in every direction?—A. If it is a prejudice, it is a wrong one. They have a right to live. I do not think it is any man's right to say, You shall work at this, and shall not work at that. I do not believe the colored race should be thrown out in the street. We are trying to do something with them every day. They come into portorage, stand at the carriage doors, etc.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Is there any difference in degree of efficiency between the colored man and the white labor?—A. The man I served my time under for 5 years in the shop, beginning in 1867, was a colored man. He was free born. His name was Richard Hancock, and he lived at Lockport, N. Y., where his father carried on a carpenter business.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Was he full black?—A. He was black. I do not know whether he was full black. He had a yellowish complexion. We had several men learn the trade under him.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Notwithstanding your unfortunate experience with the trade unions, should you be willing to recognize unions so far as to negotiate with them for the arbitration of differences, provided you had reasonable assurance or hope that they could comply with their agreements?—A. Nationally; not locally, for the reason that I have stated, that the local delegate knows nothing of national conditions against which we are competing. Therefore we wish to remove all questions to a national board. That has been done in the National Founders' Association, and in many others. In the National Stove Association there has been no strike or lockout for 9 or 11 years, I think. Before the establishment of a national board of arbitration there was scarcely a day that some stove factory was not either on a lockout or a strike. That is the reason they formed a national defense association; that is the reason we formed the National Founders' Association; and the foundrymen have recognized both of those branches as national. To-day if we had a disturbance in our factory, and we could not settle with a committee of the men working in our shop, they would have the right to appeal their case to the local union. We, on our part, should have the right to appeal our case to our national board. We should never see their local union. Their local union could turn them down and tell them we were right, or they must, on their part, send it up to the national organization. Then the two presidents of the national organizations exchange communications, stating that this has come up, and the presidents appoint each 2 men, who, with themselves, constitute an arbitration committee of 6, and these 6 men then meet within a fixed time after their appointment, and they arbitrate it, and their decision is binding upon all members of both associations. That question is never up for a second arbitration, because whatever the policy may be that was involved in that arbitration, it is applicable to all similar things that may come up from any other local society in any part of the United States. That takes in wages and everything else. For that purpose we drew up a contract, which contract, as I say, was refused, and I can leave you copies of it if you like. It is an arbitration contract showing what we agreed to do.

The contract referred to is as follows:

"Whereas the National Metal Trades Association, party of the first part hereto, is a voluntary association of employers, persons, corporate and individual, and firms, members thereof; and

"Whereas the said National Metal Trades Association claims to represent, and does in fact represent, all such persons, its members, with power and authority to act for such members; and

"Whereas the International Association of Machinists, parties of the second part hereto, is a voluntary association of employees, members thereof, claiming to represent, and in fact representing, such members, both the grand lodge thereof, the district lodges thereof, and the local lodges thereof throughout the United States and Canada; and

"Whereas there now exists and may hereafter exist or occur a condition of industrial disturbances and cessation of contract relations between employer and employees, commonly called 'lockout' or 'strike,' in the United States and Canada; and

"Whereas the undersigned, George D. Selden, F. H. Stillman, M. H. Barker, George A. Watts, H. M. Leland, J. W. Gardner, Charles Allis, Fred Schwedtmann, N. H. Covel, Fred F. Stockwell, Nathan B. Payne, J. A. Jeffry, F. W. Pillsbury, H. F. Crandall, and N. O. Nelson, are a lawfully appointed committee to represent and bind by these presents hereto the said National Metal Trades Association and all members thereof; and

"Whereas the undersigned are a lawfully appointed committee with authority to represent and bind by these presents hereto all members of the International Association of Machinists: Now, therefore,

"This agreement, made this 17th day of March, 1900, between said committee acting for and representing said National Metal Trades Association, and said committee acting for and representing said International Association of Machinists,

"Witnesseth; The parties hereto, believing in the principle of national arbitration in settling contentions that arise between employer and their employees instead of resorting to lockouts and strikes, do hereby recommend for ratification by the two organizations, known as the National Metal Trades Association and the International Association of Machinists, the following joint agreement:

"Whereas past experience of the National Metal Trades Association and the International Association of Machinists justifies the opinion that mutual agreement conducing to greater harmony in their relations as employers and employees will be of advantage: Therefore,

"Resolved, That this committee of conference indorse the principle of national arbitration in the settlement of trade disputes, and recommend the same for adoption by the members of the National Metal Trades Association and the International Association of Machinists: Be it further

"Resolved, That in all pending disputes and disputes hereafter to arise between members of the respective organizations, i. e., an employer and his employee, or employees, every reasonable effort shall be made by the said parties to effect a satisfactory adjustment of the difficulty; failing in which either party shall have the right to ask its reference to a committee of arbitration, which shall consist of the presidents of the National Metal Trades Association and of the International Association of Machinists, or their representatives, and two other representatives from each association appointed by the respective presidents. The finding of this committee of arbitration by a majority vote shall be considered final as regards the case at issue, and as marking a precedent for the future action of the respective organizations. Pending adjudication by the committee of arbitration there shall be no cessation of work at the instance of either party to the dispute. The committee of arbitration shall meet within 2 weeks after the reference of the dispute to them.

"This agreement shall take effect from the date of its ratification by the said 2 associations, notice of which ratification shall be promptly given to each other by the respective secretaries.

"And it is further agreed that during the time necessary for the ratification hereof, as above provided, and the time needed to consider and act upon the above proposed joint agreement, there shall be no lockouts or strikes in either association, and all lockouts or strikes that now exist, and are participated in by the members of either of the parties to this agreement shall be immediately and officially called off wherever they may exist."

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) In your opinion, then, if trade unionism is to survive it must recognize general economic conditions, and it must have the power of enforcing agreements?—A. Yes; that is what we believe in. We have an association here in Chicago of manufacturers, all of whom believe as I believe to-day and as I stated to you, and that is the reason we had this meeting.

Q. You refer to having a shop in Kent, England?—A. Yes.

Q. Is there any union there?—A. We had a strike. I will say this regarding England: The labor unions have driven England out of the competitive markets of the world in large lines of business, and it resulted a year and a half ago—2 years ago—in the formation of a national association of manufacturers, who said to the union, We have gone as far as we shall go, and we stop right here. The result was a fight, the most disastrous strike in the history of Great Britain; it lasted 10 months. The union forces had a fund of \$1,750,000. All their local funds and all their reserve funds were wiped out, and they were defeated and went back to work and the union was killed. That is the condition existing in England in the engineering trade to-day. These unions here claim in their published statements to have a fund of \$15,000. They claim 185,000 men. They claim \$100,000 as the local treasury fund of that 185,000 men. That gives them \$115,000 to take care of 185,000 men. On the other side they say, We are going to pay every man that is on a strike \$6 a week for a married man and \$4 for a single man, when they have hardly 50 cents around for one day.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You say they claim to have that much. Do you know anything in regard to their real holdings?—A. No, only this, that up to about 6 months ago there were less than 200 men in the union, and in 6 months they claim to have swelled that to 8,000. Our investigations would show that they have somewhere in the neighborhood of 2,200, so that of the 6,000 men on the strike about one-third belong to the union and the rest do not.

Q. How did they swell up in your establishment?—A. We had 300 machinists; 186 are working, 206 went on strike. Of that 206 over one-half do not belong to the union, but they left from fear. They came back to work Saturday morning and were so slugged yesterday morning that they have not come back to work to-day. So in our shop we figure that we have about 100 men—of the union men—of the 206 claimed by the union.

Q. Has there been an increase in union membership in that time?—A. Yes. I do not think we had 10 union men in our shop 2 months ago; did not know we had any, in fact. We have had no complaint from the men. They made no demand on us. They placed no grievance before us. But at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, 3 weeks ago last Friday, they walked out of the shop, the claim being made that one of our men went down to the union headquarters and told the daughter of the business agent, F. W. Brown, that there was going to be a lock-out in Fraser & Chalmers's shop that afternoon at 5 o'clock. This occurred in the absence of her father, and she requested the men to go back to the shop and call the men out on a strike, which they did.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) There was a woman in it?—A. Yes.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Was there any foundation for the rumor?—A. No; it was a very foolish rumor. We have large contracts, and all our contracts are taken subject to a strike clause. None of them are taken subject to a lock-out clause. If we had had a lock-out we should have been responsible on every contract; with a strike we are not responsible. We disappoint them; that is enough.

Q. Is your inability to fulfill your contracts at present likely to cause delay to your customers generally throughout the country?—A. Generally, throughout the country. That applies, I think, to all the members of our association.

Q. And that will subject the labor in their employ to more or less inconvenience and distress?—A. Yes; and it will result in Chicago in swelling the ranks of the unemployed by many thousands of men, probably fifteen or twenty thousand men. A machine is like a shoe; if you have certain men that make the soles, and others make the uppers of the shoe, and you can not get the soles made, you can go on so far making uppers, and then you must quit. That is the way it is with us. All our industries in our establishment depend one upon the other; they are integral parts of the whole. We can go on working with our machinists for a certain time, but when we begin to stock up our establishment we shall have to let more men go, until at last it will mean the closing of the shop as a natural consequence.

Q. Is it customary among the retail merchants of Chicago to give credit to striking workmen?—A. I think not. I think the workman gets credit, but when a strike comes on and he can not pay his bills it becomes then a case of great suffering. I should like to recite this as an illustration: Last Sunday I had occasion to visit the Cook County Hospital, and one of the city officials in charge told me he had just had a very sad case; that he had attended what he supposed was a dying child. He went to the house as a free physician, sent by the city. He found this child very ill, and being watched over by the father. He asked the father where the mother was. He replied that she was out washing, or looking for washing. He said, "You are a good strong man; don't you work?" "Yes." "What do you do?" "I am a machinist." He said, "I know the general manager of Fraser & Chalmers, and maybe I can get you a job." He said, "I don't want work; the machinists are on a strike." That is what happens here every day.

Q. I suppose some of them are seeking for relief from the public.—A. I doubt whether the public will give it to them now. The public is getting educated. If they won't work they don't believe in supporting their families. It has got to where every man in Chicago is beginning to feel this awful condition. Two weeks ago I had occasion to speak to Mr. Marshall Field, who is one of the largest men engaged in business in Chicago, and Mr. Field took the matter up with Mr. Kohlsatt, of the Chicago Times-Herald. In the conversation, lasting over an hour, he tried to impress upon Mr. Kohlsatt, and I dare say he did impress on him, the awful conditions existing here, and the awful fear that kept out any further investments in Chicago, because of the condition that the press, he said, might relieve, if they would all get together and show this thing not to the benefit of one against the other, but in its true and reasonable light. He said it was getting so bad now that he did not see any other way of reaching or forming public opinion than through the newspapers.

Q. You have made a reference to politics in it.—A. Yes.

Q. Do you know of any political interest to prolong labor difficulties?—A. We are on the eve of an election; Republican in the State and county, Democratic in the city, and they are all watching their fences with a great deal of care; and the labor vote in this city and county is a casting vote. It is unfortunate, but it is true.

Q. That does not seem to me to quite fully answer my question.—A. I will try to, if you will repeat it.

Q. Do you know of any political interest which seems to be desirous of prolonging labor difficulties?—A. The political interest exists only so far as the parties can cater to the labor vote in order to hold themselves in their political power. It is always worse in Chicago on the eve of an election when these troubles occur than it is after an election. And I do not make this statement as to any one party; I am not saying because we have a Democratic administration that it would be better if we had a Republican administration.

Q. But you think that if no political interests were involved the men engaged in manufacturing would receive better protection from disturbances and difficulties?—A. Every man in Chicago believes that.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) You have stated conditions. Have you any remedy to propose?—A. Absolute police protection without regard to individuals, is the only remedy I can see.

Q. That is a local remedy.—A. As a local remedy—that is what I am speaking of now. We think Chicago manufacturers could get their men employed and return to work. I have dwelt entirely on the machinists' part; but I mentioned that we have about 60,000 men out in the building trades, and the same conditions exist there. There is not a building being put up in Chicago but they are assaulting many, if they are nonunion men.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) When you say police protection do you mean to make that so broad as to say that there is no protection from the court?—A. Not at all.

Q. Do you think of any legislation, either State or Federal, that would improve the conditions?—A. I have always been personally against an elective judiciary. I think if we had a form of judiciary that was not elective it would be much better. We change our officers so often; and it is a pity to think that our judges must become part and parcel of a political machine, which they do. They are no sooner in than they are trying to figure how long they can hold their jobs, or some other man is trying to put them out.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Does not government by injunction come from an appointive judiciary more than from an elective one?—A. Yes; that is where the politics comes in. A Federal judge has no fear of the popular vote, and he does what he believes is right. In my judgment the other judge has fear of it, and he will not give an injunction, or if given by one judge you will always find another who will dissolve or modify it.

Q. Do you believe in that sort of government?—A. I believe in it as a measure when you can not get relief any other way. I would not apply for an injunction in Chicago if I could get police protection; but when we can not get police protection, when we can not get the protection of the county constabulary, when we can not get the protection of the State courts, when we are defeated in the local justice shops, when no matter how true or strong the case may be the man is discharged, then I think it comes properly before a court to issue an injunction restraining people from doing violence or injury to property; because, if you do not do that, if you do not stop them when they are waylaying your men and stopping them, the next thing will be the torch, and the next thing will be like the Hay Market riot, or the Pullman strike, and Chicago will be put under martial law. Therefore it is a court of last resort, in my judgment.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you think that the trade union leaders are honestly and fairly representing the industrial interests of their constituents, or are they in for politics?—A. No body of men representing another body have made statements that were of greater injustice to the laboring men than those the leaders have made in the warfare that has taken place in Chicago in the last 18 months.

Q. Would there be any difficulty in maintaining harmony between the manufacturers and the unions if they would confine the administration of their duties strictly to the industrial problem?—A. There would not be the slightest difficulty, and with men broad enough in character to understand the national conditions—it comes right back again to the national conditions. I do not consider that any business agent or president of a local council is capable of telling me how many hours I should work and how much I should pay, without knowing how much my competitors pay and how long they work. Therefore, it comes to a national matter. Let them review the conditions of the whole country at large, from San Francisco to Portland, Me., if you please.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Have you any advantage in Chicago over Columbus, Ohio?—A. Not the slightest. They are competitors—such people as the Link Belt Machinery Company, for instance, handicapped by 3 cents an hour as a minimum. They get just as cheap freight rates and just as good facilities. It is just such a point as that that we want to nationalize. If my competitor pays 29 or 30 cents an hour, and he works 9 hours a day, it makes very little difference to me. It only affects my foreign trade, and we can live without that if it comes to the necessity.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What proportion of your business is foreign and what per cent domestic?—A. Forty per cent foreign and 60 per cent domestic.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Is your foreign trade growing?—A. Yes. It diminished from 1892, from the time of the Baring failure. It diminished tremendously, until it got down to almost the zero point; then from the discovery of the gold mines in Africa it increased, and now that affairs have become more or less straightened in the Argentine, and in Japan, and in all the South American republics, the American foreign trade has increased tremendously.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) In what countries are your principal foreign markets?—A. Africa, China, Japan, India, Australia, all the South American republics, Honolulu—very large; there is no place in the world where there is a mine where we do not have machinery. I might answer it that way. Those are the principal places.

Q. Do you manufacture and sell mining implements, as well as machines?—A. Mining machinery—anything that will dig the ore out of the ground and put it into base or refined bullion.

Q. Several kinds of ores?—A. Gold and silver, copper, tin, antimony, and lead.

Q. Not zinc?—A. Zinc also—all the precious metals; in fact, all metals, as far as that goes.

Q. We should be pleased to hear a little statement of the growth and development of your own business?—A. The present firm started in business in 1872 on a lot 60 by 145 feet, on Fulton street, between Union and Halsted streets, with a force of 60 men. That institution was the outgrowth of what was then known as the Eagle Works Manufacturing Company, of which my father was then general superintendent, and my father's partner, Mr. Fraser, was assistant superintendent. We now occupy about 19½ acres of space, and employ 1,500 men here, and from 1,000 to 1,200 men in England. That is about as much as I can say. We have been free from labor troubles until this unfortunate trouble last fall. I knew my men particularly, having served my time with them. They all tell me they would come back to-morrow if they were not afraid of having their heads broken.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) What advantage is there in having a branch in England?—A. The Englishman, wherever he goes, is very true to his country. He is prejudiced; and we found, after the African trade had developed into being a very large trade—we having shipped as much as 8,700 tons of machinery there in a single year—that our patterns were being copied and models were being made by English shops, notably Sandycroft, and Roby, of Lincoln. It occurred to us that it would be a very good thing to become an English concern ourselves, inasmuch as the building of works in England would make us such; and, our seniors being Scotchmen, we claimed a little nationality. We built these works, and we now do a very large foreign business there, which of course would come here if it had not been built there. To a certain extent they look upon it now as English machinery.

Q. Can you go out and get markets that you could not get as Americans?—A. In America, yes; although the fact is, we can ship from Chicago 1,000 miles to New York, and thence on to the Transvaal, for one shilling a ton, never more than that, against English competition.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you find better shipping facilities from England to Africa than you find from New York?—A. The shipping facilities are good from New York, but they are all English lines of steamers. I am glad you asked me that question. We hope some day to see American bottoms carrying more freight than they do now. We ship to a large extent all our machinery to Liverpool or Hamburg, and have it transhipped from Liverpool or Hamburg to Australian or other ports, because they get return cargoes from these countries, and they bring return cargoes from the foreign countries and England. That is being changed to a very large extent now, so far as South America is concerned, because of the immense shipments of ore that are being made from Central and South American countries. In former days Swansea was the leading metallurgical center in the world, and what they could not do at Swansea was not worth doing, but now Swansea is not in it any more. We do that in this country on

the Pacific seaboard and all over the Atlantic seaboard. That is largely confined to the copper and silver ores, containing precious metals. So there is a very large shipment of these ores now to American ports, and then they get American cargoes to take to these countries, right back.

Q. Have you increased the prices of your products within the last 2 years?—A. In value per ton, you mean—output?

Q. The prices of the machines you sell?—A. Oh, yes, very much, because the prices of pig iron have advanced \$25 a ton in 14 or 15 months, and the price of other materials has advanced, in some cases as much as 165 per cent. So we add that percentage of cost to our old selling prices, or to our old cost of producing. Then, we have increased our wages anywhere from 5 to 12½ per cent in the last year or 14 months.

Q. Have you made any greater increase than was necessitated by the increased cost of raw material and the wages you pay?—A. That is all. It comes to us in this way: For instance, we figure the cost at a fixed amount, actual money paid out, and we add to that the increased cost of material, and then we add our percentage of profit to that. Of course, the cost being greater, that per cent is on an increased amount. It is better for us to have a high market than a low market, figuring on a percentage basis.

Q. Do you generally sell more goods on a high market than on a low market?—A. Yes, always; always very much more.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) I wish you would make a statement in regard to increasing the efficiency of the merchant marine.—A. I am not posted sufficiently in it except to give my own experience, and that of our house, and the experience of those in my line of business, the machinery business. We all feel that the time has arrived when our Government should take some action whereby the American merchant marine may be again established on the high seas. We know that it would be a great advantage to us. We feel that we are dictated to in our shipments to Africa by the three English firms that send their boats over to New York to load; and with the enormous trade, amounting to millions of dollars in Africa—our own business there has amounted to as much as two million and a half in a year in that one country—it does seem a pity that our merchants, our own owners of crafts, do not get the benefit of carrying that freight. I have no suggestions, because I have not studied up the matter sufficiently. I am afraid I should make a bad break at it.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Your general belief is that there should be some national aid extended to shipping, so that American goods should be carried in American bottoms?—A. I believe so, yes; along proper lines. I do not believe it wants to be confined to one person, but make it an object for men to go into that industry, and let all that want to take advantage of that industry do so. I do not think it should be confined to any one or two companies.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 20, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. PHILETUS W. GATES,

Manufacturer of Mining Machinery.

The special subcommission met in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Ill., at 10.15 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 12.15 Mr. Philetus W. Gates, of Chicago, manufacturer of mining machinery, was introduced as a witness, and being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. Philetus W. Gates.

Q. Post-office address?—A. 650 Elston avenue, Chicago, care of Gates Iron Works.

Q. Occupation?—A. Manufacturer of rock breakers and mining machinery.

Q. How long has your firm been established?—A. The original firm was established in 1842.

Q. In Chicago?—A. Yes; the first machine shop in Chicago, so far as I know.

Q. Has the business grown?—A. Yes. It was quite a large business in 1871, then conducted under the name of the Eagle Works Manufacturing Company. At that time it went into voluntary liquidation, and Fraser & Chalmers and the Gates Iron Works, or the predecessors of the Gates Iron Works, succeeded to the business.

Q. Are you now connected with Fraser & Chalmers in any way?—A. No; entirely distinct.

Q. Are you willing to state the amount of capital employed in your business and the number of hands employed?—A. The amount is, I think, upward of \$700,000; practically three-quarters of a million dollars. We employ altogether, I think, a little over 600 hands.

Q. Where are your markets?—A. Perhaps 2½ to 5 per cent in the State of Illinois; the balance of it in the different States of the United States, and from 25 to 35 per cent in foreign countries.

Q. Do you manufacture coal-mining machinery as well as rock-mining machinery?—A. No, our business is for the precious metals, outside of the rock and ore breakers which are used for railroad ballast, and macadam, and that sort of work.

Q. Have you any statement which you would like to make to the Commission, or do you prefer to be interrogated?—A. I should prefer to be interrogated.

Q. Are your employees men entirely?—A. With the exception of perhaps 8 or 10 women used as stenographers and in our cost department.

Q. Have most of them been in your employ a long time?—A. Yes, from a year or two to 30 or 35 years. We have one man that must have been with us probably more than 40 years, and his father was in our employ before him.

Q. Do your men, so far as you know, generally belong to a trade union?—A. I think not; I think that the majority of them are nonunion men, and I think that was especially so up to the last year or two, when we began running a night shift regularly. The night shift seemed to have been largely union men, but the day shift included most of the old men; the majority of the men were nonunion.

Q. Have you had any labor difficulties?—A. Hardly; we had a demand through the union last spring for a minimum rate of wage with the founders, with the molders, which was adjusted satisfactorily, the men not going out on strike.

Q. Your men are working now?—A. All but the machinists, who are out on strike.

Q. Was there any cause for that strike, so far as your business is concerned?—A. We had no demand or complaint in any way, shape, or manner from either union or nonunion men. The demand came through the district lodge here, known as district No. 8, which includes 11 local lodges in this town.

Q. Was there any notice given of their going out?—A. Yes; the notice came to us, as near as I can remember, about the 1st of February, asking us to appear before their board. We answered that we did not recognize a local union, but that we were members of the National Metal Trade Association, and that we would recognize any agreements that we made with our men there or that were made by the National Board of the Metal Trades Association.

Q. Why did you prefer to settle such matters through the national organization rather than directly with the local organization?—A. Because, as I explained, we were almost altogether in interstate and foreign business, and the conditions which we have to meet are those and not the local conditions here. I do not suppose that we sell 1 per cent of our goods in the city of Chicago.

Q. Did you ever object to the employment of union men?—A. No; we never ask the question in any way, shape or manner.

Q. Are you willing to treat with the union in reference to an arbitration of difficulties?—A. On the lines laid down by the National Founders' Association and the Iron Molders' Union of North America and on the lines laid down by the National Metal Trades Association. We are members of both and have been instrumental in organizing and bringing forward both associations.

Q. Will you please state what those lines are to which you refer?—A. Both of those associations were formed with the view of arbitration with the employees in case employers and employees could not agree in regard to differences, and the object in both associations is that this arbitration shall take place before strikes occur. The fundamental idea in the association is that there is no such thing as arbitration after a strike has taken place; it is then war; and the object in having the association is that if there are any differences they may be arbitrated, if they can not be agreed on in a personal way between the employer and employees, while the men are at work and while the minds of both parties are in such condition that they can give fair views to it.

Q. Do you mean to convey the impression that arbitration is impossible after a strike has begun?—A. Yes; that is, true arbitration. We feel in that regard very much as we would in a national way. If two nations had differences with one another and they wanted to arbitrate, they certainly would not declare war and then go to arbitrating afterwards; they would do their arbitrating in the first place and avoid the war. That is the object in these associations; the object is to

arbitrate primarily, and then, if we can not reach a decision, each association is free to do as it sees fit, either lockout or strike. The object of the association is perhaps stated as clearly as it can be in the first section of article 2. It says (reading from constitution of National Metal Trades Association):

"Article II, section 1. The objects of this association are: First, the adoption of a uniform basis for just and equitable dealings between the members and their employees, whereby the interests of both will be properly protected.

"Second, the investigation and adjustment, by the proper officers of the association, of any question arising between members and their employees."

Q. If arbitration is impossible after a strike or other difficulty has occurred, how can it be ended?—A. Arbitration perhaps is not impossible, but I mean in the true sense it is impossible, for the reason that after the men are out on strike, as is well known, they come under the influence of saloons—many of them use a good deal of liquor—and they become antagonistic. Perhaps they are without wages, and it makes them very bitter in that way, and they are not in condition to use good judgment.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Bitterness on the other side also?—A. I was just going to remark that on the other side bitterness sometimes comes from the fact that the employees who stay and are loyal to the employer are, as they call it, slugged, and then the employers are in no condition to arbitrate.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Had you increased wages before this present difficulty occurred?—A. Oh, yes; we have been increasing wages steadily for, I guess, 18 months.

Q. Was there any complaint on the part of your employees about their wages?—A. Not so far as I know; certainly the complaint was not general; there might have been some particular man who wanted more wages.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Has that increase of wages brought the wages up to what they were before the years of depression began?—A. In some cases; in some cases not quite. The average is fully up to 1892 or a little above.

Q. Is your business more prosperous now than it was then?—A. No; and not only that, but the prices which we receive to-day are very much lower than they were in 1892. I can not say how much, but on some of our standard machinery which we used to sell in 1892 at a discount of from 10 per cent to 20 per cent as a maximum, we are now giving a discount of 40 to 50 per cent as a maximum.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Is that because of any improved processes in manufacture, or because prices became fixed low during the period of depression and have not been advanced sufficiently since?—A. It is on the latter account, and, of course, on account of stronger competition; but we have been able to meet that by improvements in methods and in our tools.

Q. You have also had some increase in trade, I suppose?—A. Yes.

Q. Gaining further markets in our own country and in foreign countries?—A. Yes; our business has increased about threefold since the panic came on, notwithstanding the drop in prices.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Does any of the greater competition that you speak about come from industrial combinations? Is your trade affected by those combinations?—A. Not to a marked extent. It may be in relation to some material or something of that kind, but there are no industrial combinations that compete directly against us in our line of machinery. Our line of machinery is a special line.

Q. They have not gone into combinations?—A. No.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You have competition from other concerns in this country, I suppose?—A. In this same line, yes; Fraser & Chalmers, Allis, of Milwaukee, Denver, San Francisco, and some other places.

Q. There is no trust or combination in your line of production, is there?—A. No.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Has any effort been made to get your business into a trust or combination?—A. Once or twice.

Q. You saw no advantages in it?—A. There were advantages in it, but they were not enough to warrant our going into it.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) In your judgment are the general conditions of business of the country favorable for prosperity, if the labor difficulty had not arisen?—A. Very much so; I never thought them more so. We are from 8 to 9 months behind in some of our work; we are running night and day, running all the force that we can get, and then selecting our work.

Q. Any complaint as to the currency or the tariff that affects your business unfavorably?—A. Not that I could point out. We find it difficult to make collections, but I do not know that I can attribute that directly to either the tariff or the currency question.

Q. Is that, in your judgment, due to come later, the prosperity on the part of your customers or to possible insufficiency of capital for their enlarged business?—A. I am inclined to think that it is on account of an insufficient amount of capital in the business.

Q. As far as you know, your customers are generally prospering?—A. They are; and our losses are very light.

Q. Lighter than they were during the period of depression?—A. Oh, yes.

Q. As light as they were during the period of prosperity in 1892 or thereabouts?—A. I think they are.

Q. Is the national bankruptcy law a help or a hindrance, so far as you know?—A. We have only come in contact with it once. I do not know that it has had any effect on us seriously either one way or the other.

Q. How about our revenue laws? Have you any suggestions to make concerning either the tariff or the internal revenue?—A. Personally I am not a believer in high tariff, but I do not know that I am competent to give testimony in relation to it. It has always seemed to me that it did not make much difference, so long as the Government had to raise a certain amount of revenue, whether it raised it by a tariff for revenue or whether it raised it the other way.

Q. Would you call a tariff which admits more than one-half of all our importations free of duty a high tariff?—A. I do not believe I should be able to answer that without knowing what the other half was and what it amounted to.

Q. Well, then, you have no definite complaint to make in regard to any of the rates or in regard to any of the general regulations or the administration of the tariff?—A. No; if other conditions are equal we can overcome any unevenness that there is there. What we want most is to be able to get the maximum efficiency out of our business.

Q. Do you regard the war revenue—that is, the internal-revenue law—as a serious hindrance or embarrassment to business?—A. I can hardly say. I know that it is very annoying and oftentimes exceedingly unjust, apparently; but I suppose if we must have the revenue we might as well raise it that way as some other.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) How annoying and when unjust—can you specify?—A. In the renewal of notes, mortgages, and that sort of thing; sometimes the stamping of agreements that go together. I have in mind an instance where a certificate of stock was sold on a note carrying an agreement, and all three of them had to be stamped with the same number of stamps. It was certainly one transaction, and it would seem as if the stamp on the certificate of stock ought to have been enough, since the other two agreements applied directly to that one transaction.

Q. Were those persons who were parties to that agreement or transaction people who were well able to bear that burden imposed upon them by the Government?—A. No doubt of that, but they might have been the other kind as well.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Are telegraph taxes and express taxes an annoyance in your business?—A. Yes; they give a personal annoyance in having to affix the stamps more than anything else. The tax is not so great that it cuts much of a figure.

Q. You do not especially object to the stamp on checks?—A. No; only on the general principle. I recollect back well to the time when we used to have them, and I recollect the period very well when we did not have them; and therefore it seems more like renewing the old times.

Q. You would be glad enough to have them all dispensed with as long as the condition of the Treasury and the needs of the Government will warrant, of course?—A. Yes; very glad indeed.

Q. But do you not consider them a serious hindrance to the prosperity of your business?—A. No; not to our business. I think the effect on other lines of business would be more serious than on ours.

Q. Are you prepared to name any other kinds particularly?—A. Oh, no; it is merely supposition on my part. I was thinking of such businesses as real estate, stocks, and banking, where they use large numbers of agreements, etc.

Q. You do not know, then, of any serious obstacle in the way of continued great prosperity except the labor difficulties that are pending, do you?—A. That is certainly the greatest. No doubt very much can be done to prolong the period of good times by the proper kind of work on the part of the Government employees and by such laws as will extend our foreign business. My own judgment is that this country will depend more and more for the length of periods of prosperity upon the amount of foreign trade which it does, and if any means can be devised which will increase the foreign trade it will prolong those periods; because there are certain of our citizens who are willing to rely on the foreign trade, and who

ould like to increase such trade and will work for that in preference to domestic ade, thereby leaving the field open for another class of manufacturers who do it care to go to foreign countries for their business.

Q. What percentage of your own trade is foreign?—A. I can not give it exactly, it during the hard times it ran as high as 85 per cent. I should judge to-day 20 .25 per cent.

Q. Did you get more foreign trade during the hard times than you had had previously?—A. Oh, yes; increased all the time. We have been steadily working r foreign trade since 1887. We at that time established offices in London and id in different foreign countries.

Q. Your efforts abroad, then, had just begun to fairly materialize when the riod of depression came on, I suppose?—A. Yes; and we had the full benefit om it. If it had not been for the foreign trade I think we should have gone to e wall.

Q. Because the general domestic trade was so crippled?—A. Fell away so much. o not only got better prices in foreign countries than we got on our domestic ide, but our collections were much better.

Q. Have you also enjoyed a considerable increase in your domestic trade?—A. ss; especially in the last 24 months. We could at the present time keep our works l with domestic trade, but we do not do that. We sacrifice the domestic trade foreign trade.

Q. Do you get larger profits in your foreign trade than you do in your domes- :?—A. Not at the present time; but we are looking forward to another period of pression.

Q. Do you ever expect to get larger profits from articles sold abroad than at me?—A. Yes; I think we shall again in hard times, as we did in the last pression. The prices in foreign markets do not fluctuate as they do in this untry.

Q. To what countries do you sell your goods mostly?—A. Great Britain, Ger- any, Australia, South Africa, and sometimes Sweden, Russia, China, and vari- is other places.

Q. Have you any idea why the prices do not fluctuate there as much as they do this country?—A. Yes; because their method of doing business is quite differ- it from ours. They seem to work more for future business, or seem to pay more tention to future business, than the manufacturers of this country do as a rule. other words, they do not pay quite so much attention to the immediate dollar.

Q. That practice is growing with the manufacturers in this country, is it not?— . It is, I am glad to say, as we appreciate the value of foreign trade.

Q. The same practice applies also to the domestic trade, does it not, of these ric manufacturers?—A. Not to so great an extent with the manufacturers who ave no foreign trade; but the manufacturers who have gone into foreign trade r tried to get foreign trade, have become more conservative, I think, in that rection.

Q. Do you have to give any longer credits abroad than you do in this country?— . No; as a rule not so long.

Q. Is your trade abroad with commission houses or with the consumers rectly?—A. More particularly with the consumers.

Q. The consumers are large mine owners, I suppose, to a great extent, are they t?—A. Yes; in some cases. In some cases they are quarry owners and cement anufacturers, and that class where they use crushing machinery.

Q. They are usually concerns with large capital and perfectly responsible, so at you consider that the risk is small?—A. Yes; that is the usual case, and even other cases the usual practice is in the old countries to get the capital first and y the machinery afterwards.

Q. In this country, on the contrary, I suppose you have a considerable trade ith many individual operators—small dealers—men who have not sufficient cap- al?—A. Yes.

Q. Who have a large or a growing business?—A. Yes; that is very often the se. In a majority of cases where new enterprises are taken up the capital is too all: is insufficient.

Q. But, as a rule, your customers prosper and go on from small things to ater, do they not?—A. Not in the mining department. The small customers e mining department, as a rule, do not get beyond a certain point.

Q. Is that true in all classes of mining or only in gold and silver?—A. We only al with the precious metals. By that we mean copper, etc. Those are all med precious metals; anything outside of the iron interests, coal, etc.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Who are your competitors in the foreign market? do not mean individuals but what country do you come into competition with foren markets?—A. England and Germany, principally.

Q. Have they any advantages over you in the way of cheap labor or cheaper raw material?—A. Yes; they have a great advantage in the way of labor. They pay as a rule less than one-half. I made a trip over the continent and through England last year. I found in Denmark, in one of the largest shops in Copenhagen, that they were there employed at from four to six kroner a day, which is from \$1 to a little over \$1.50, and they were running larger tools than we run in our shop, paying from \$2.50 to \$3 a day.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Producing an equal quantity?—A. I can not say about that; I judge not. If they were producing an equal quantity, it would not compete with them.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Is that owing to the superior efficiency of the workmen of this country?—A. Yes; and to the improved tools which we have and the better system of superintendence.

Q. How about the quality of their production?—A. In some respects it is quite equal to ours; there are some instances where it is better; there are other instances where it is not as good. Where we run to specialties here, and manufacture one thing constantly, we are usually ahead of them.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) How will it average up?—A. Oh, on the same line of work I think it is about the same. If I gave any preference, it would be for the Americans.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Have the foreign manufacturers any advantage on account of freight rates? I have more in mind water transportation.—A. Yes; in water transportation they have; in railroad transportation, I think not.

Q. Which have the advantage in railroad transportation—this country?—A. This country.

Q. Now, in water transportation, if you ship machinery to South Africa, do you ship it direct from New York?—A. Yes; there are two lines running direct from New York to South Africa.

Q. Formerly did you do that?—A. No; to London and transferred it.

Q. Are the lines that you speak of running regular lines?—A. Yes; they run bimonthly, I think.

Q. Do they sail under the American flag?—A. No; they are English lines.

Q. Are those vessels in any way interested with the foreign trade? That is, I mean to say, would they possibly give to foreign trade an advantage over your trade shipping from a foreign port—your foreign port? Are they owned, in other words, or controlled by foreign ship owners?—A. They are owned and controlled by foreign ship owners, but I do not know that for that reason they give any advantage. I think they do as most transportation lines do; they get just as much as they can for taking the goods from the port of New York to South Africa.

Q. Are any of those vessels owned by American capital, do you know?—A. Not that I am aware of; I think they are all owned in England.

Q. Is there any advantage got from water transportation on account of foreign seamen sailing under a foreign flag in the way of cheap labor—cheaply paid sailors?—A. I only know from observation, from traveling; I judge that there must be. They are paid smaller wages than our seamen are paid, and I think their manner of living is not on quite as high a standard as ours.

Q. Is there a possibility for us to establish our merchant marine on the high seas without some governmental assistance, in your opinion?—A. I think it will come in course of time, but it will not come nearly as quickly as it would if we had some governmental aid.

Q. Are you in favor of governmental aid properly dispensed?—A. Yes; properly dispensed.

Q. Have you in your mind any plan for dispensing that to the advantage of the American shipper?—A. I do not see any particular objection to the Hanna-Payn bill; I should like to see it passed.

Q. You would favor that?—A. I should.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) The Frye bill would be just as satisfactory, so far as you know?—A. I do not remember the Frye bill very distinctly.

(By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) The Frye bill is very similar.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Very similar; and it is the idea that you wish to recommend?—A. Yes.

Q. And not the specific measure, as I understand?—A. No; any measure that would give the money in the right direction instead of benefiting some individual that would really benefit the shipping, would be all right.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Is the present condition of your labor troubles her handicapping your business seriously?—A. Terribly.

Q. If it continues, what is likely to be the result?—A. It will either result in our reducing our business back to a specialty, or it will result in our having it

abandon our business entirely, because it is simply impossible for us to submit to the dictations of the local unions here. If we can not get to a point where these difficulties can be settled without strikes and in a national way, I do not see how we can exist.

Q. If that condition should obtain generally in manufacturing in Chicago, what would be the effect upon the laboring man?—A. He would have to seek new fields so far as that line of business is concerned.

Q. Do you believe that his present attitude is inimical to the best interests of the manufacturing of Chicago as a manufacturing center?—A. It most certainly is. The system under which they are working certainly means the minimum efficiency instead of the maximum efficiency. The rules and by-laws and constitution of their order plainly state such, and practical results show that such is the case.

Q. Now, as both parties are interested—both the manufacturer and the laborer—is there no possibility of their getting together upon some common ground in the course of time?—A. That is exactly what these two associations, the Founders and the National Metal Trades Association, and also the Stove Molders' Association, which is the original association of the kind, have been striving to bring about.

Q. In those trades you have succeeded, have you, in reducing the labor trouble at least to a minimum?—A. In the stove molders' trade, which has the making of stoves, and is controlled by the Iron Molders' Union of North America on their side and by the National Stove Founders' Association on the side of the stove manufacturers, they have now been running since 1890 without a strike, and before that time they were in constant strikes. In fact, it was the striking which made them form the association, and in the first instance, in 1887, it was formed to fight the strikes. In the Iron Molders' Association and the National Founders' Association, which includes the founders in the machinery line on castings and the other lines of castings outside of stoves, we have an arrangement by which the differences come up to a national arbitration board. While that only went into effect last May, it succeeded in holding the molders in almost all instances very closely to the line, and if the National Arbitration Board had had more influence or authority I do not think there would have been a single case where any of the members of the two associations would have failed to reach a settlement without a strike.

Q. The machinists' association, at least its present strength, is comparatively new here, is it not?—A. The machinists' association?

Q. I speak now, of course, of the labor side.—A. Yes. I do not know exactly when it was organized. It has not had any very great strength until this last year.

Q. Has your arrangement, so far as it affects the condition of the stove molders and others, attracted any attention from those who are trying to follow a similar plan?—A. Yes, it has attracted a good deal of attention, and there are members coming into the founders' association all over the country every month—manufacturers who recognize the justice of the principle and of the work that is being done. I think that at first there were a good many who thought that nothing could be accomplished in that way, but experience is beginning to show that something can be, and some of the oldest and most conservative concerns in the country are coming into the association right along.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Suppose, now, that all the engineers were members of the union and that they determined to stand out for what they were contending for, and would stand out unless you submitted to local arbitration; that would mean ruin for your business and starvation for them, perhaps. Would you rather see your business go to destruction than to patch up your difficulty with them in the best way that you could by local arbitration?—A. Yes; I certainly should, because temporizing does not help matters, especially in their case. If the average of intelligence was high you might possibly afford to temporize with them, but it is not high, and they do not understand that, and it becomes license, license. If the local association can once maintain its control there is no end to what it will have afterward. The present demands of the machinists, outside of one demand, the first one, which is that every shop shall be a union shop and employ only men in good standing, are not so bad themselves; but the first one, which means that we should employ none but union men, also means that the union men shall live up to the constitution and by-laws and rules of their association, which means absolute ruin to business. The strange part of it to me is that the men themselves are not intelligent enough to see what it means themselves. I can just read you one rule of their own constitution which in itself would tell the whole story if there was nothing else behind it. This is in the addenda to the general rules of the order.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) What do you read from, now?—A. The constitution of the National Association of Machinists. This shows the general rules of the order for the whole association. There are two sets of rules—one is for the grand lodge and the other for the local lodges. (Reading:) "No member shall take a job for less than it formerly paid." That simply means this to the employer: That if he has a workman in his shop who is an excellent workman and entitled to more pay than the minimum rate of wage, which is a thing that is established in any union, he will not advance that man's pay, for the simple reason that if he loses that man in any way the next man that comes on can not take the job for less than the first man. Now, we have many men in our employ who will earn 50 cents more a day than others if they are allowed to do the full amount they can do; but if we were under union control, and were controlled by that rule, it must be perfectly evident that we would not raise such a man's wages. Then if a man knows we will not raise his wages because he is efficient, he will simply go the other way and do just as little work as he can possibly do.

Q. Most unions have a minimum scale and permit their members to get as much as they can.—A. I think you will find this is the rule with them here as in most of the unions.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Suppose you paid lower wages in a depressed period and high wages in a prosperous period; would that rule prevent you from carrying on your business in a depressed time?—A. Most assuredly. If we were union shops, we should have to stand by the rules unless the local union of its own accord reduced the minimum.

Q. You would have to pay as high wages as were paid in prosperous times under that rule, should you not?—A. Yes; one of the clauses in the constitution here provides for that very thing, that the local union shall vote on any reduction in wages. That is what they consider one of their grievances. It is probable that in hard times, when they could not get work, they would break away from the union of their own accord, or that the union might agree to come down on their minimum price; but they most assuredly would not do it until the manufacturers had been reduced to such a point that they could not pay them the wages.

Q. In the pending difficulties here do you think that the work people themselves are generally satisfied to be out, or would they rather be at work?—A. I think the great majority of them would rather be at work.

Q. You believe, then, that they are really misrepresented by the trade-union representatives?—A. I have not the slightest doubt of it.

Q. What is their object in going counter to what you think is the wish of the men?—A. Well, it is like—to a certain extent it is a game of politics. These men are in there for certain reasons and they must show what they are doing for the benefit of the workingmen. There are, of course, a certain number of the workingmen who are dissatisfied, and never would be satisfied with anything that they got. It is that class that very largely controls the situation, very much as, in a town of this kind, in certain wards where the politicians are not of a high order, it is a certain class that go to the primaries and make up the slate.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Is there a feeling at the present time that leads the workmen to array themselves against their employers, politically or otherwise?—A. Well, it has gone so far in this city that there are in the councils now, in the offices in the city hall, a large number of pronounced labor leaders. That is one of the rules in this constitution. (Reading.) In section 7 of the platform it says: "To stimulate the political education of members to understand their political rights and use the ballot intelligently in their respective political parties, to the end that the government may be for and by the people and not be used as a tool to further the ends of combinations of capital for its own personal aggrandizement, we recommend to our members to at once set about securing the nomination and election of pronounced trade-unionists in municipal, State, and national legislatures, to the end that it will not be necessary to humiliate our citizenship in the future with fruitless petitions." Now, so far as the manufacturers are concerned, they make petition after petition, fruitless petitions, and some of them that are very good, too; but we do not complain a great deal about that; we simply keep on until we get it.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Well, is there anything to condemn in that plank that you have read? Is it not admirable, after all, that they should strive to educate their members in their political rights and privileges?—A. Yes; providing the thing is honestly carried out; there is no doubt about it, and there is no doubt about unions themselves being a good thing, if they were used for their legitimate objects; but when the rules are such as we find here, which limit a person to one tool, and in every instance curtail the production and limit the capacity of the man, make one level to which each man must work without any chance to rise, then it

becomes an entirely different affair. Words may be very flattering, but behind them there may be another meaning entirely; and you can only judge of the meaning by the acts as they come out. I am in favor of unions myself, because I am in favor of this arrangement here. I think the time will come when all workmen will be in unions on one side and the manufacturers in combinations of this kind on the other side. That is the way to handle these things. It is the hope that by getting it into national hands there can be a higher order of intelligence brought to bear on both sides, and the rights of the manufacturer and the rights of the laboring man can be shown up in such shape that they will agree mutually to such arrangements as will be of advantage to both parties, and therefore do away with all this unrest which we have to-day through these local unions, which are controlled practically by the walking delegates.

Q. You agree, then, that the combinations of capital which are being made all the while are logically driving the workmen into combinations; that it is a necessity for them to get into a combination to protect themselves?—A. I do not think that it is so much a question of the combinations of capital in the sense of trusts, etc. I do not think that is what caused it. I think it started before that; it started in the different way business is done to-day—the large volume of business which is done. For instance, in my father's day the business was done in such a manner that he knew almost every man in the shop; could go in and call them by name; had perhaps, as a matter of fact, worked at one time with a good many of them. But I could not do the same thing in our work to-day. I perhaps know more men in our works than manufacturers usually do, having been in it all my life and been among these old men. But I can not, as a matter of fact, give personal attention to the complaints of 600 men, and it is perfectly natural, therefore, that they should combine, and if they have any grievance, that they should send it up in that way. In fact, I want to have them do it in that way, because if their unions are properly controlled, many supposed grievances would be laughed out of court by the officers themselves, and nothing would come up to me that was not of some moment.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What you object to, then, is not the union, but the abuses of the union?—A. Most assuredly. The union in itself is a good thing. This constitution is full of the most worthy objects, sick benefits and death benefits and all that sort of thing. If the union were properly controlled and by the proper kind of officers, there is no doubt at all that it would be an advantage all the way along.

Q. And you think that the economic problems necessarily involved in the matter can be better understood and disposed of by a national organization, in view of the interstate character of production itself, than by a local organization?—A. There is no doubt of it. Experience has shown me that not only on the side of the men, but on the side of the manufacturers, since we have been coming together in these associations, in this way, there have been the greatest kind of advantages. Men who were perfectly radical, who would not have anything whatever to do with the unions in the first place, begin to see their rights; the international labor bodies on the other side begin to see the rights of the manufacturers; and where we have had joint conferences together on certain subjects, the parties to the conferences on both sides have asked a withdrawal, because they saw that it had got up to a point where they did not understand it and they both wanted time to think the matter over and come to some good decision.

Q. Have you any recommendations to make for legislation, either national or State, which you think would promote the industry in which you are engaged?—A. I have not, Mr. Chairman. I think that this matter is purely a commercial matter. My impression is that outside of such matters as will take care of criminal acts, it is better left with the manufacturers and the men themselves on the lines that have been laid out in these associations. There has been one attempt at legislation on this plan in New Zealand. The laws in New Zealand are now in effect and accomplish very much the same ends which these associations are accomplishing here, and, we understand, with a great deal of success; but in this country I do not think it would be so likely to be successful.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) You do not despair of the time coming when an adjustment can be made?—A. Oh, I do not. I feel perfectly sure that the time will come; and it will come through arbitration of this character—not arbitration after an overt act has been done, but before.

Q. Have you ever given any thought to the benefit of State arbitration boards in case of strikes?—A. I have given some thought to it, but I have not much confidence in it. I fear that political influences will always have more or less to do with them.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You have a State board in Illinois?—A. Yes; I think we have.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You would be glad to enter into an agreement with the men that there shall be no strike and no lockout under any circumstances, and that the differences that may arise from time to time shall be settled by representatives of both sides and by final decision of a referee, if it is necessary to call one in?—A. We have not done anything in the way of a referee, because we have always felt that it was better to have a board equal on each side and let the majority of the board decide; that if a proposition was suggested that the board could not get together on it was a very dangerous affair to take in a referee, for the reason that his position would not be, perhaps, satisfactory to the side whom it was against. That might, of course, be as much so with the men as with the manufacturers; and we believe, as a matter of fact, that if the subject to be adjusted is one that can be adjusted it can be settled by an equal board better than in any other way, and the influence will be better.

(Testimony closed.)

Whereupon, on motion of Mr. Kennedy, the subcommission took a recess until 2.30 o'clock p. m.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 20, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. HARRISON H. ROUNTREE,

President of the Turner Brass Works.

The subcommission met at 10.15 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. After finishing the testimony of the preceding witness, Mr. Harrison H. Rountree, of Chicago, Ill., president of The Turner Brass Works, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. My name is Harrison H. Rountree.

Q. Post-office address?—A. 122 Kinzie street, Chicago, Ill.

Q. And occupation?—A. President of The Turner Brass Works, a corporation.

Q. The Turner Brass Works is located in Chicago?—A. Located in Chicago.

Q. How long have they been established here?—A. The Turner Brass Works was incorporated in 1889, succeeding to the business of E. H. Turner, who started in 1871; so the incorporation is 11 years old, although the business has been established 20 years. It has been under the present management since its incorporation, or since within a month or two after its incorporation.

Q. Do you make brass or brass goods?—A. We make brass goods. We buy raw copper, tin, lead, zinc, and other materials, run our own foundry in which we do our casting, have a finishing department where the necessary machining is done on the goods, and polishing and buffing and plating perhaps, and the finished product is sold to the customers. We also buy sheet brass, tubing, and rods, and use this frequently in combination with the castings. We also buy aluminum ingots and aluminum sheets, tubes, and rods, and put it through practically the same processes as the brass.

Q. Has there been any change in the constituent elements of brass in recent years?—A. To my knowledge there has not been; I think cast brass is made exactly the same as it was a thousand years ago. The brass is cast in sand from metal or wooden patterns which have first made the depressions in the sand. The metals, copper, tin, lead, etc., are mixed in a plumbago crucible, and in the molten state poured into the sand mold. But there are a few changes in that part of the castings. Machinery has entered in a little bit in some cases, and a little bit in the handling of the patterns, relieving the operator of considerable hand work.

Q. Will you state the proportions of the constituent elements?—A. They vary considerably. Copper is 20 parts to 1 or 2 parts of the others, lead and tin and zinc, depending largely upon the quality of metal desired. Old brass is remelted and we mix it with new metal frequently. In fact, it is a considerable saving for some articles.

Q. Are you willing to state the amount of capital employed in your business and the number of hands employed when you are running?—A. We carry \$75,000 fire insurance. It would be a difficult thing to say exactly what a plant, having run as long as ours, is worth. The plant would be worth perhaps not more than \$75,000, if split up and disposed of piecemeal. We believe that our plant is worth about the same amount of money as our good will, as the reputation we have, having been in business a long time and being the largest concern in our special

line in the United States, so far as we know. Our special line is making largely special brass work to order; not shelf goods and not shop goods, but largely to order. We were employing 150 people. We have sometimes run up as high as 200, but our facilities only allow us to work about 150, and to increase over that means running an extra shift—a night force. It is very difficult to make a night shift profitable, so we have latterly confined ourselves to a day shift.

Q. Were your employees all men?—A. Men and boys. We employ no female help excepting office help.

Q. Were they mostly native American?—A. About half. The boys are almost invariably born in this country, but frequently of foreign parents; the workmen are perhaps half and half, I should think.

Q. Were many of the workmen skilled before they came to you?—A. A good many of them are skilled. We frequently get very valuable workmen among the Swedes. I think the imported Swede is a better workman than any other; sometimes a German who has learned his trade in the old country.

Q. Are your employees generally organized in unions?—A. I will give you a short story of the small strike as an answer to that, which, perhaps, is my best way to answer the question. Two weeks ago to-day, at noon, 23 men went out on a strike at the call of the business agent or walking delegate. That afternoon, perhaps, half a dozen more boys or men went out. In the morning a good many of the men did not appear. Some of them, perhaps, did not make any effort to appear at the factory and some of them were stopped on the outside of the factory and persuaded not to come in. At noon—if happens in our locality that there is a saloon on each side of our front door and several within a block or two, saloons and lunch places—our men go out to lunch very largely and when the men went out to lunch a good many of them did not come back. Then the next morning there were fewer men at the factory, until, on Saturday morning, out of 150, there were just 13 that worked. I interviewed the 13 individually, one by one, and asked them whether they desired to continue work or whether they preferred to lay off until the trouble had blown over. The reply was with 11 of the men that they would prefer to discontinue work until it was more comfortable, that they were in fear somewhat, and that they were certainly very uncomfortable; so we decided to close the factory. It is our custom to pay off Saturday afternoons at 3 o'clock. We closed the factory at 3 o'clock on Saturday. The men work 10½ hours a day 5 days in the week, and closing at 3 o'clock on Saturday gives them 60 hours for the week. I called the men all together at their regular time for being paid off and I talked with them. As I say, there were only 23 union men that went out. The rest of the men were persuaded—I think 121; so that would make a total of 144 altogether that day that did not work. Nearly four times as many were persuaded not to work as belonged to the union, I suppose. In the talk I had with them there was a spokesman for the strikers, and I was advised that there were 49 members of the union and not 23. This was from Tuesday until Saturday, so I believe that the union doubled in our force—doubled its membership between Tuesday and Saturday. If there has been no change since, one-third of our workmen are members of the union.

Q. Had there been any misunderstanding or disagreement between you and them about wages or hours of labor?—A. There never had been any; there had not been any discussion; no committee of the workmen had ever come to me or ever asked for an interview, so far as I know. We have 9 departments, each in charge of a foreman, and then there is a superintendent in charge of all of them, who has been a workman all his life and understands nearly all the different trades. In case there had been a desire for a conference or a request made, or a grievance, it naturally would have come through the superintendent to me. It would not have been stopped anywhere. My connection with the men is very close. I know half of them by name. Many of them are individuals who came to us as errand boys and have been in the factory and learned their trade there, in one way and another, and many of them are now journeymen that were errand boys; so I know them. I take a great deal of interest in them, and we have been very fortunate in having very pleasant relations. There never has been a question. If anybody in the factory believes that he is not fairly treated in the matter of labor, in the matter of wages, he will make his request, and usually has an interview with me. I have no door to my office, and any workman can come at any time, even in his working hours, and have an interview. There never has been any question at all raised about that or hours. The men pretty thoroughly understand that if they wanted shorter hours they could have them, but only with the pay of shorter hours. There never has been, as I say, any request at all by the business agents. Having so many departments, it has been necessary to be interviewed by a number of business agents. There is a business agent for the molders—the brass molders' union; there is another for the polishers' union,

and there is another for the finishers' union; and in addition to them would be the business agent for the machinists. We run but few machines, but we do run a few. We have a half dozen to a dozen men who are simply tool makers and die makers or something of that kind.

The business agents began making calls in October and November. They have called on us oftener than on any other brass concern in Chicago, I believe, for the reason that there is a brass club, which was organized last spring, and I was instrumental in the organization. In fact, it started by my asking two men to lunch. We started the brass club. We have a membership of nearly all the people who handle brass—who make brass in Chicago. The secretary of our company, Mr. Ferris, is president of the brass club. It was thought that our position on the subject of the recognition of the combination would indicate the position of the most of the members of the trade—the most of the members of the brass club—and for that reason, I think, the business agents visited us oftener than they visited any other concern. There are employed in Chicago about 4,000 people in brass establishments, working on brass. That includes the various lines, and this brass club includes in its membership most of the employers. The business agents appeared, and the first interview I had was a request—was a question put to me by one of the business agents—as to whether we would adopt the union label. My reply to him was simply offhand; if we can make more money for ourselves and the employees, we would adopt anything in the way of a label or any other suggestion that anybody may offer; and the interview terminated, no further remarks being made than that. Some time after that the two business agents appeared and handed me a contract and asked me if I would look it over, and they would come again. After a week or two they came again, and they asked me then if I would sign the contract, and I said no; and they said they would see me again. We had conversations at these times, but nothing important, and they appeared again and asked me to give them the old contract, saying that they had a new one. They handed me a new contract and asked me to go over it, and I said no, we had decided not to unionize the shop, and we could not enter into any agreement. We had several interviews, but our answers have always been the same; and our refusal to unionize the shop is the only thing. We understand that to recognize the union is to agree to employ only members of the union. That is the first article in their contract; of course, without that no agreement could be entered into.

Q. Did you at any of those interviews object to employing union labor?—A. No, not to employing union labor. It has never been our custom to inquire of a workman whether he was a union man or not. Some of the best men we have are union men, and some of the other best men we have are not union men. It does not seem to make any difference; that is, there is no way to tell whether a man is a union man or not unless we ask him the question and he tells the truth. When the union is strong, he is very apt to tell the truth, but when the union is weak, when it is growing, or when he feels that there is a prejudice, he has a temptation to say the other thing.

Q. You do not know, in the condition of your own business or your own relations to your own employees, anything that has justified the present strike, then?—A. I do not; I do not. In fact, I do not believe that our men felt that they were going to be called out. They had not voted on the subject, at least they say they had not voted on the subject; they had not been asked about it, and they were members of the union; the founders and the molders were members of the union to a man. Every molder was a member of the union, and the molders first walked out; but the subject had not been submitted to them. One of the leading molders, a leading striker, a man with whom I had the most conversation in this Saturday afternoon interview, I have seen several times. He has been in perhaps every day since the strike. He was in my office yesterday, and he told me then that he was as much surprised at being called out as if he had received a telephone invitation to go to the charity ball or some other unexpected thing. He knew nothing whatever of it. He knew that there would be some trouble in some of the brass establishments in Chicago, but did not know where the trouble would be, and his impressions were that ours would be the last; that there was no dissatisfaction in the establishment. That naturally the boys would like shorter hours at better pay if they could get it.

Q. What were the hours?—A. The hours were 10½ days in the week, an average of 60 hours in the week, Saturday being a short day. The wages have run—nearly one-half our force are under 21 years of age, and the average is \$10.98 for 60 hours labor. A year ago it was \$10.84; two years ago at the same time it was \$10.08.

Q. You have increased a little then?—A. Have increased a little—well, nearly 10 per cent on the two years.

Q. How does it compare with say 1894?—A. I have not had the figures and I

am not able to give them exactly. I do not believe the wages were any larger—very much larger—2 years ago than 5 or 6 years ago; I do not believe there has been very much change.

Q. Did your business suffer during the period of national depression?—A. Yes; it suffered up to 2 years ago. During the last 2 years we have run steadily, we have run full time. Last year and the year before we ran full. Other people in our line complained of the dull times, but we were successful in running straight through, lost no time.

Q. In what lines of industry are your principal customers?—A. We spread pretty largely over the whole field that uses brass. We have lines of stuff that go to electric light companies all over the United States; they are repair parts that go to people who run electric lamps and dynamos and things of that sort. We have a line of stuff, a very small line, but it goes generally to piano people and furniture people, and the jobbing hardware trade—a little line that goes to the pump and windmill people. We have a line that goes to machinery manufacturers. We have on our list something over 2,700 customers.

Q. Do you furnish a good deal to camera manufacturers?—A. Not very much. That field is pretty well covered by dealers who confine themselves to that. The Adams & Westlake Company here are the largest, and one or two I think in St. Louis; they cover that field pretty thoroughly I guess.

Q. Has the growth of electrical development made a considerable increase or growth in your business?—A. I do not think it has affected it a great deal. Our business has been increased, but I think that is because of the efforts we have put in outside rather than the influence—

Q. Is the production of brass governed more or less by fashion?—A. Yes, I think it is considerably; I think it is considerably governed by fashion.

Q. It has been the fashion in recent years to use brass bedsteads and brass trimmings and ornaments to a greater extent, has it not?—A. Yes, and in times of prosperity more brass will be used, and in times of depression more iron. Iron can be finished to look like brass. It will not last, it will rust, but still it takes the place of it, and during the hard times iron will crowd brass out because it is a quarter or a fifth, or perhaps a tenth, as expensive as brass.

Q. Is brass the foundation of most nickel-plated goods?—A. Yes, nearly all, although iron can be nickel-plated and it takes an expert to judge the base of nickel-plated goods, whether it is iron or brass. The weight is about the same; the finished and buffed nickel and bright polished nickel—the appearance is about the same.

Q. To return to the labor problem, should you have any objection to treating with a labor union in reference to the employment of your own hands, provided you had a sense of security or assurance that their contracts would be lived up to?—A. If the representatives of the union were men of sufficient ability and honesty, and if the subject was treated in a national way; locally it would not do us very much good. In the first place, we should decline to enter into an agreement with the local association, because every bit of stuff that we made and sent out of Chicago would be discriminated against in consequence of a higher rate of wages or shorter hours or something else. Unfortunately for the brass people, the international association of brass workers, the polishers and molders and all the rest of them, the association is not very large. It is not very strong; it has not assumed sufficient proportions to warrant us in believing, even if we entered into an agreement with them, that the same agreement would be entered into by our competitors in other places. For instance, we have a competitor in Philadelphia; the only competition in one of our lines is a man in Philadelphia. His condition should be the same as ours, or we are driven out of the Eastern market. The National Metal Trades Association covers our field, but the National Machinists Union does not cover and take in the members of the union with whom we are having our troubles. They belong to an international association which is not large and which is not strong, and which is not handled by very broad-gauged men; it is not handled by as good a class of men even as the international machinists. As to the other part of it, of course, we make no contracts with our employees excepting by the week, practically by the week. We never have found that it was worth while to try to make any other sort of an arrangement. Our men, nearly all of them, work by the day. A great deal depends upon the interest and the industry and the skill of the workman. Unless his feeling toward us is kindly, he is not a profitable workman for us. He can spoil material and waste his time and be unprofitable. It would be unwise for us to attempt to force a man to stay with us 15 minutes after he had made up his mind that he wanted to go.

Q. Do all of them work by the day?—A. Nearly all of them. We have at times perhaps fifteen or twenty piece workers, and that is the extreme; there would perhaps be ordinarily not over 5 per cent piece workers.

Q. The nature of the work is such that day work is more convenient?—A. More convenient, and we pride ourselves on a high grade of work, and piece work tends to a lower grade, especially where pieces have to be formed together or assembled afterwards, where there are certain threads to be cut and certain holes to be bored and adapted; unless care is taken the work does not go together well, and in piece work there is carelessness by reason of haste. Our preference is to employ the very best workmen we can find, and pay them enough to keep them satisfied, and by the day.

Q. Had you many orders on hand at the time of the strike?—A. We had been fearing or rather expecting the strike for three months, and we had entered into no contracts which could disturb us very much if the strike should come at any time. We rushed through everything that we could possibly rush, putting on additional men in some cases to get the work out of the way and get off of our hands all the contracts that would at all annoy us, so that the strike came at an opportune time for us. We were not badly affected by it.

Q. If the labor difficulty were over should you have plenty of employment now and be able to run full?—A. If our forces returned to-morrow—and there is a prospect that the force will return, because the business agent said to me yesterday that it was an unfortunate thing for a strike to occur in the brass line, that other lines were so large, and the public sympathy was against him, and the possibilities of public assistance were against him, and he might call it off and resume it at some other time—if our men were to go to work to-morrow we could keep them busy for some little time, but with the present strike on among the contractors and the machinists, we should be affected so that perhaps our business would be cut in two.

Q. Aside from this local labor difficulty, do you think the general conditions of business in the country are sufficiently prosperous to enable you to run full?—A. I think there is no question about it, if there were no strikes in Chicago, and if there were no strikes in other places. A good many of our correspondents during the last two weeks—we, of course, notify all of our customers of the condition of affairs—and a good many of them have said we are fearful of trouble, or we have just been having trouble, or something of that sort, which makes me believe that, aside from these strike troubles and labor troubles, we should have all the business we could do.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You said the business agent may call the strike off now. Does it depend on the will of the business agent altogether whether the strike shall continue or not?—A. The brass workers' union is controlled from Cleveland. The secretary and the president and the headquarters of the union are at Cleveland. Some 3 weeks ago the vice-president of the union visited Chicago, and stayed here one week. He came here empowered by the executive committee of the union to do whatever he thought best. As I say, he stayed a week, looking the ground over pretty thoroughly, had interviews with a number of the brass concerns, and then departed, leaving with the local executive committee his authority to act in the premises. The local executive committee are represented really by this business agent. The executive committee do not visit the manufacturers, do not confer with them at all, but take the information, largely, which they get from this business agent, and decide with him as to what to do. In the case of a strike, I believe it was thought best to have the strike; it was decided to be necessary for the local executive committee to apply to the general executive committee at Cleveland for permission to call the strike. That permission was granted, and the strike was called, but the local committee, as I understand it, is authorized to declare the strike off, if, in their judgment, it seems a wise thing to do.

Q. Then, it will be the local committee, representing the unions and the international officers, who will call the strike off, and not the business agent?—A. And not the business agent, except that what he says to the executive committee will very largely govern their action.

Q. Is he more familiar with the situation than this committee?—A. He has been the local president, and he has recently become the business agent. The previous agent was unsatisfactory, and it was the previous business agent that called the strike.

Q. Do you know what salary they pay the business agent?—A. I understand it is \$25 a week and expenses.

Q. Do you know what the salary generally paid to business agents in Chicago is?—A. I do not know of anything excepting the business agents in the brass

industry, and I understand that all the business agents in the brass industry are in receipt of the same salary—\$35 a week.

Q. The business agent in this case gets more than twice as much salary as the man who works at the trade?—A. No; because the figures I gave you include boys as well as men.

Q. What do journeymen get?—A. Twenty-five cents an hour—\$2.50 a day, and from that up. We pay men as high as \$35 a week for 60 hours; but they are exceptionally good men, of course. We pay no journeyman less than \$2.50 a day—35 cents an hour. Right on the subject of compensation of the business agent, and as an indication of what the members of the union know, in one of my interviews with the molder I have mentioned I said to him: "It is unfortunate that the men have not a more reliable class of representatives." I said: "I have heard a rumor that one business agent in Chicago made last year \$20,000." He said: "Do you mean Broderick?" I said: "I have simply heard a rumor," and the subject dropped. Broderick is one of the business agents of the machinists' union. I had never heard Broderick's name used in connection with this rumor that a business agent had made \$20,000 in Chicago last year, but evidently this molder—a striking molder—who was conducting himself and his fellows under this arrangement, had heard these rumors that Broderick had made a large amount of money as a walking delegate.

Q. Is it your suspicion, then, that the walking delegates are corrupt?—A. Yes; there is a suspicion of that sort.

Q. Do you know whether there is any good foundation for that suspicion?—A. It has always been my plan in business to avoid the appearance of buying influence, because I have felt that honesty was the best policy. I do not know whether I should be an honest man if it were not good policy or not, because—I hope I should—but still it has been good policy with us to run our business on correct lines. There have been temptations in Chicago sometimes by reason of some unfortunate circumstances, smoke inspection or building inspection or something else; there have been temptations for some people to indulge in bribing. Possibly some of it has been done. We have felt that we had rather run our business without indulging in that practice as long as we could, and when it was necessary to make some other decision that would be time enough to go into the subject.

Q. Have you ever had an opportunity to deal corruptly with a business agent?—A. I do not believe I am prepared to answer that question, and I do not, by declining to answer it—I do not want to insinuate that any business agent can be bought, but I have felt for 3 or 4 months that if there was going to be a strike in our line I should like to have it. I did not believe that our concern would be the first picked out, because I did not believe that the committee in charge of the union forces would pull out a set of men that seemed to be perfectly satisfied and had no grievance. There never had been, so far as I know, any grievance or any request which had not been granted. I did not believe they would do it, but I felt if there was to be trouble of that sort I should like to have it come. I was absolutely surprised when 121 nonunion men walked out, or were persuaded to stay out, because 21 or 23 men, union men, struck. That was my surprise.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You think that the persuasion you speak of is generally peaceable and argumentative only, or is there an element of coercion and terror in it?—A. It is coercion and terror finally. It started in the cases that I know by simple persuasion, by the use of the term "scab;" you are a scab; and pretty soon it got to be so that a man was threatened. In a dozen cases of ours the men told me that they were threatened that their heads would be smashed.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Well, right there, don't you think it sounds a little bit ridiculous, the idea that 21 men could overawe 121 nonunion men by such methods as you speak of?—A. In a body, yes. But you must understand that 23 union men could surround 1 nonunion man and persuade him, and they then could surround another and then another; and that was the tactics followed; 6 or 8 or 10 union men were on the lookout for 1 nonunion man.

Q. Evidently the nonunion men were ripe for persuasion and for becoming members of the union?—A. I was told yesterday by one of the strikers that there are now 49 members of the union. They have evidently not succeeded in persuading the others to join the union. In fact, there are a good many men who have been on our pay roll that are not eligible to any union. They are not men of a certain trade. They may be very valuable men and may make very good wages, but there are not enough of them for a separate union, and perhaps they have not skill enough, or it is not necessary for them to spend years in learning their trade to make them desirable union members.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Have you made an effort to run your shop since this week's strike?—A. No; we ran from Tuesday until Saturday with a gradually

diminishing force, and I said to the men then, all of them together, union and nonunion, that I did not know how long the factory would stay closed; that it would depend entirely upon them. When they were ready to go back to work, if they would advise us, we should be ready for them. We have made no effort.

Q. Were your premises picketed?—A. Oh, yes, picketed; yes.

Q. On your own ground?—A. No; we have two buildings. Our front building is only 20 feet on the thoroughly improved street, Kinzie street, and we run back 80 feet with that building. Then in the rear of that building we have one 40 by 80, two stories and a basement. The picketing has been done on the Kinzie street building and in front of the Water street building and in the alleys that adjoin them. The strike occurred Tuesday noon, and Tuesday afternoon I sent for two officers, sent to the city hall, and had them sworn in and gave them regular stars and put them on duty, with instructions to prevent any injury or damage to any individual, whether strikers or nonstrikers, men who were simply out there, and passers-by, or innocent men—and I kept those men on duty until Monday. We closed the factory Saturday and I discharged the two policemen on Monday, and since then we have had no policemen; but the pickets are still out and are supposed to draw from their union \$5 a week for picket duty. Of course, they are doing nothing; there is no reason for picketing. We are simply running our offices and there are no workmen applying for work. They would not get inside if they were; and if we were running we could not employ them. We very much prefer our old help. It would be a very great hardship if we had to break in new help. Men have been with us, as I say, some of them 4 or 5 or 6 years—grown up in the place. They know nothing else excepting the work that has been taught them.

Q. You think the strike of your workmen is almost wholly an incident of the machinists' strike which is on in the city?—A. Yes; I think so. There is an unrest. As one of the strikers said, "Well, it will not hurt the boys to rest a while; they have been working pretty steadily." Well, they have; they have been working for 2 years, and have had no lay offs; and a little vacation will not hurt them. But they were ready. The strike fever is pretty general, and they were ready for something to happen.

Q. By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have you any idea that this unrest that you speak of exists because labor feels that it is not getting its just share of the profits it creates?—A. The men do not so express themselves to me. The most of them, I think, realize that it is largely supply and demand. Brass workers are pretty thoroughly employed in Chicago, but there is no great dearth, and these men, I think, realize that the supply and the demand are about the same. We feel that \$2.50 a day is a fair average compensation for such services as they can offer. We do not feel that the trade is poorly paid, because our men work 300 days in the year. The income is \$750 a year. There has been a good deal of talk in Chicago that the bricklayer had \$4.00 a day. We believe the brass-worker is better paid at \$2.50 than the bricklayer at \$4 a day. Our men may live as near the factory as they choose; they may save car fare; they may save time to and from work; they have comfortable surroundings during all sorts of weather; they have the convenience of going out to their lunch in the near neighborhood or bringing their lunch and eating it comfortably; they have steady work and money every Saturday without going for it. On the other hand, the bricklayer may be at work to-day in one section of the city and the next week in another section. He may have to pay 2 or even 3 car fares to go to his work or to come back. It may be necessary for him to spend an hour and a half in getting to his work, and the same in coming back. He is exposed to the elements. He is on an uncertain footing, a bad platform, and with all sorts of laborers around him. He works in a little place, and the bricklayers on each side of him are rushing the work and he must rush; he has no choice in the matter. If he chooses to work a little slower, he can not do it, because he must keep up his end—keep up his stint. With the brass workers there is usually a chance to do the other thing if they choose; not to loaf, but to change at times, to rest or work slower. The bricklayer has \$4 and does not work 200 days in the year. Eight hundred dollars would be certainly an outside figure, and there certainly would be \$50 car fare between him and the other, which would place them at the same money. The bricklayer must often run for his money, quit his job for a time, have difficulty; go after the contractor if he is uncertain with his payment; perhaps he may have to go 2 or 3 times. Those things count—he may lose his compensation. The man who works for this boss, and that, and the other is quite apt to lose his compensation. We have had the Saturday pay day for 10 years without a single exception. Two dollars and fifty cents is the minimum for a journeyman, and he has possibilities of becoming very much more valuable to us. His services will be

appreciated, as is proved by the fact that we pay some men \$35 a week for the same number of hours, and are glad to get them, and had rather have more of those men and less of the others.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Are the members of the families of your employees often employed in other industrial establishments, or have you no knowledge on that subject?—A. I have only a general knowledge. Very many of our journeymen have children at school. I think we have only one case where we have had sons that worked with their fathers. I think there are few cases where the members of the families of our workmen are employed, excepting perhaps those who are nearly grown. I frequently hear from a workman that he has a daughter who has learned shorthand, and isn't there a chance for us to put her in the office, or a man who has a boy who has been in the high school and would like to get into the shipping department, or something of that sort. It is very seldom that a father wants to bring his boy to learn his own trade, very seldom. They evidently in a great many cases have been able to get on and advance them so that they feel that they are better fitted for something else, like office employment.

Q. Do you think that that state of affairs is peculiar to the brass industry?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. It is general?—A. I think it is general.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Nothing more than laudable ambition?—A. Laudable ambition; frequently mistaken, but we all make mistakes.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you have any foreign markets for your goods?—A. Very little. Some of our aluminum stuff goes abroad, but our brass stuff does not. We have given a good deal of attention to the study of aluminum castings and handling aluminum, and we have succeeded in making a few articles that have been successfully introduced abroad.

Q. Do you make those articles wholly of aluminum, or do you compound it with other metals?—A. No; wholly of aluminum.

Q. And aluminum alloy?—A. And aluminum alloy. There is no method of soldering aluminum; there has never been yet. Aluminum can be attached to other metals by riveting or threading or something of that sort, but it can not be soldered, so that aluminum is usually used by itself and not in conjunction with another metal.

Q. Does it mix with other metals and make any compound that is useful?—A. Aluminum is used largely as an alloy; it is in this aluminum bronze and various products in various quantities. Aluminum is also used in iron castings.

Q. Do you find your market by employing traveling salesman, or do your orders generally come to you?—A. We do some advertising, and we do a great deal of advertising by circular letters. We have salesmen on the road at times, although our out-of-town business comes largely by reason of the advertisements and not by traveling salesmen.

Q. What is your opinion of Chicago, as a manufacturing center, all things taken into consideration?—A. With the labor subject settled, I think it is the best point for our line that there is. We are near the source of production of copper, which enters so largely into our business, and Chicago is advantageously situated for shipping. This strike which we have had has set us to thinking very seriously whether it would be possible for us to more satisfactorily conduct our business outside of Chicago in a smaller place; but we are met then with the difficulty of getting skilled labor.

Q. Do you think of any change in any of our laws, national or State, that would benefit your industry?—A. If something could be done toward national arbitration, it seems to me that is the only thing. There must be organization and arbitration.

Q. That arbitration would imply organization, I suppose; that would mean union labor?—A. Yes; it would mean union labor so far as it was possible to unionize labor, but we personally should not object to union labor if we felt that difficulties could be settled with fairness.

Q. Do you think it would be a benefit to business, generally, if there could be a general agreement which would be respected, or statutes which must be obeyed, prohibiting strikes and lockouts?—A. Both would be beneficial.

Q. You regard strikes and lockouts as a great evil to business generally?—A. I do, because I think, as in our case, the influence of a few men prevents a large number of other men from continuing in employment. If it had not been possible in our case, if it had been illegal to strike or to carry on any lockout, if there were agreements, there would have been some chance to settle it without affecting, in our case four-fifths of our men. If the grievance had spread all over the factory, there would then be the same opportunity to settle it, and no man would have been harmed; but in the case as it was the men have been harmed. The

word scab has more terror for the average working man than any other word or thing that I know of. The word scab applied to a man who has been a union man and who has been dropped from the union or has withdrawn, or a man who will not join the union—of course it is absurd to make this statement—but it seems sometimes as if, if the word scab could be eliminated from the vocabulary, half the men who are now in the unions would be out of them.

Q. When that word or any other opprobrious epithet is employed by any considerable number against one or more, do you regard it as evidence of a criminal conspiracy?—A. Yes; but difficult to prove.

Q. When it is called out publicly as a term of reproach, is it difficult to prove it?—A. Not where there are several people gathered together, but where it is uttered by one man and heard only by one other who is then the subject of punishment, it is pretty difficult—one man against the other. But it is the word scab; it is a word that the children hear; the workman's children are at school and hear it. The other children will not play with them because they are scabs, they belong to a scab, they are the children of a scab; the wife is prevented from enjoying her social or church or her sewing society or something else because she is the wife of a scab. It runs clear down the line, and it affects a man not only in that way outside but affects him in a way that you can not punish. It would be difficult to punish the children at school; but still the individual workman suffers more greatly from that result of the use of the word than if he himself is called a scab. It hits him through his social relations and his fatherly love for his children and his regard and love for his wife, and runs clear down the line.

Q. Therefore you think that the common-law remedy against criminal conspiracy is practically ineffectual in such cases?—A. Yes; I think so.

Q. Can you think of anything, then, except the growing enlightenment of the laboring classes, and the cultivation of more friendly relations between them and their employers?—A. No; all of those things would, of course, largely improve the conditions, and more general education would have much to do with it. In our factory the more independent men are not members of the union. The more skilled and experienced a man, the more difficult it is to herd him. Those men are not union men, but they have just as great fear of violence as the other men, greater perhaps, because they suffer from the eccentricities of genins. They are more highly educated, and it would, of course, improve the condition if all our men could be brought up to the standard of those men.

Q. Have you an idea that the present labor difficulties in Chicago are a necessary outgrowth of trade unionism, or a natural conflict between labor and capital, which people sometimes think is a chronic condition, or do you think it grows out of the abuses of power on one side or the other?—A. It would be perfectly natural for me to say, being an employer, that the walking delegate has had too much authority and has abused the authority which he has—has abused his influence. I think it is the case here. I do not believe that the strike in Chicago would be of any alarming proportions, if the walking delegate had not had so much power.

Q. Your objection lies, then, to the present walking delegates or business agents?—A. I might go perhaps further. It does not seem possible for a workman who spends practically all his waking hours at his trade to cope with employers if it is necessary for him to strive for his rights. He must be represented.

Q. If you then object to certain of his representatives, how would it do for manufacturers who share that opinion to make it known to the working people that they will be glad to treat with other representatives of their organization?—A. Human nature is weak. The new representative might be just as bad, as his power might make him just as difficult to deal with. I have yet to meet locally the business agent who I believe should be intrusted with authority sufficient to enable him to settle the question for his union. I am in a position where I am prejudiced.

Q. But you think that the same sort of man, if acting in the capacity of a national agent, might be more amenable to reason and take a larger view of the general question, and therefore be a pleasanter man with whom to negotiate?—A. A man fitted to represent a national organization, or representing a national organization, would be an easier man to do business with, I believe. I feel, at least, that if a settlement were reached it would affect all of our competitors.

Q. And that you consider a vital element in the case?—A. Certainly.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) I should like to know from your standpoint, as you see the business agent, what his general duties are?—A. In times of peace he is supposed to supply places for journeymen members of his union; he is supposed to know where workmen of his trade are needed, the rate of wages, and the desirability of the place, and to solicit membership to his union; to look after those

members who are careless about attending meetings, or in their payments or something of that sort. He is supposed to spend his time for the benefit of the union in those ways; for the benefit of the members. In times of strike he is supposed to keep the men all in line, keep them advised as to what the pickets may do, and what they must not do, and see that they attend daily or twice daily roll call, and have general supervision over the men, under the direction of the executive committee. The walking delegate has a great deal of power in times of peace; his name may be Brown, and it is, Mr. Brown, when members of the union meet him; and it is, Mr. Brown, have a drink? He is flattered and complimented very largely by members of the union, because if a journeyman desires work, and approaches the business agent, and the business agent has been hitherto impressed with the journeyman's attentions, the business agent will then very properly place this applicant for a job in some desirable shop where the surroundings are comfortable. But if the journeyman has not paid sufficient attention to the importance of the business agent, and has not asked him to have a drink, or called him Mr. Brown, then Mr. Brown, the business agent, will probably send this man to an undesirable shop, to a shop that is poorly ventilated, or has a bad lot of workmen, or a good many foreigners, or something or other that makes the shop less desirable than the other one. There is a constant temptation for the members of the unions to flatter and to spoil the business agent, and it is done very largely, and the consequences are that the business agent becomes largely a leech: sometimes he becomes a bun, becomes a saloon loafer. One of the business agents said to me, when leaving my office one evening, after we had had quite a long interview, and I had offered him a cigar as he went out of the office—he said, “I will take it and smoke it. You have no idea how many chances I have to smoke and drink every day.” I said, “Yes, I have an idea that you have a chance to drink and smoke with every man that you meet that belongs to your union.” And I believe the statement is true. I think it has much to do with the business agent's attitude to-day. He has power and it has spoiled him.

Q. And he sometimes wields the influence that he has over the workmen—over the union?—A. I believe there is no question about it.

Q. The object of the walking delegate if honestly carried out and not done for his own self-interest would not be so bad, would it?—A. No; certainly, not.

Q. It is the abuse, then, of the office he has?—A. It is the abuse; it is that unreliability of human nature.

Q. It would be very beneficial to the union to secure as far as possible irreplaceable men to occupy that place?—A. Yes; but \$25 a week and expenses—honest expenses—will not employ a very high grade of men who can withstand the temptations. If it is a fact that business agents can be purchased, how little money it must take to buy a \$25-a-week man.

Q. He has no power to order a strike on his own motion?—A. Probably not, although he has a very large influence in getting instructions. The chances are that if the business agent thought it best not to call a strike the strike would not be called. I never heard of a strike called against the wish of the business agent.

Q. Just now he seems to be abusing his power in Chicago?—A. He is working overtime for expenses. [Laughter.]

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you hear of his getting any extra pay for working overtime?—A. No; I have not heard of that, but I have heard that they were willing to give their compensation to the striking workmen that needed money. I have heard it said that they were willing to do that. They have not said anything about their expense money. That may be an item that is worth while.

Q. We should be glad to hear any statements that you may wish to make.—A. You are pretty well aware, of course, of the conditions, locally, in consequence of the strike; in the brass strike, in the machinists' strike, and all of the strikes. Last fall there was an exceedingly bitter strike among the piano workers—8,000 or 4,000 people—and a great deal of suffering in consequence of it. The contractors' strike is very much larger, and of course it affects us all. The general depression in Chicago affects every factory and every business concern here. It seems as if there must be some solution for these questions that have arisen and that are arising, so that it should be impossible for any body of men, either employers or employees to inflict such consequences on a city, on a community. There ought to be some method devised, legislation probably, by which this condition could be prevented—several hundred thousand people suffering in Chicago, or right on the edge of suffering, in consequence of this.

Q. And many outside of Chicago?—A. And many outside of Chicago. The conditions are these. In Chicago wages are 28 cents an hour. If a machinist goes out to Quincy, Ill., which is a few hours' ride, they are 20 cents an hour; same work, same skill, same tools, same conditions. That is the point with the

nachinists. The Quincy people have had difficulty in getting machinists, and one machinery manufacturer said a few days ago that the Chicago factory strike had been a benefit to him; that he had filled his factory up and worked a night force, all with Chicago strikers, for 20 cents an hour. They left 26 cents, 28 perhaps, and their homes and old surroundings, and went into a strange place and simply worked for 20 cents an hour, temporary work, work among strangers. If legislation can do it, it seems as if it was a fit subject for immediate action.

Q. Congress and the various State legislators are chosen by the people. The people are made up all over the country just as they are here. These public servants look to the men actually engaged in these industries on both sides to solve this problem or to suggest a solution which they can perhaps put into the form of law; but really the remedy has got to come from the people who are engaged in the business. Now, we seek to find out all the facts and get all the suggestions that we can, but we are no wiser than anybody else. We do not see how it can be done except as we get all these facts together and they seem to point to some remedy.—A. During one of my conversations with a striking molder, who is a man 42 years old, learned his trade at 14 to 18, took night lessons in a business college, has been occasionally a shipping clerk or something of that sort, a very intelligent man, my only suggestion to him was that the members of the union should all get out of the union and we would form a local union of our own simply for beneficial purposes. But after all it is hardly possible, because that is in the direction of cooperation, and there never has been to my knowledge a scheme of cooperation which has been successful for any length of time. I have several times been tempted to make an experiment with cooperation, profit sharing, or something of that sort, but I have never yet found any concern that has followed it long enough to make it safe for the workmen or for others.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Have you ever investigated the working of the Procter & Gamble Company, near Cincinnati?—A. I did at one time know a good deal about their plans and about their methods, but I do not know now what their condition is; I do not know whether it has proved a success with them. The last I knew of them there were chances of having some difficulty, but what their present condition is I do not know. I have given very little attention to that subject for some time. I have been thinking a little of it lately as a possible solution in our own case, but I am afraid of it; I am afraid of human nature, not only on account of our men, but on our own account.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you share the opinion that has been expressed here by one witness that the city authorities do not afford equal and fair protection to the manufacturers?—A. Yes; they do not. In our case the policemen we had were employed by us and would not have been furnished us excepting by reason of our paying them ourselves, and we could have no more than two. The regular police affords no protection whatever. Of course, in our case the strike was small, the men were all well acquainted, all of our employees had been there a long time, nearly all of them, and they all knew each other, and the factory was closed so soon after the strike that there was no violence, at least that we have heard about. We did not get where we needed very much police protection. But I was told by an applicant for police protection at one of the substations, where the captain in charge happened to be a member of the same secret organization, and this individual who applied for help was a member of the same order: He said, "Captain, I am liable to have trouble and I may want some help;" and he said, "Well, you keep out of trouble, because I have no authority to give you help." That seems to voice the sentiment generally. Manufacturers generally have felt that they could have very little protection. We fortunately did not need it.

Q. Why do you think this is; because the police force of the city is inadequate for affording such protection, or because the sympathy of the city government or whoever controls the police is with the strikers rather than with the employers?—A. Rather with the strikers, because the strikers have more votes than the manufacturers.

Q. How can that condition of things be remedied in a popular government where the people themselves elect their city authorities who control the police, elect judges who administer the law, and elect their legislators who make the laws?—A. I think that you have got to start down the line pretty well and purify and perfect the individual voter. It is a part of the education. The same temptation to abuse of power—possibly the politician and the business agent are connected and related to each other, possibly the same individual.

Q. Do you think that Chicago is in a worse condition than other cities larger or smaller?—A. I fear that it is; I fear that it is, sir.

Q. What has brought about that condition of affairs?—A. Possibly the fact that the different men of Chicago have been too much engrossed in their own

individual lines and have paid too little attention. It seems to be an unusual action to get a popular vote. It seems to be something very unusual. I think the business men are to blame.

Q. Has unionism divorced the influences of the employer from the employees?—A. I think the introduction of the business agent has been a bad thing for the relations. I think if he has improperly suggested to his men, to his members—if he has improperly suggested—the effect would be toward straining the relations. I have not heard yet a manufacturer object to treat with his own men. In fact, he must treat with his own men, because he is the only man. The man who wants a job is the only man with whom he can talk, excepting possibly in these cases where a large number of imported ignorant laborers must be handled as cattle; each man is given a number; nobody knows his name. Of course they must be handled by the agent, and that is the very lowest grade of labor. Perhaps there is too much of it here, but it does not run into these trades.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you know of any instances of the employment of great gangs of such labor as that in Chicago?—A. No; not in Chicago, I believe; but I do not know that I have it sufficiently fresh in my mind. I really had in mind more the gangs that are building railroads, or on a large lot of sewer laying, or something of that kind.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Would or would not the principles underlying trades unionism be beneficial if honestly carried out, as appears to be intended by the constitution and by-laws of the different trades?—A. Up to a certain point, perhaps; but the principle of unionism is the employment only of members of the union. Right there is my objection, and right there is my reason for declining to treat locally with the unions, because the men out of the union should have just as good a right to employment as the men in the union. We do not ask them whether they are Methodists, or Democrats, or whether they are Masons, or whether they are union men. We ask them, "Can you do this work." We have now and then a black man, a negro; the union men have objected. There is one black man that shows up periodically. During a part of the season he is perhaps employed on the lake and he shows up in cold weather, and we have several times in the winter had that man at work in the foundry. The foundry is rather hot, and a disagreeable place for some workmen, and this man has always been satisfactory, and we have always kept him employed as long as he wanted to stay. There has always been a little question, a little sort of feeling, but the man has been put in, and he has been kept there largely because the boys understood that I liked the man myself. I took a personal interest in him. It is rather a novelty to find that sort of a man where there are so many whites; but he was so good-natured, and he did his work so well, and I have rather a leaning toward the blacks, so that very little fuss was made. I do not come into contact with the men as to hiring and discharging unless there is some unusual question. The superintendent usually looks after that.

Testimony closed.

Whereupon the subcommission at 5.30 p. m. adjourned until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 21, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JAMES L. BOARD.

Manufacturer of Machinery.

The special subcommission met in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Ill., March 21, 1900, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 10 a. m. Mr. James L. Board was sworn as a witness and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. James L. Board.

Q. Post-office address?—A. No. 2832 Archer avenue.

Q. Occupation?—A. Manufacturer of metal-working machinery. That is the strict technical term. Our specialty is machinery of all kinds to make cans, tin-ware, etc.; principally automatic machinery for making tin cans, such as are used by the fruit, meat, condensed milk, and other packers.

Q. Is your company a corporation or a firm?—A. A firm.

Q. How long have you been in business here?—A. Mr. Crosby started the business in 1868 and I succeeded to it. Mr. Crosby is dead. I am the whole thing.

Q. How many hands do you employ when you are running?—A. Three weeks ago to-morrow I had 390 blacksmiths, machinists, and other men in the machine

shop, about 75 in the foundry, and 3 weeks ago Friday I learned that the men were going to strike in the machine shop, so I discharged 290 of them. I have now about 75 men at work. Of those 75 I have about 20 machinists. The balance are blacksmiths, carpenters, hustlers, etc.

Q. Hustlers?—A. You might call them laborers. We call them hustlers—not mechanics of any kind; people who clean up and move machinery, etc.

Q. Do you make a distinction between union and nonunion labor?—A. No.

Q. What was the purpose in making the wholesale discharge?—A. Because I was told by one of my men who was a member of the union—in fact, one of the officers of the union—that they intended to strike the next day; and I thought it was good legal policy not to have any of those men in my employ.

Q. You are running your works, then, with a diminished force?—A. When I discharged the men I gave a reason for it—that I intended to move; which is a fact. I am now moving into my new shop. My present shop is 176 Clinton street. I intended to move into it in the next coming 2 weeks, on Archer avenue. Assuming the men were going on strike, which they said they were to this man, I thought it was a good time to move, which I am doing now.

Q. Did you give the men to understand they were discharged because of the projected strike?—A. No. I attached to each check a little typewritten notice that, owing to the fact we were going to move, their services would no longer be required. "Please remove your clothes and tools." Yesterday and to-day I am writing them all a letter, asking them to return to work; that I will be ready next Monday; and if they want their old positions back at the same wages, same hours, and same regulations as before, they can come back, giving them until next Wednesday to come back; and that after that we will not be responsible for their positions.

Q. Have most of your men been in your employ for a long time?—A. A great many of them have grown up with the business.

Q. Have you ever had a strike?—A. Never had a complaint, even.

Q. Have you made it a rule to employ union men or nonunion men?—A. Did not recognize anybody. Each man was employed on his own responsibility.

Q. Made no difference to you whether they were union men or nonunion men?—A. No. We gave no favors either way. We hired our men by the hour; paid them by the hour.

Q. Do you contract with them as individuals?—A. Individuals, yes.

Q. Are they mostly native Americans?—A. Well, we have a great many Americans. We have a few Germans, some Swedes, and some Norwegians and some Englishmen.

Q. Where do you market your goods?—A. That is a pretty hard question to answer, for this reason: That I sell—this year I have sold about 90 per cent in the United States.

Q. All over the country?—A. Yes. Year before last I sold 40 per cent of my product in Europe and Australia and New Zealand. The reason for that is that there has been a special boom in my special line in this country this last sixteen or eighteen months, and it has required all my facilities to take care of my home trade, without seeking foreign business.

Q. Do you have peculiar machinery, peculiar to your manufacture?—A. Yes.

Q. Patents on it?—A. Yes.

Q. Is it in general use by the car manufacturers?—A. Yes. We have orders now to run our shop for six months.

Q. Is most of this machinery comparatively new?—A. A large portion of it is new, within the last few years. We commenced about eight years ago producing this automatic machinery, and have been gradually increasing the line.

Q. Is it mostly manufactured of iron and steel?—A. Yes, largely.

Q. You obtain your raw material here?—A. Except the steel.

Q. Where do you get that?—A. We use a large amount of English steel.

Q. Is it of a different quality?—A. It is a better quality than we can get in this country; more even quality. Then another reason—I don't know that you want it to go into your report—a good deal of our trade is foreign trade, and it suits the foreigners better to know that we use that steel. They have no confidence in American steel.

Q. Do you get any drawback on what you export?—A. No; there is not enough in it to go to the trouble of making up the papers.

Q. The steel in what you export really cuts no important figure?—A. No.

Q. You do not find yourself handicapped in obtaining a foreign market by that duty?—A. No. The cost of material is small in proportion to the labor.

Q. Do you encounter competition in foreign markets of foreign makers of similar machinery?—A. To an extent. The worst drawback we find in foreign

markets for our machinery is that we are too far advanced for them. The cheap labor in Europe does not require automatic machinery to produce the goods. The strikes and other labor troubles here force people into the thing to get the goods out at a reasonable cost. I wish to convey the idea that the labor people have forced the production of automatic machinery on the market by their actions.

Q. Do you wish to convey the idea that automatic machinery would not have been invented and brought into use?—A. So generally. It is especially true in connection with the manufacture of cans.

Q. What classes of manufacturers in this country are your largest customers?—A. The packers of meats, manufacturers of condensed milk, and fruit packers.

Q. Those large concerns manufacture their own cans, then?—A. Some of them do, and some buy their cans. The meat manufacturers all make their own cans, those of any size. The condensed milk people all make their own cans. The fruit packers, if they are very large, make their own cans, but there are a great many manufacturers here who make a business of making cans for the fruit packers. I say fruit packers; that covers vegetables and all that line of goods, tomatoes, peas, etc.

Q. How about the refiners of petroleum for export?—A. That is mostly handled by the Standard Oil Company, and they have their own plant and make their own cans.

Q. Do you know whether the fruit and milk and fish packers generally use American tin plate or not?—A. Yes; they do, except in a few cases. The meat packers use a good deal of foreign plate, because they get a drawback, which equalizes the cost, and there is a little bit of profit in it; but the packers of fruits and other goods that do not export use American plate almost entirely.

Q. The machinery you make works equally well with either the foreign or the domestic plate?—A. Yes; rather better with the American, because the American is more uniform in its thickness, width, and texture than the foreign.

Q. Better article?—A. An average better article.

Q. Is your business affected by the labor difficulties that have arisen here lately?—A. Yes; very seriously.

Q. Merely by some interference with your own force, or with the business of your customers?—A. Both. My own shop is practically idle; that is, my machine shop. My foundry is almost idle, because I have a large number of customers who are machinists; their men are all more or less on a strike, and they are doing nothing; so we are doing nothing to speak of.

Q. What is your opinion of the prospects of Chicago as a manufacturing center?—A. In what sense do you mean that?

Q. In all respects; taking all circumstances that affect the business into consideration.—A. Chicago would be the greatest manufacturing center in the world if it were not for the labor troubles and the poor protection we receive from our city officials.

Q. By that do you mean that you do not feel that your property is safe under police guardianship?—A. In cases of this kind all the city officials are so afraid of offending the labor vote that they practically remain inactive until they are forced to do something by some overt act that they can not overlook.

Q. Does this criticism apply to the present city administration especially or to the administration of the city generally?—A. Not to this administration especially. It has always been so. I have lived here 30 years.

Q. Do you make any distinction between parties?—A. No; it is always so.

Q. You think both parties alike cater to the prejudices of certain people?—A. They do, from the lowest city officials to the chief. They promised to supply ample protection, and I have now guarding my property three city policemen, but their orders are to remain absolutely neutral unless there is some extremely overt act done.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Is not that the proper attitude for them?—A. Not in cases of this kind. For instance, my nonunion men left my shop night before last. The city policemen walked down the street with them. A mob of 150 or 200 got out there and were throwing cinders and shouting "scabs," and using all sorts of rough language. The streets were full of young ladies that came out of the adjoining building. Yet these policemen never laid a hand on those men. Those men were shaking their fists in the faces of my men. Those policemen never did a thing; simply walked along. None of these men struck my men. They claimed they had no right to do anything unless the men were struck.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) The police claimed they had no right to do anything unless they saw some act of violence?—A. Yes; yet it intimidates my men and prevents them from doing their duty and earning their daily bread.

Q. They do not consider that the gathering of a crowd that extends insults to

the men in one way or another is an intimidation or act of violence?—A. That is it.

Q. Have you made any complaints to the chief of police or to the mayor?—A. I went to the assistant chief, whom I happened to be acquainted with, and he stated that he could not do anything.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Have you no ordinance or other law that prevents a man from provoking a breach of the peace?—A. There is an ordinance to that effect; that abusive language or profane language shall not be used on the street; but the police do not seem to want to exercise their authority. I had quite an aggravating case a few days ago. I sent my men with a witness to the attorney who represents the Manufacturers' Association. Mr. Wright is the attorney. And he said it would be useless to go into court, because the police justices would only laugh at him and throw him out, and he would lose his reputation as a lawyer by going in there.

Q. No effort made to administer the law when they are brought before the courts?—A. That is the feeling that exists among the better class of attorneys.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Is it your opinion that the local courts and the city authorities are generally intimidated by the strike spirit that prevails among the working people?—A. Make that police courts and justices, please. Do not include the higher courts, and then you have it right.

Q. You don't feel, then, that independent and impartial justice is exercised and meted out here by the authorities?—A. No; I do not.

Q. If that condition of things continues, what will be its effect on the manufacturing industry of Chicago?—A. It will drive it away—drive it to smaller towns and to places where there is less trouble.

Q. You think that would be the first result of it?—A. That is one of the results. My business—I could just as well do it in a suburban town as here.

Q. You get the same railroad rates?—A. Same railroad rates, same everything, except that it would not be quite so handy for my customers. It would necessitate my having a city office. I could save at least 25 per cent on the cost of my labor.

Q. That is to say, would you be able to get men for 25 per cent lower wages?—A. On the average; yes.

Q. How could that be?—A. Cheaper rents, cheaper living, and less competition for the same labor.

Q. Should you be able to find enough trained help for your business in smaller manufacturing cities of the vicinity?—A. Outside of a few experts.

Q. Have you contemplated a removal?—A. No; I am pretty thoroughly a Chicago man, without much thought of going to any other place.

Q. You expect, then, that these evils will be corrected by public opinion in one way or another?—A. I do not expect to live long enough to see that.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You think the workmen are creating public opinion themselves in Chicago, do you not?—A. Yes; in the city it is especially so. I base my opinion as to what my labor would cost me upon a comparison with one of my competitors who is located in a small town not a great distance from Philadelphia. His pay roll averages about 25 per cent less than mine for the same help. He does almost the same class of business.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you know anything about the cost of living of his employees compared with yours?—A. Only what the men now in my employ who have lived there tell me.

Q. What do they say?—A. Very much cheaper.

Q. Where?—A. There. Low rents, and not much opportunity to spend their money.

Q. Are you willing to state what wages you pay your different classes of employees?—A. I could not without my books. I can give you an average. My pay roll runs an average of about \$2.78 to \$2.82 for 10 hours, taking all of them, the cheap and the best, taking the total pay roll and dividing by the number of people employed.

Q. Most of your hands are skilled, then?—A. Yes; my best hands earn from \$2.50 to \$3.50 a day.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Has the average been going up?—A. Yes; right steadily for the last 2 years.

Q. What was it beyond 2 years ago?—A. Two years ago it was about \$2.70, averaged a little above and a little below, according to the time put in by the different men.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Have you made more than one increase during that time?—A. I have not made any increase for the whole; just for the individuals. We pay our men on the basis of what they can earn for us. We employ a man

and pay him after he has worked for a certain length of time, a week or 10 days, for what we decide that he can do and what he is worth; pay him on that basis.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Has he or his fellows any voice in saying what the wage shall be?—A. Only this, that if he is not satisfied with what we pay him he can quit.

Q. Are you opposed to organized labor?—A. I am, decidedly.

Q. Do you believe that the men who work in shops should have no voice in naming their wages and their hours of work and the conditions under which they work generally?—A. I do not believe that the average mechanic is sufficiently a good business man to dictate to his employers how the business should be run.

Q. Let us not say "dictated."—A. That is all it is.

Q. Let us say getting together and conferring with the employer as to what the wages and conditions should be.—A. I believe if I come to you for a job and you say you will pay me \$2, and I don't want \$2, it is my business to walk off. That is the way I hire all my men. I do not ask any man to work a minute for me that is not satisfied. He can quit any hour or any minute, and he gets his money up to the last minute.

Q. Men working in a certain trade have learned that trade, and that is all they know; that is, their trade is their capital. Would you deny them any voice in determining what the conditions of labor should be, hours of work, etc.?—A. The machinery business has been handled for years under certain customs, and the trade figure on their contracts on those customs, and it would be a radical change in everything to attempt to change these customs.

Q. Don't you believe a better condition would prevail in the industrial world if the employers would endeavor to be conciliatory with their men and take them into their confidence and consult with them and let them have some voice in saying what the conditions shall be?—A. In some cases, yes; but in the majority, no. I consider the average laboring mechanic as more or less of an overgrown boy. He wants a guide and a help, and when he is turned loose he gets erratic.

Q. Do you confer with your employees individually in regard to conditions of employment?—A. Whenever any of my men desire to talk to me my door is always open to them, and if there is anything wrong, if they have any complaints to make, they are always righted if they are right.

Q. As a matter of practice do they come to you and confer with you?—A. As a matter of practice or justice, if my foremen or superintendents do anything the employees think is not right, I am always ready to listen to the other side of the difference and personally am ready to settle the difference; but we have never had any trouble—as a firm, I mean.

Q. If the number of your employees was three or four times as large as it is now, would it be any convenience to you to treat with them as a union, or with committees of employees?—A. No.

Q. You do not recognize, then, that the union is a necessity or even a convenience in very large establishments?—A. No. The fact is the union is absolutely irresponsible, carries no guaranty with it that any arrangements it makes will be lasting for more than 1 week.

Q. Have you competitors in your business?—A. Yes.

Q. In different cities?—A. Yes.

Q. Wouldn't it be an advantage to you in a business way to know that all your competitors had to pay the same rate of wages that you had to pay, so that you would know how to go out and compete with them?—A. Well, no; not especially so. Our business is divided up into specialties. I have a certain line of specialties that nobody else makes, and others have exclusive lines, and so on through. We are only competitors on a certain line of standard goods, and that is largely sold on its quality. Price does not cut so much figure as the quality. The trade understands that the different qualities are made by the different manufacturers.

Q. Great captains of industry have testified before the commission that it would be an advantage to them to know their competitors had to pay the same wages they had to pay.—A. If I were building mining machinery or something that was standard all over the world, all just alike, then it would be; but I am building a specialty that can not be really compared with anything else.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Don't you believe that the union of workmen in various trades has had the effect to elevate and improve their conditions generally?—A. In some cases, yes. I do not think it has done much in Chicago.

Q. Why not in Chicago?—A. Because the workman who is not a first-class workman—and there is generally a sorehead who is the boss of the union—is one of the principal officials.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You think there are no exceptions to that in Chicago?—A. I don't know of a case.

Q. Do you know the arrangements the printers have with the publishers in Chicago?—A. Yes.

Q. You know they have an agreement?—A. Yes.

Q. You know they have no walking delegate to go around and interfere?—A. I know they have had, but that has been a fight that has cost the publishers of this city a great amount of money.

Q. Don't you think it a happy result at last?—A. No; I don't.

Q. Why not?—A. Because I believe in every man having capital invested in a business being able to manage the capital according to his own ideas and methods.

Q. You think the workmen should be denied the right to say how the capital is put into an industry shall be managed?—A. No; I say he shall get what he is worth. If he is not worth a certain sum, I don't propose to pay it.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Is it your opinion that trade unionism is expensive to the workmen?—A. Yes.

Q. That it tends to lower them?—A. Yes; and raises up the poor grade of mechanics.

Q. Do you think it sets a premium on inefficiency?—A. Yes; that has been my knowledge of it, so far. The men I have at work now are my best and most skillful men, and they are all nonunion men.

Q. Do you know whether they have been union men at any time, or not?—A. Out of the men I have at work to-day 2 belonged to the unions, but they say they have families and they got out; the balance are all nonunion men, with one exception. He says he joined the union once and walked the streets 6 weeks to pay for it, without anything to do.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Do you believe with the gentleman who testified yesterday that the labor union is a great trust?—A. It is the most emphatic trust.

Q. And you are opposed to it?—A. Yes.

Q. Are you opposed to the capital trust of the country?—A. When do you call a capital trust—when it is a single ownership?

Q. There are no such things as trusts; they are industrial combinations?—A. Industrial combinations—under some circumstances.

Q. You say they are disadvantageous?—A. No; advantageous.

Q. Will you state the circumstances under which they are advantageous?—A. When people get up such a fierce competition that there is no profit to anybody, where you, as a buyer, can not tell to-day what you can buy goods for to-morrow, and do not know what your competitor can buy for, and you are always making your estimates in the dark; where the goods are produced and prices are stated, each buyer of those goods knows that his competitor only has to pay the same money that he does, and he can base his prices on that and knows his competitor can not go any lower.

Q. What are the bad trusts then, in your opinion?—A. Combinations of people who simply combine to force prices up and give no other benefits.

Q. Can you name such trusts?—A. I would not care to.

Q. There are good and bad trusts, then, in industrial combinations?—A. Yes.

Q. Are there any good and bad labor trusts?—A. Such labor unions—there are a few, I understand, scattered through the East, that carry an insurance for their members, and a sick benefit, and are handled under those methods—such unions are a benefit to the people who belong to them, and also to the general public.

Q. Don't you know, as a matter of fact, that there are many such labor unions in Chicago?—A. Not that I know of; not to my personal knowledge. I have heard of such things, but I don't know personally. There is nothing in the by-laws of the machinists' union that indicates that.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Assuming that trade unionism is in the country to stay, what remedy do you think of for the evils in existence to-day?—A. That is a very hard question to answer. If certain legislation could be gotten up that would not be dependent on the vote of the public, or a commission appointed that would be absolutely independent of the votes of the public, to arbitrate these differences, it would be a benefit to all concerned.

Q. Would it not be an equal benefit if the working people belonging to the unions became thoroughly enlightened in the economic principles governing their labor, so that they themselves could, through Government and otherwise, prescribe the right rules and regulations?—A. Yes.

Q. You believe, then, sufficient and proper education is a remedy?—A. That is a helping remedy, I will say.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Don't you believe it is a duty that the employers owe to their country and to themselves and to the workmen to look upon organized labor as something that is fixed in our industrial system, and something that they

should try to get along with in the best possible way, instead of trying to destroy the union and the union trying to destroy them?—A. I have not seen any good plan to accomplish that result.

Q. Suppose the employers see no good plan and all are in the attitude you are in, and the workers are incapable, what is going to become of your industrial system?—A. Go to Europe.

Q. Working men and the employers, too?—A. No, the business.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You do not despair of your country or your city?—A. No.

Q. You believe remedies will be found for these evils?—A. In the course of time certain causes will bring about certain effects, but as long as the politicians can utilize the labor unions as they do now, or have been doing for years, it will be a serious state of affairs. You will notice from the history of Chicago that all the strikes we have had here have been about election time or just before city elections.

Q. Does it seem to you to be the policy of leading politicians to instigate strikes?—A. I don't consider officials of cities of this kind leading politicians.

Q. Do you consider that the petty politicians do it?—A. Yes; each alderman and each man of that kind desires an office, and works on that line as much as possible.

Q. You believe they thrive politically by discontent in labor circles, and do what they can to promote strikes and controversy?—A. Yes.

Q. Have the representatives of labor unions here been taken into political employment in one way or another?—A. All I know of that is what I have read in the papers.

Q. What do the papers say about it?—A. They claim there are quite a number of labor-union officials holding positions in the city employ, and the mayor stated in an interview a few days ago that those men were working at their trades for the city and had passed civil-service examinations, and that that entitled them to hold the positions whether they were officers in labor unions or not.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Do you know anything about your civil-service system?—A. Not personally, no; never came in contact with it.

Q. Is the standard high in that system?—A. I beg to be excused from answering that question.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you think of any legislation, State or national, that will tend to correct and overcome the evils of which you complain, and which will tend to the promotion of business generally, and your business in particular?—A. I don't think of any legislation which would affect my business in any way, except to promote the general prosperity of the country.

Q. You consider the present times auspicious for business, except for those labor difficulties?—A. Yes.

Q. No complaint to make, then, of existing laws, either State or national?—A. No.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) You spoke a moment ago about these difficulties coming often before elections.—A. Yes.

Q. Did you mean your local city elections?—A. Yes; I mean Chicago alone. I have not paid any attention to the outside.

Q. You can not speak as to State or national elections?—A. No; I have not paid any particular attention to that; but it has been the history of Chicago that nearly all the labor troubles have been about election times. Whether it is an accident or not I do not know.

Q. You also stated in the first part of your statement that during the time of depression you exported about 40 per cent of your product?—A. Yes.

Q. What countries did you come into competition with?—A. I shipped my goods to Australia, New Zealand, South America, and England. My largest customer was in Ireland. The people I come into competition with mostly are Germans and English.

Q. And your trade has fallen off to about 10 per cent?—A. Yes.

Q. Owing to a better demand in this country?—A. Yes; and my not paying the attention to obtaining the foreign business.

Q. During the time of depression did you necessarily come into competition with cheap labor in Europe?—A. Yes.

Q. What is the difference between the price of labor in this country and the price of labor in Europe of a similar character to what you employ?—A. I can not say of my own personal knowledge, except from hearsay; but the same people I pay, say, \$3 a day, 10 hours here, can be hired in England for about \$2. I wish to qualify that by saying that the English mechanic will not do the amount of work that the American mechanic will of the same character.

Q. Why is that?—A. The American mechanics are more expert; they accomplish more; they are not so slow in their movements.

Q. Is that accounted for partly by their better living?—A. Yes; and by the tools that are used in this country. They get into the habit of moving quicker, handling their machines faster, simply because the machines are so arranged. The English machines are clumsy, not easily manipulated; so the American mechanic can produce more on American machines than an Englishman will. He is not used to our kind of tools. I have had that experience with Englishmen that I have employed in my own shop. It takes them quite a good while to break themselves into American ways.

Q. Have you ever made any observation on the ground in Europe?—A. No; I have never been across the water.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Notwithstanding the superior efficiency of the American mechanic, are not the wages enough lower over there to give your competitors an advantage over you, except where it is provided against in some way?—A. Yes, counting in the freights and other expenses of getting the goods to the same market.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) If the condition should come that you seem to think possibly may come, that the manufacturing interest may be lessened in this country and increased in Europe, what effect will that have on the laboring men of this country?—A. It will be to their detriment.

Q. If the demand for labor in this country is lessened, what effect does that have upon the price of labor?—A. Reduces it. It also prevents expert mechanics from emigrating from Europe to this country to obtain better wages. It shuts off our supply of a large number of good men.

Q. The loss then would not fall alone upon the manufacturer?—A. No.

Q. Falls equally heavy upon the laboring man?—A. Yes.

Q. You spoke a moment ago about the conditions of unions in Chicago, and their being different often from others in the East. Does that condition that you speak of obtain only in Chicago?—A. I don't quite understand your meaning.

Q. What I desire to know is: Are there not also some unions in the West similar to those you have in mind in the East?—A. Yes, there are some unions in the West conducted like those in the East. They are national unions. They cover the whole country.

Q. Isn't there a possibility that in time that condition may become universal in unionism?—A. Not until they get a different class of men as leaders. My personal acquaintance with some of the leaders of the machinists' union, perhaps, makes me biased in my opinion as to their qualities.

Q. You think the political leaders inside of the trade unions are looking partly to their own self-aggrandizement?—A. Every time; first, last, and always.

Q. And not at all times for the benefit of their trade unions?—A. That is a later consideration, if it does not interfere with their interests.

Q. Will not that condition of affairs in time become known and felt by the unions?—A. I have talked with a number of the men in the union; they do not seem to take that under consideration at all. If he is a good fellow, can get up and make a smart speech, he is their man. That is about all the qualities he needs.

Q. Our present condition has probably developed from a worse condition. Is there not a prospect for a better development of trade unions over the country?—A. I don't think so.

Q. One object in trade unionism, as I understand it, is to make the member a better citizen, make him a more intelligent man, and provide the ways and means to educate his family better, to give him more hours of recreation, and opportunities for studying and reading. All of that would make a better citizen of him, would it not?—A. If it were carried out. That reads nice in the books, but it is not carried out in the workings.

Q. You do not hope, then, that that will be carried out in Chicago during your lifetime?—A. No; I haven't any faith in it.

Q. Have you any idea in a general way how much the capital invested in manufacturing industries here in Chicago has increased in the last 15 or 20 years?—A. I could not give you the figures. It has increased immensely, the same as all other business has increased.

Q. It has increased notwithstanding these local differences?—A. Yes.

Q. Would it have increased more rapidly if conditions had been better?—A. I think so. I think there would have been less establishments started in small cities if the conditions had been better here.

Q. Has Chicago peculiar advantages over other cities in other parts of the country for manufacturing?—A. The fact that it is largely the center of the country and has great railroad facilities makes it advantageous, compared with a good many other points.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) If all the men in your employ were organized into a union, not connected with or responsible to any outside organization, and the walking delegate, or business agent, as you call him, were eliminated, should you be willing to consult with a committee selected by those men, by that organization, as to what their wages should be, their hours of labor, etc.?—A. No.

Q. You do not want the union in any guise or under any circumstances, then?—A. No. My experience has been quite varied and somewhat large. The more heads you have together the less knowledge you get out of the whole deal. Every man has his own opinion and is pulling and hauling, and he has a whole lot of trouble, and very little business is effected.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You say this with reference to your own business?—A. With reference to my general knowledge of acting with business men.

Q. Would you apply the same to business establishments generally?—A. Yes.

Q. Manufacturing generally?—A. Yes.

Q. You think, then, the union is a nuisance to business and of no advantage to the men?—A. Yes. The only advantage of the union is in some cases to obtain employment for a poor workman at greater wages than he is worth.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) In times of depression and great competition in manufacturing or producing, is there not danger of the producer putting down the price of his product in order to effect sales, and then coming back and asking his men to put down the price of their day's work until the condition may be almost disastrous to the workmen?—A. In some cases that has been done, but in my own case I did not reduce the wages of a man during the whole of the hard times.

Q. When you could not find a market here you found it abroad?—A. Yes.

Q. And you ran the full force?—A. I gave all the men employment that I could with the business I had. I took a great many contracts that I hardly made anything out of, simply to keep the shop running.

Q. Then in times of depression you sometimes run at a small margin?—A. Yes.

Q. And in times of prosperity, of course, you think you ought to have an opportunity of making that up?—A. Yes; I do.

Q. And in time of depression is there a possibility that the men might be willing to concede something in the price of labor?—A. I have never yet found the workman willing to reduce his own wages.

Q. In time of prosperity what is the—A. (Interrupting.) He immediately commences to want more, and does not take into consideration the fact that you have carried him through the whole winter, when he would probably have been walking the street if you had not been good natured and appreciated his past service and wanted to take him on. One of the men who is one of the leading labor officers in this city now was in my employ for a number of years. During the depression—he admits this to me since—during the depression he did not earn his wages for months. He returned my goodness by going before the body of the union and saying that C. A. Christy & Co.'s shop is the chief mark; they are very busy, behind with their orders, and we can knock them out easy. He made that speech in the union.

Q. Would you be favorable to any kind of State or national arbitration law?—A. Yes; if it could be done so that the arbitrators were free from any political influence.

Q. Is there not a possibility that that condition of affairs could be—A. (Interrupting.) That could be done.

Q. You think that would be to the interest of both the manufacturers and the employees?—A. I do.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Would not that presuppose the existence of a union?—A. What do you mean, Mr. Clarke?

Q. How could the labor side be represented except by unions; temporary labor?—A. I am answering his question on present existing circumstances. We are obliged to acknowledge the facts that there are unions, and, if they still continue to exist, the only remedy that I see for them is something of that character.

One of the principal objections that I have to unionism, as it now exists, is the fact that they tell a mechanic, "You must do so much of a certain class of work in so many hours and no more." I have had that in my own business. The foremen complained that certain men were doing only so much work. I told them to inquire and find out the reason; they were capable of doing more; and the machines would do much more. They said that was the rule set by the union; they could do so much and no more. There are a great many times that a mechanic can run three or four machines just as well as one; but the union will not permit them to run more than one machine. I am perfectly willing to pay

ny mechanics for all that they do for me. If they run three machines, I will pay them more money than I would if they only ran one, because it is product that I am after.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) The excuse has been made by unions heretofore that in that way they give employment to labor that is unemployed.—A. That applies to very dull times, but in times like the present there is employment for every good man.

Q. You think it should not apply at the present time?—A. No.

Q. You think that a man, whether he is a trades-union man or not, should be able to earn—A. (Interrupting.) All that he is capable of earning.

Q. All that he is capable of earning. Now, suppose you have a man in your employ who belongs to a trade union and is not called on to do as much as some other man, what do you give him?—A. We pay him what he is worth to us on the general run.

Q. Does the trades-union man earn the same amount of pay?—A. As the good man.

Q. The same as the good man. Would that bring down the efficiency to the poor man and take the better pay from the good?—A. Yes. Their demand is that they be paid 28 cents an hour for all machinists of a certain class. Now, there are a great many men who are not capable of earning 28 cents an hour or 20 cents an hour. On certain things they can earn fair wages, but they are not men that you can work on different classes of work—that is, from one thing to another. They can only do one or two things; they are specialists.

Q. You said in the beginning that you had obtained information that there would be a strike in your shop. Did you obtain information also as to what that strike was about?—A. The day before that information was given me the walking delegate presented me with a document that he would like to have me sign. I told him I would consider the matter and he could call on me at 2 o'clock Saturday. That was Thursday that he called on me, I think. He said all right; there would be nothing done and no interference until after he had seen me. That night he reported in the union that he had seen me and that I was to decide the matter Saturday, but he did not think that I would sign the paper, so he advised a strike. One of the members of the union gave that information to one of my foremen, because he said that I treated him so well that he could not very well see me harmed by a strike, and he wanted me to take such steps as I thought necessary in the matter.

Q. What was the substance of that paper or demand?—A. I have not got it with me, but I have got it upstairs. It is the same printed demand that was submitted to Fraser & Chalmers and all the rest of the machinery men here. I should like to let you have it and take a copy of it, and then I want to keep it. I am thinking seriously of having it framed.

MR. CLARKE. Unless you think of some statements that you would like to make—

THE WITNESS. No; as I told you before, I have no hobbies to ride. Of course, these are only my ideas of the matter. I have had a long and varied experience with labor, commencing when I was 21 years old in the railroad service, and I have handled a great many men all my life, and think I am capable of passing some small judgment on it.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) You never had any friction?—A. No; never had a strike under me until this. That is one reason why I discharged them.

Following is a copy of the agreement referred to by the witness as being submitted to him for his signature by the walking delegate of the machinists' union:

"Agreement between ——— and ———, of the International Association of Machinists.

"Date. ———

"1. That on and after ——— the ——— agree to employ only members of the International Association of Machinists in good standing on machinists' work and die and tool work.

"2. Machinists shall be recognized as per constitution of subordinate lodges of the International Association of Machinists, and shall be either a general workman, a competent floor hand, lathe hand, vise hand, planer hand, shaper hand, milling-machine hand, slotting-machine hand, die sinker and tool maker, or boring mill hand.

"3. The minimum rate of wages for machinists shall be 28 cents per hour, and for die and tool work 33½ cents per hour.

"4. All overtime up to 12 o'clock midnight shall be paid for at the rate of one and one-half time.

"5. After 12 o'clock, and all legal holidays and Sundays, shall be paid for at the rate of double time.

"6. The employment of apprentices shall be in accordance with constitution of the International Association of Machinists.

"7. Nine hours shall constitute a day's work. All time worked over 9 hours shall be governed in accordance with sections 4 and 5.

"8. When necessary to reduce the force of employees on account of slackness of work the ——— Company hereby agree that employees who have been laid off will be given first opportunity for reemployment, seniority and proficiency to govern.

"9. In case of a grievance arising the ——— Company hereby agree to receive a committee of their employees to investigate and, if possible, adjust the same. If no adjustment is reached the case shall be referred to the ——— Company and the executive board, District No. 8, International Association of Machinists. If no satisfactory settlement is agreed on, the whole subject-matter shall be submitted to a board of arbitration of five persons, two to be selected by the ——— Company, two by District No. 8, International Association of Machinists, and the four to choose a fifth arbitrator; the decision reached by this board to be binding on both parties to this agreement.

"10. This agreement shall be in force until March 1, 1901.

"11. Thirty days' notice shall be given prior to March 1, 1901, by one party of this agreement to the other for a renewal of the agreement or any desired change in the same.

"Signed:

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 21, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. ABRAHAM BISNO,

Fare collector, Union Elevated Railway Company.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. Mr. Abraham Bisno, of Chicago, collector of fares for the Union Elevated Railway Company, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. A. Bisno.

Q. Post-office address.—A. 523 Evergreen avenue, Chicago.

Q. Present occupation.—A. Collecting fares on the loop here for the Union Elevated Railway Company.

Q. Former occupation.—A. I am a cloak maker by trade—made cloaks for some years—and I have had several occupations within the last few years. I have been the walking delegate for our union.

Q. What union is that?—A. The Chicago Cloak Makers' Union, and I have also been inspecting factories for the State.

Q. Under what administration?—A. Under Governor Altgeld's administration.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You can not speak in a representative capacity now for the workmen of Chicago who are affected by these strikes that are going on at this time?—A. I do not know; no, I think not.

Q. You think not?—A. No; I stated that to Mr. Clarke yesterday in speaking about it; that I should not represent anybody except some experience in the matter that I should like to submit.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Is the union to which you belong still in existence?—A. It is lately organized again; it was broken up after the defeat of the strike 2 years ago.

Q. Have you made a considerable study of labor problems?—A. Yes; within the last 18 years I have belonged to several labor organizations and to 2 educational societies, and have read a good deal on the labor problem, and have participated personally in various ways in the effort to effect what I thought would redress the grievances that we have by making an effort to get into the organized union.

Q. How long have you lived in this country?—A. Ever since 1881.

Q. What country did you come from?—A. Russia. I am a Russian Jew.

Q. What part of Russia?—A. Kiev, in the southern part of Russia.

Q. Are you a believer in the union of labor?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you recognize that there are any imperfections or abuses in the organizations or in their practices?—A. Yes; it is a good deal the result of outside influences and conditions that workmen have got to cope with. They can not help it very well—growing out of it as they acquire strength.

Q. Do you think they get mixed up in politics at all?—A. Yes; occasionally.

Q. Do you think it is a good thing for the walking delegates, business agents, or other representatives of unions to accept political positions?—A. No; I am not in favor of that.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Is it done?—A. In some cases, I think it is.

Q. (By Mr. CLARK.) You think it gives them a sort of divided interest, whereby they are subject to the temptation of selling out their constituents, the working people?—A. No; I think the interests are not germane to the legitimate labor movement, and come in as an influence in the meeting halls to somewhat distract the regular and orderly proceedings of the business properly belonging to the organization.

Q. Do you believe that the condition of the working people has generally been improved by unions?—A. Yes, in some cases, but there are limitations to that. There are in this city very nearly 110,000 people employed that I know of, taken from the reports of the factory inspector as given by the manufacturers themselves, the number of people that they employ, where it is almost impossible to have trade unions—such places as the street cars, the stockyard, Pullman, the Deering, the McCormicks, and Crane & Co.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Crane—what is that?—A. They employ very nearly 3,000 people.

Q. Making what?—A. Making steam-fittings supplies, plumbing supplies, pipes, and so on. In all of these places I have mentioned they have had their quarrels and the workmen have been defeated, and if they attempted to form any organization the men were generally discharged. Lately in the stockyards the men have formed a little organization, and they sent a committee to effect some redress of a grievance, and the committee was fired. The committee of 6 and the committee of 10, or any committee that has appeared before any of the firms represented in the stockyards' concern, has been fired, and any man that was known to have any connection with the organization was fired. A system of spotters, detectives, was put in vogue all through the yards to ascertain who was connected with any organization, and a man that was connected with an organization was fired; his services were no longer required; they generally fire a man.

Q. How did you learn that, Mr. Bisno?—A. From the men.

Q. From the men?—A. Yes. While inspecting factories I was made acquainted with a large number of the men in the factories, and I am stating these conditions—trying to ascertain what are the facts in the case. Then the newspapers gave out these facts, too, and it was not denied by the authorities of the stockyards; and that same thing is true in these factories that I mentioned. They had a quarrel in 1894 at Crane Brothers; the molders struck, and after the molders went on strike all the other men in the shop went out on strike, and they had a very severely contested quarrel. The result was that the men lost, and since then any show of an organization in this factory is followed by the discharge of every man connected with the organization. The same thing is true of McCormick's; they had a big strike in 1886.

Q. And yet has there not been a wonderful growth of trade unionism in Chicago in the last 2 years?—A. Yes; in a way there has; and yet there are these signs, that in the biggest factories in every trade—you take the printing trades, and they are the best organized in the city; and yet the three largest factories in the city have defeated the printers and have seal shops, and work 10 hours instead of 9 hours, according to the rules of the printers.

Q. For instance, you mean?—A. Yes, Conke's and Hennevelt's.

Q. You mean printing offices?—A. Yes; and the same thing is true in the cigar makers. Vallens, the biggest cigar maker, has defeated his men several times. There is no show for an organization where a man has a lot of capital and can send out agents in the South all through the States to find the people starving, so to speak, and import labor at his mercy, as they did at the stockyards—Armour did, for instance, during 1886 and 1887. Men like that have generally succeeded here in this city in defeating strike organizations. It is true that they have gained in smaller concerns where the boss was not so strong and was not able to crush them out quite as easily as these large concerns; but these large concerns that I have been referring to employ more than one-half the entire number of people employed in the factories of this city.

Q. Have you any statistics in regard to the growth of trade unions?—A. Yes.

Q. In the 2 years past in Chicago, I mean?—A. It has been quite an uncertain

way—for instance, in the case of the machinists, I think that the main reason for the quarrel is that the price of their commodities has gone up about 25 per cent.

Q. I was asking you about the growth of trade unions.—A. I have followed that considerably.

Q. Have you any statistics showing the increase of trade unions in Chicago in 2 years' time?—A. No; but I should like to say in answer to that question that it has been very uncertain. Certain trades have organized and had a quarrel and been defeated and broken up; others have organized and held up their organization. It all depends upon their ability to hold the organization and not be broken up; but almost every workman has been in a trade union at one time or another, and has made this effort to be in an organization.

Q. Has there been an especially large growth in the building trades of Chicago in 2 years' time?—A. They have had the best organization in the city. They have had their organization very near perfect for several years, except that they have had to stand a good many hard-contested quarrels with the big contractors within the last 2 or 3 years.

Q. You were going to speak about the engineers' trouble; you may go on with them.—A. My impression is that the reason for that is that the price of food has gone up about 25 per cent, while the price of labor has not gone up. I have collected here some data on that. If you have no objection, I will submit them. The price of meat has gone up in this city 30 per cent.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Since when?—A. Since 2 years ago. That has been admitted by the meat men themselves in a statement that they made at the beginning of this year.

Q. Does that mean meat generally or some particular kind?—A. Meat generally—cattle and meat.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Is it not better to use some definite terms, some particular kind of meat, than to use it in a general way? How do you get at it?—A. The truth is—for instance, in my own case I used to pay 8 cents for a pound of meat that my wife used to use, and I pay 12 now for the same thing. That would be an increase of 50 per cent; but it is said there are some classes of meat where the increase is somewhat less. There is no question that 25 per cent would be an underestimate of the increase in the price of meat within the last 2 years.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You do not express any opinion as to whether it was too low before or not?—A. No, no; only that it would have a direct effect upon my means of subsistence.

Q. Yes; go on with your statement.—A. Bread has increased 25 per cent; that, too, has been told by the bakers.

Q. Since when?—A. Since 2 years ago.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Is that a change in the price of a loaf or in the weight of the loaf?—A. That would affect the weight of the loaf, I think.

Q. Has flour increased?—A. Yes.

Q. Has wheat increased in that time?—A. Yes, 2 years ago wheat was sold at 50 cents a bushel or so; wheat has increased in price within the last 2 years.

Q. How long did wheat sell at 50 cents a bushel 2 years ago?—A. Oh, not a very long time, I think.

Q. What was the average for 2 years ago?—A. I do not think I can answer that. I have answered this question about bread, making it a general statement of my observation.

Q. Do you know of wheat selling 2 years ago for 50 cents a bushel at this time of the year?—A. No.

Q. You are making your calculations now on every commodity to the present time?—A. Yes.

Q. And the 50 cents a bushel—A. (Interrupting.) I do not know; I do not refer to any particular time. I am satisfied that the price of bread has gone up, but I do not know that I could refer to the particular month, etc.

Q. Have you weighed a loaf to know whether it has decreased in weight, or do you take that merely from common rumor?—A. In my own case I eat a particular class of bread—Jews' bread. I am a Jew and I know that my wife used to buy the same bread—there was a time about 3 years ago when we used to buy the same bread for 3 cents, and then the price somewhat increased and we used to buy the same bread for 4 cents; we are paying 5 cents now for that same bread.

Q. The same weight of bread?—A. No; I did not weigh it, but it is a sort of standard shape and weight of bread that we generally use, and most of the Jewish families use it, and it appears to me to be the same thing.

Q. Is that made from wheat flour?—A. Yes; that is my personal experience. When I spoke about bread being raised 25 per cent, that is the general impres-

sion; that has been stated in the papers in summing up the price of articles; 25 per cent in the rise of bread was spoken of.

Q. Is there any trust or combination that controls the price of bread?—A. I do not think there is; no.

Q. The reason why I am trying to get at it is that I know something about the price of wheat, and I want to know why we did not get more for our wheat?—A. I do not think there is. In fact, that question belongs to the other phase. That same thing, I understand, is true in coffee. Butterine, 30 per cent rise; potatoes, 30; rent—a \$7 flat now would rent for \$8; a \$8 for \$9; a \$9 for \$10; a \$10 for \$12. That, too, is my personal observation in this city, so far as I pay rent. The average workman would pay about \$9 rent, and he would have to pay for the same accommodations about \$10 now instead of \$8. Coal has gone up 40 per cent. We used to pay \$5 a ton for coal here for some years; we pay \$7 now.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Anthracite?—A. Yes.

Q. Hard coal?—A. Hard coal, yes; we pay \$7 now, and the workmen have got to pay out all that more for their living, and they have no raise or advance in wages, except in particular cases.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Did you get steady work two years ago?—Personally I did; but there was not quite so much work two years ago as there is now—there was not quite as much work in 1896, for instance.

Q. Does it not make some difference to the workman whether he has steady work or whether he has not?—A. Yes.

Q. At the same price?—A. Yes; but when he is selling it it ought not to come in as a factor. If I sell my work and my work was worth 2 years ago, say \$2, and I was able for \$2 to buy so much food, etc., this year if I make just as much in my work and I get \$2 and I am able to buy only \$1.60 worth of the necessities of life, I am getting smaller wages.

Q. But if you sell 200 days' work in this year?—A. I am benefited.

Q. And sold only 175 days last year, does not that increase your wages?—A. Yes; that may be a personal benefit to me, and that is my privilege and I want to get that; but I do not want to sell an individual day's work this year and not make as much as I made 3 years ago.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you not recognize the economic fact that when work is slack it is because the manufacturer has not the work to give?—A. Yes.

Q. And therefore can not pay as well?—A. Well, but he is paying worse now when he has lots of work; that is what I am submitting.

Q. Yes; I know that, but you have got to work out the problem from both points of view before you can solve it economically. You look at it from the standpoint of the working man; that he is entitled to that wage that he earns according to the relative cost of living, whether the times are good or bad, and you do not look at it, apparently, from the standpoint of the manufacturer—the employer of labor—who has to tide over bad times as well as good?—A. I think so. I would say this, that when times are good and the manufacturer is prosperous he is in a better condition to pay better wages than when times are bad and he is running at a loss. Now, after times are good and we have got what we call prosperity, we are entitled to get better wages than we did get at the time when our bosses ran their business at a loss. If we get worse wages than we got at that time—because the same dollar buys less than it bought then and we only get the same number of dollars a day—the result is that we are dissatisfied because of a reduction of wages in times of prosperity, when our bosses are coin- ing money.

Q. Yours may be an argument in favor of raising wages in prosperous times but how about keeping wages along in those times? May it not be possible that the manufacturer in good times is making up the losses that he sustained by running his works in bad times?—A. I do not want to make up his losses on that because I do not know of a single instance where the working men have pledged themselves on any such contract.

Q. Do you think the workingman— A. (Interrupting.) I have never offered personally at any time to my boss a chance to work me cheap when times shall be good because he gives me employment when times are bad. When such see for me to make any such contract with him, any such contract on his part will be unreasonable, in my opinion.

Q. Do you think that the employer could make any more out of the product than can economically be assigned to the wages' account?—A. No.

Q. Well, then, of course, that has got to take into consideration bad times as well as good?—A. Yes.

Q. If mills are run at a loss in bad times, or without profit, is it not the necessity of the workingman as well as of the employer that he should make a profit

when times are good?—A. Yes; but all that does not seem to me at all to show why we should work at smaller wages during good times.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Are you working at lower wages now than 2 years ago?—A. Yes.

Q. Is that true generally of labor?—A. Yes; in this sense, that I am getting the same number of dollars a day now that I got 2 years ago.

Q. You take an individual case; that might not prove anything?—A. In the other case I have got some increase on that in the rate of wages.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You heard the testimony of this gentleman a while ago in regard to 25,000 men who were working in the coal fields of Illinois, did you not?—A. Yes; and I understand that the coal miners are not striking now. I have had in mind that I should like to say a word or two in favor of the men and against the whole lot of talk that their demands are unreasonable, and the larger number of manufacturers, who will make all sorts of accusations. I belong to the other fellows, and I should like to say a word or two as to why the coal miners are not striking.

Q. I want to speak further about the coal miners and this argument that you are working for less wages than you did 2 years ago, because the cost of living has gone up. That is not the case of these 25,000 coal miners in the State of Illinois?—A. No.

Q. Have not the wages been increased in the steel industry?—A. Yes.

Q. That which you are speaking about is the exception and not the rule, is it not, so far as Illinois is concerned?—A. What I am speaking about is these places where they are now on strike and are demanding conditions that they are entitled to, because really their wages are being reduced now with the increased cost of living. I have got some information here, if you are interested in the figures as to the rise of wages here in this city.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Let us hear it.—A. There has been in this city a rise in wages within the last 2 years in most trades and in most factories, but the rise has not been quite as much as the rise in food products, etc.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you know what proportion of the workingman's wages goes for food here?—A. Yes. I have that figured out in this way: For a \$500 man and family—that gets as wages about \$500 a year—food would be \$250; rent, \$108; clothing, \$75; coal, \$30; miscellaneous, such as gas and other miscellaneous expenses, \$37. This would make 50 per cent for food, 22 per cent for rent, 15 per cent for clothing, 6 per cent for coal, 7 per cent for miscellaneous expenses.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) That makes how much?—A. Five hundred dollars.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Have all those general expenses increased about as the food expense has increased?—A. Well, rent and coal and clothing did. I can not say clothing has increased within the last two years; clothing has increased, if we should go back to 1894 and 1895.

Q. But that is comparing a depressed period with a prosperous period?—A. Yes. The wages have not increased since 1894 proportionately to the increase of the price of the means of subsistence.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) What lines are you speaking of when you say the wages have not increased in proportion to the cost of living?—A. For instance, street railways; their wages have not increased at all. I am working now for the same price; get \$1.50 a day, 12 hours, at my particular class of work; and that same price was paid all along.

Q. They are not organized?—A. No; they are not organized, and have not very many chances to organize, because those of them that are too smart in the trade are fired; and then a large number of street railways in the different places have had strikes, and the men have lost in the quarrels—Cleveland, Brooklyn, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia. Most of the strikes in the street-railway business have been lost; and the men in Chicago are afraid, and they are working for the same price that they worked for in 1893, 1894, and 1895, in our trade. That same thing is true of most of our large factories. For instance, common labor does not pay more now than \$1.50 a day for 10 hours, 15 cents an hour. Common labor is a very large item in the present manufacturing system. A man that runs the average drill press is considered a common laborer. You can teach a man to do that; it doesn't take you very long. Or even small lathes, or saws. In the iron trades they take a man and put him on as sort of common laborer; a large proportion of the people employed in the factories belong to that class, I am satisfied. I have not accurate statistics on the subject, but it would probably be three-fourths of all the people employed in the large factories, such as Deering's and McCormick's.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) That would leave 25 per cent for skilled labor?—A. Yes.

Q. What is the price per day or hour for skilled labor?—A. That is what is now being contested. The machinists are getting \$2.50 a day; some a little more. What they are asking is 28 cents an hour, or 32 cents for the very highest class of skilled labor, die and tool workers; and that is the reason of their quarrel—so you see that in these places I am mentioning the price of labor has not gone up, or not very much.

I have a table here as to the rise in wages.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Will you state from what source you get the statistics?—A. Yes; in the Illinois steel mill there has been a rise in wages, and it has been published all through the country that there has been a rise in wages in the steel trade. There have been two rises in wages in the steel trade within the last year, and I got the information from the newspapers, and some of the men I know working in steel mills. I worked in the Western Electric Company 2 weeks only lately, and I know the men, and I know what they get and what they used to get. Out at Norton Brothers—that is a factory making tin cans—they had a very long-contested strike, and I was up and saw the men during the strike, and the circulars they sent out, and the statement of grievances, etc.

Q. You passed on from the steel workers. You said there were two increases in the last year.—A. I am simply answering your question as to the sources of information. I will give you the result after I have answered that question.

The same thing is true in the piano trade—as to the conditions of the trade—there is a strike now on hand. The same thing is true in the stockyard trade. There has been a quarrel, and the stockyards have raised the wages. The printers' union furnished the information that they have had a reduction of hours of labor, half an hour a year before, and half an hour this last year; beginning this year—they work nine hours now.

Q. In the book and job trade?—A. That would apply to the printers working at the book and job trade.

Q. Not the newspaper printers?—A. No. And the garment workers, I know, from connection with the trade—I am a garment worker myself; and in the mills and foundries the price of labor has risen 15 per cent.

Q. Mills and foundries—what do you mean by that?—A. Steel mills; I mean Illinois steel mills.

Q. Two increases amount to 15 per cent?—A. Yes; in common labor.

Q. In common labor only?—A. Yes. I do not know their agreement with the amalgamated association. I understand that the amalgamated association had fairly good wages before. I had a talk on that point with a man that came to the trust conference here. He used to be the president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, and he thought the price of their labor had not run down very seriously even through the bad times.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) That is based on a scale, is it not, as to what is received for the product?

Mr. KENNEDY. Sliding scale?

The WITNESS. Yes. I am now speaking of the rise in wages of unorganized workmen; the rise in wages that came naturally through the competition of America; through the increased demand for labor. Fifteen per cent is what they have increased in wages here at the Illinois Steel Company, South Chicago.

Q. Common labor?—A. Yes.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Can you give us the table?—A. Yes; I can leave it here. (The table referred to follows:)

Rise in wages since January, 1898.

	Per cent of increase.	Number employed.
Mills and foundries	20	15,000
Pullman		5,500
Western Electric		5,500
Norton Brothers	5	1,600
Pianos and organs	10	5,000
Lumber, doors, etc	12	5,000
Furniture	12	4,000
Stock yards	12	2,500
Printing	10	2,500
Garments	10	3,900
Average	11	

I should like to say another thing in reference to trade unions and strikes and other things that have been discussed here. I have been a walking delegate for some time, personally, and I have had occasionally to do with manufactures, and I have had to stand the abuse of being called what they did here yesterday—called a leech.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) It seems to me this table will not be intelligible without explanation. Now, you say printing—the increase has been 10 per cent. There has been no increase, as I understand it, in the wages of the evening newspaper printers in Chicago; yet this says “printing,” and one might gather the idea from glancing at this table that there was a 10 per cent advance generally.—A. No; in the last 2 years they have got a reduction of 1 hour. There has been no increase in money. They have got a reduction of 1 hour. Their association has agreed with the several printing concerns to work $9\frac{1}{2}$ hours, and they got a half hour decrease the year before.

Q. At the same wages that they were getting for 10 hours?—A. Yes. The fact is the question of wages was not adjusted in the agreement. It was left to the several firms, but I am told by John Harding, the secretary and business agent, that there has been no reduction of wages. There is a reduction of half an hour in the first year and another half hour the next year. I consider that an increase of 10 per cent.

Q. What do the figures in the last column mean, the number of employees?—A. Yes.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you understand that these strikes in Chicago have been on account of the refusal of employers to accede to the demands of labor for an increase in wages?—A. No; I understand that they are all pretending they don't want to have anything to do with the walking delegate and recognizing the union. The first demand of the machinists is that none but members of the union be employed.

I should like to say something in connection with this. Unless a firm recognizes the union and agrees to employ nobody except members of the union the union can not exist. In my own trade, when our union was weak, our best men were victimized, and were out of a job the most of the time; I mean our most intelligent men—men who did not want to put up with abuse easily. It was only when our union got so strong that we could protect our intelligent members that we were in a position to have a union at all. Two years ago, after we had lost a quarrel with a big firm which was very bitterly contested, and threw us on our knees, so to speak, I made a motion in our union to give up the organization, because if we were not able to protect every individual member of the organization all it was good for was to benefit scabs, to make hirelings and lickspittles, etc., in the trade—to make them foremen and contractors, etc. The bosses always supported those fellows and victimized our intelligent members—you may not call them intelligent. The fact was that we could not have an organization at all unless we had an organization that was competent to protect the individual member from being thrown out of employment for being a union man. We have never had anything to say when any of our men were thrown out of employment, except when they were thrown out of employment evidently for generating union thought. So when these men demand that the union be recognized to the extent of not employing other people except members of their union, this is essential to the very existence of their organization. It is a life-and-death question with them.

My experience is also that it is not the walking delegate that is creating trouble. In fact, so far as my holding my job in the union was concerned, it would have paid for me that there should be no trouble. I got my wages regularly when there was no trouble. The organization needs a man to collect dues, to find work for men who have no work, to find who needs men. There are a thousand and one things to be done by a walking delegate in an organization. If there is an organization at all the man is quite safe with his job; but when there is a strike the very existence of the organization is endangered, and consequently the job of the fellow is endangered; so it is better for the walking delegate that there should be no quarrel and no strike, and the walking delegate is generally against a strike, because his information is more extensive.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Suppose a walking delegate gets into politics?—A. I should like to discuss this trade-union feature before I get to politics. I have something to say on that, too. My experience is that the rank and file of the men in the union hall—I mean that are most radical in the union hall, are not so when they go to talk to the boss. I do not think it is true that a manufacturer himself can get the real sentiment of his men speaking to them individually. If a big manufacturer—that is, a rich fellow—takes a poor man, with whom the job is an extremely precious article, into his office and talks to him, he is not likely

to get the real sentiments. The man will be afraid to tell him about the truth of it. The real sentiments are usually expressed in the union hall. There he votes and talks and works and voices his opinion and it is this opinion of the rank and file of the men that is being expressed when the walking delegate appears in a given factory and asks for a certain thing.

A gentleman testified here yesterday that the national officers are much more reasonable to talk to than the local officers. That is simply because the rank and file of the men have not such a hold on the national officers and can not throw national officers out of their jobs so easily for failing to carry out the wishes of the men who are suffering the abuses, and therefore a national officer can afford to be somewhat more lenient in dealing with the people. But if I work directly for a union and am told to go to a firm and make certain demands, I must report every word I said to the men there working in that factory. They insist on every abuse being remedied, and I must therefore submit to the manufacturer the abuse and the remedy; the rank and file of the men are directly controlling me. It is a hard job to be a walking delegate; it is a hard job to work for a big body of men. So far as I know, all so-called walking delegates—every one of them—would be able to make a better living in different callings. They do that work at a sacrifice, in a way, simply because they feel that the workmen's interests are being abused; that they are the sufferers, and in the interest of humanity and civilization—interest as a man. Generally a man acquires principles; he falls in line with their interests, and shares his ability and interests with them so as to get redress for their troubles. It is a wrong on the part of intelligent men to throw on the walking delegate all the blame for creating the trouble.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You heard something yesterday about a suspicion that certain business agents or walking delegates were corrupt?—A. Yes. Bosses would only be too willing that there should be such walking delegates, and they would not make such insinuations if that were true. If it were true they would keep still about it, but it is not true. A man becomes a walking delegate generally after he has been tried a long time—been fighting in the trade and had his sufferings; and the men are so alive, the interests that are being touched are so dear and near to the very life of the men, that they are alive to any suspicion in a matter like that where a man is not faithful. I know of one single case, where a man named Alberg, in the cutters' union—he was a member of the executive board, and finally sold out to the boss and became an assistant superintendent during a strike. I have not met during all this time a single workman in that trade who would shake hands with him. They would spit on him. They would go a considerable distance in order to avoid him. They can not think of any re-
 pite, of anything born, that lives, that is meaner than treachery of that kind. The movements these men are engaged in are of vital importance to them; they consider them sacred to their lives and to those of their families, and they consider that treachery of that kind is the meanest that a human being can commit. A burglar, a murderer, a man that commits rape—any crime I could think of, is not half as mean as to endanger the lives and interests of the poor people who are in a quarrel against people that have so much more power than they have. So I do not think there is anything in this.

I should like to say something about politics. You have heard testimony here yesterday and to-day—the proposition made was to use the Government to appoint judges or some high officials that are not amenable to electors to crush out unions. Now, all these manufacturers want to use the Government in their effort to defeat the trade-union men. That same idea is expressed among the trade-union men.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) The witness did not state it was for the purpose of crushing out trade unionism. It was to get justice, was it not?—A. He was not in favor of trade unions. He was not in favor of dealing with his men in an organized form in any shape or form. He said they were a lot of children; they were not safe outside on the street by themselves unless they were under his guidance. And yet, in order to save himself from these children, he wants to use the Federal Government, where the judges would not be amenable to the votes of the people, to crush out these people.

Q. It is the State government and not the Federal. The Federal Government already appoints its judges.—A. That same thing expresses itself in an effort on the part of the workmen to see that their side is somewhat represented. I remember a time when it was not quite safe to do picket duty.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Why not?—A. Because the police were against us. Simply walking within a number of blocks of the factory was not permitted. That was in 1886. The picket to-day is essential to the good conduct of a strike. In our trade the employers have imported men from other States, and they have told these men that they wanted workmen, but did not tell them anything

about the strike; simply told them they wanted workmen to come to their place. They offered them work for the year with an agreement at very good wages, so as to break up our strike. Now some of those men, when they come to the city, and we can approach them, we can persuade them that it is not right on their part to cut our throats. That is what we consider they are doing when we are engaged in a struggle at great sacrifice to ourselves and our families—the man that takes our job is actually cutting our throats. I should much prefer being hit over the head with a sandbag to being reduced to the mercy of my boss after I have lost a quarrel. The man that takes my job is inflicting on me a severe damage; and if I can approach a man and submit the conditions to him, and tell him how I was treated—this is what I was paid, this is the character of the suit, this is the price for labor, that is what has been the price for labor, this is how the work was cut down—there are ten chances to one I can persuade him not to take my job. I remember times when I was not permitted to stand on the sidewalk within 4 blocks of my boss's place. Now the police have got orders to interfere only when there is actual violence, and they let me go on the corner and meet the man who asks for the job and talk to him; and this is what the manufacturers call the city authorities being in favor of the strikers. There is not a single case where the city authorities have neglected to arrest and prosecute men that have actually violated the law; but because they have not made all the policemen arrest and prosecute strikers, the manufacturers, every one of them, complain that the city is not dealing justly with them. Now, I should like to say, in the first place, that picketing is essential to the conduct of a strike; that is, being permitted to go around a factory and see who goes in and comes out, and argue with the nonunion man or with the scab, because the workmen are the under dog, so to say, in the quarrel, and they have those chances.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Suppose that goes so far as to use insulting remarks.—A. The man against whom the insulting remarks are being used has recourse to law. There is a statute prohibiting a man from calling another bad names; there is another prohibiting a man from assaulting, and the law ought to be carried out to the letter. The community can not live unless the law is enforced.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Now that you speak of law, I want to ask you right there whether you consider yourself in any way in the employment of the concern after you have left its employment.—A. I am consulting all the time my own interests and the support of my family, and when I am working for a firm that I have helped to maintain and which has grown partially because of my labor, I consider that I have some moral right to the job.

Q. What right do you claim to have under the law to interfere with the conduct of any man's business when you sustain no contract relation whatever to that concern?—A. Simply the right of persuasion; the right of submitting my interests to my fellowmen; the right to talk to a scab and tell him the damages he is inflicting on me and what work we are trying to accomplish, and the fact that if we accomplish it his interest is going to be benefited; the right of common and joint agreement between me and another man to abstain from working when our employers are abusing us in one form or another.

Q. Then you must do this with reference to the hope of being reemployed by that same concern?—A. Yes.

Q. That is all the interest you have in it, then—the hope of being reemployed?—A. Yes; and that hope is generally verified, because every man that testified here yesterday—I mean at least both the shoe man and the other man—testified that they would much rather have their own employees, even after the strike, than to put in new ones; that their plants are adapted to the same class of employees.

Q. You recognize that the strike is a coercive measure—an act of war?—A. Partially; yes.

Q. Then you recognize that picketing is an act of war?—A. Partially; yes. It is to prevent the boss from getting employees so that he may be forced to reemploy us on the terms submitted in the proposition that may be under consideration.

Q. You recognize, then, that an act of war is an interference with the civil rights of a concern?—A. Yes; but then the reduction in wages, or failing to raise the wages when conditions warrant, are acts of war and interference with my civil rights in a time of peace. It is the same thing. I really earn my support in working in the factory. This man that testified here yesterday—he said, in my own case, the work is so specialized that my men are only adapted to do this particular class of work, and this particular job is the only means of his support; and if his wages are reduced, and if a foreman is put on and abuses him, and if his wages are not increased as the cost of living is increased, or if his boss does not share

with him, the boss is to that extent making war on this man's interest; and that is war, in the nature of things, you see.

Q. If you and your employer do not get on harmoniously together, do not agree as to wages or hours of labor, or any other condition of employment, you have the option to leave and get employment elsewhere.—A. Not very well; not according to the statement of the man yesterday; there were not any people engaged in the business that use this particular class of skill. Let me cite to you one case that seems to me to cover a large class: A little while ago, about 3 months ago, I worked at the Western Electric Company. While there I went through one of the floors, and there I saw a man feeding a buzz saw with rubber plates. There was a big stack of rubber plates, and he took one of the pieces of plate to put it in that buzz saw and run it through. I asked him how long he had worked there. He said 10 years. He gets \$1.50 a day. He had worked at that buzz saw for 3 years. He has a big stack of rubber plates he must feed into that buzz saw every day, that is, 10 hours. When he talked to me he had to move his hand in this way [indicating], what he is used to, as though he would take a piece of rubber plate and put it under this buzz saw. He is a part of this machine. It is not hard work. He has not developed his muscle and has not become hardy enough to apply himself to common labor anywhere, so that he could go out and take a pick and shovel and earn his living. He has become a part of that machine. That machine is the means of his subsistence and that of his family.

Q. Do you claim, as a matter of law and civil right—A. (Interrupting.) He ought to have some civil rights, and his interests should be protected by law. When the facts are so plain, so evident, and the interests are so vital, so extensive, I claim it ought to be recognized and dealt with according to the necessities of the case.

Q. Your contention is, then, if I understand you, that he has a continuing interest in the employment, even after he leaves it voluntarily?—A. Yes, through the process of strike, and the organization; through the process that we have been discussing.

Q. Now, I would like to have you describe what you consider is legitimate as a means of persuasion.—A. I have partially described that. I can do that further.

Q. I wish you would.—A. I simply tell a man, if he is imported—take the case like that—I tell him partially the history of our trade, what we have succeeded in doing, what the organization has done, that if the organization is broken up the trade will go back to a certain condition in which we have existed before, the abuses that we have been suffering, and the redress we are trying to effect; also offering, in a majority of cases, to provide his support and a ticket for him to go back. Most organizations spend in every strike a very large proportion of their funds for tickets for people who have been imported to go back, or for the maintenance of the men—three or four dollars a week, whatever the average striker gets. If a man shows he understands the trade, and has been brought here by the cunning of the boss, we generally offer to pay him his subsistence the same as any other striker. So these are the inducements offered by the organization—partial payment for subsistence, etc.

Q. Supposing these arguments and inducements do not prevail upon him and he goes into the shop and goes to work, what is the next step?—A. That a good deal depends upon the temper of the men that argue. There are some men that will quietly submit if an injury is inflicted on them, and others will take the next best means to get redress. All the trade unions find violence against their interests.

Q. What are the steps of persuasion brought into use to influence a man who has failed to yield to argument and has gone to work?—A. Well, several. For instance in one case we have alienated a man from the affections of his co-church members.

Q. That you call persuasion?—A. Yes; we went into the church and denounced the fellow as a traitor to our interests, cutting our throats, sort of sinning against the religious laws, inflicting damage on so many families.

Q. That is one step?—A. That was one of the means; called him a scab.

Q. Called him a scab?—A. Yes; on the streets.

Q. To his face?—A. Yes. As I told you, it depends upon the temperament of the man. We would go after him in a hundred and one ways, if we can, to drive him out of the community.

Q. That you call persuasion?—A. Within the law; and I think under certain conditions it is right for a person to violate the law and take the consequences. Supposing I am fined for calling a man a scab. I am put into a fine, say, of \$10 and have to go to jail for 20 days. The abuse that I am suffering may be so great that I would take my medicine. I would tell a man he was a scab, and take my medicine for it and go to jail.

Q. Do you instruct your children to put his children under the ban at school because they are the children of a scab?—A. Well, I talk about it to my family, to my wife, and my children would likely hear it, and if he is my neighbor it would follow that they would get the impression that the other fellow's children are bad. I can not say that I instruct them. I would say the same thing in my family that you would say if you thought that you had any grievance.

Q. If half a dozen or 20 men should surround him in the street and call out "Scab!" to him, would you call that persuasion?—A. Well, it all depends on how big the offense is. I do not know that I would call that persuasion; it is coercion. If the offense is—for instance, in our own case the abuse that we have had to stand was so intense and our side was so evidently right that the entire community, the baker, the grocer, the saloon keeper, the clergyman, the lawyer, the doctor, and everybody that knew of the grievance we were suffering, was evidently disposed to side with us. It was so plain that the man who helped to bring up our quarrel committed so great an offense that according to public opinion in our neighborhood there was not anything that we could do to the fellow that would not have been justified. He committed an outrage on us, a great outrage on us, and we all felt it, and we felt kind of horror-struck every time we thought of it.

Q. Now, when you do some of these things that you call persuasion, or admit may possibly be coercion, to him in the street where he has a right to be, what do you think is the duty of the police?—A. I am satisfied that the law has got to take its course, but I submit that there may be cases where I am satisfied to take my medicine.

Q. You think it is the duty of the police to protect a man from— A. (Interrupting.) To enforce the law. I am perfectly satisfied to give way to Mr. Darrow. He is one of our ablest men.

(By Mr. CLARKE.) We should be happy to give you an opportunity to finish later.

(Mr. Bisno was recalled at 3.10 p. m., and testified as follows:)

Mr. Chalmers said yesterday that the English workmen had driven the trade out of their own country, implying that we were scabbing on the English. Now, that is true. In every case, if a class of people are willing to work cheaper they will get more work than those that are insisting on better wages. That is true in the case of the scab. In my trade scabs have had work longer than good union men, because they were satisfied to subject themselves to the will of their bosses and be used more intensely, so that they could make greater profits and work cheaper for their bosses than union men. But if we should look upon it in this way we should before long become slaves actually; that is, if Chicago should make no effort to better its condition, that is, if the working people should make no effort to better their condition, because some other town is going to scab, no town would make any effort at all, and the bosses would have their way so completely that the working people would become slaves. The idea that the employers will take their plants to small towns and there run the town and get all the police protection they want is a mistake. In small industrial towns the working people have a better hold on a city administration and on a county administration than in a large city like this; so that if Mr. Chalmers, for instance, should take his factory and make a small factory town, the votes of his men in that small town, anywhere he may go, will tell; and should they have to strike, and should he import scabs from some other town to that town, the working people, in trying to persuade them not to take their places, could manage in a small town much more successfully than they could in such a large town, where the other side could more successfully exert a strong influence on the city administration. Therefore I do not believe in the cry that they are going to take the industries out of this town into some other town, small towns, and distribute them. The labor market in a great city is an advantage to them, and they can get no political advantage the other way. Therefore I think that threat is simply a sham, is not true.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you think the manufacturers in Chicago generally desire to reduce their working people to a condition of slavery?—A. Yes; on the same basis that they generally desire to buy as cheap goods, when they go out to buy, as they possibly can; and labor is an item in the expenses of manufacturing the product.

Q. On the contrary, do you not believe that they will gladly pay as high wages as the conditions under which they sell their goods will permit them to pay?—A. The market is made partially by the wages they pay to their workmen. For instance, if I am in the business of manufacturing shoes and wages are low in that business, I shall be able to sell shoes low; but if the trade unions exert an influence and raise wages I shall have to raise the price of my shoes. That was

testified to by the shoeman here yesterday—that he would raise the price of shoes because the wages for his workmen would be going up.

Q. Do you not think there is a general willingness on the part of manufacturers to share fairly and equitably the income from the product with the wage-earners who helped to produce it?—A. Not until the wage-earners can force it from them. It is not a voluntary matter. I do not know of a single case, in my experience of 18 years as a wage-earner, where the boss has raised my wages voluntarily because he has been doing very well in business.

Q. Have you known of any instances in manufacturing where the owners of the mills have kept them running in dull times, and even have continued to pay the same wages that they paid in better times, in order that the help might not be scattered nor subjected to distress, and have actually, during a long period, sacrificed all of their profits?—A. I can not say that I know of the profits of the manufacturers, but I have known of cases where manufacturers told me personally that they were running the business at a loss. That has been especially so in the largest concerns in the several trades I have known; and in either case I found that they had during bad times succeeded in killing off the smaller men in their trade and extended the market for their goods. In this way they were benefited in the long run by getting big markets—establishing a kind of monopoly—extending the business during the dull times, when they were able to knock the smaller man out of business, so that when the good times came they had the markets to themselves, and increased their business in good times. I do not know that the intention was to keep the men employed, because those men that they did not want employed, did not have any work for, they have not employed them; they have discharged or fired as many men as they could not make use of; but they have tried very hard, in a number of cases that I know of, to have the factory run during the dull times, with the hope that the plant might survive the attack of the bad times, and if the small men went to the bottom they would have the market for themselves when better times came.

Q. Do you think that a well-paid, and therefore well-housed, well-clothed, and well-fed class of employees are better and more efficient workmen than those who are reduced to a condition of mere slavery?—A. Yes; but in the bargain between the individual capitalists and the workman, the capitalists never consider that. I am satisfied that if the workmen succeed in raising their standard of living, and have better food, and better housing, and better clothes, and keep themselves stronger, in the long run they will be able to be better workmen and recompensate their boss, so that he would not lose by the process. But the individual capitalist never has that in mind, and that must be left to a strong trade union to enforce.

Q. You think the individual capitalist never has that in mind?—A. Can not have that in mind. He must always have in mind the idea that he must get his labor as cheap as he can, because if he does not the other fellow will throw him out of business.

Q. Don't you think he finds it to his interest to have the very efficient class of workmen that I have described?—A. Yes; he had better pay a man \$2.50 a day than \$1.75, if the \$2.50 man did proportionately more or better work. But a \$2.50 man may work for \$2.25, and there is where the contention comes in. A man that is worth \$2.50 may work for \$2.25; his neighbor may come and offer to do the work of the \$2.50 man for \$2.25; and the employer will make the effort first to get the man worth \$2.50 to work for \$2.25; and therefore unless the workmen are organized and can enforce the price of \$2.50 for the \$2.50 man, the employer gets the advantage. But if you say the boss can employ the better man, if he pays better wages, to better advantage in his business, I agree with you perfectly.

Q. If you knew of a case where a corporation owned a lot of tenements inhabited by its working people, and there came on a period of depression so that the mill could not run, and during that period when the workmen were idle the corporation did not turn them out of their houses, but let them stay there and did not charge them any rent, what would you say to that?—A. I should think that employer had humane consideration for his help, and I should consider him a model employer.

Q. Don't you know there are a great many such instances as that in the manufacturing districts in this country?—A. Some, yes; I understand that Mr. Nelson, in southern Illinois, is sharing his profits with his employees, and he is spending large sums of money in educating, economically speaking, the working people for a better state of affairs.

Q. Now, if employers are generally hostile to their employed, why do they help them to acquire lots and build houses, and loan money to them for the purpose, and let them pay when they can conveniently out of their wages?—A. I must say

that I know, comparatively speaking, few of that class of employers and that class of workmen. My acquaintances generally pay rent and have no houses of their own, and their bosses do not care for them as long as they can squeeze the juice out of them; when that is done they are generally thrown on the street.

Q. If you knew there were thousands of such cases as that in this country—
A. (Interrupting.) I should hold those fellows up and think of them as fine fellows.

Q. Would it modify your views in regard to the rapacity and selfishness and hardness of the employers as a class?—A. Quite likely, if I had to do with those people; but in speaking of the industrial condition here in Chicago, as we have it, I will submit, as before, that it is essential for the maintenance of life that the workmen maintain a good, strong trade union, and every cent they get above what would be the market price if there were no union is due to the force of their organization. Organization has benefited every trade where the workmen have organized, and has simply lifted them up.

I should like to say another thing in reference to the remedy, if you will permit me. Most of the employers here have suggested a remedy, and all directed one way; to get the power into the hands of somebody to settle this thing, whom the workmen can not reach through their votes. That would be establishing an industrial despotism in this country, which I do not think the working people of this country will tolerate. If the working people can not effect redress through their votes, the idea, incorporated into law, that has been suggested by the manufacturers here, would breed a revolution, because if a man can not get redress against oppression through his vote and through peaceful methods, he will naturally have to fight for them. I do not think that this idea that the manufacturers seem to be forcing now ought to take place in the United States. I want to speak, though, of some remedies that it seems to me ought to be introduced. As I told you this morning, in the large manufacturing plants in this city all strikes have been defeated.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) All strikes?—A. Yes; in every large manufacturing plant every effort has been defeated. The working people have to continuously contend to hold their own in wages and in hours; so they will have to address themselves, it seems to me, to the legislative halls of this country in order to get redress. I am therefore in favor of getting through State legislation, and, if possible, through Congress, laws prohibiting employers from employing a man or woman or child longer than a certain number of hours. I am in favor of an 8-hour day; but even if we limited it to 9 hours, or even to 10, it would be a benefit to the workmen. My experience here is that it is not a question between 8 and 9 and 10, but a question between 8 and 14. During those busy times a large number of manufacturers are working their men 12 or 13 or 14 hours a day. They pay extra, that is true; but it throws a number of people out of employment in the first place, and a man who works 13 or 14 hours a day is so exhausted that all his vitality is taxed out of him, and the father of a family is being killed by hard work.

Q. Is it not a voluntary matter with a workman as a general thing?—A. Yes; voluntary to the extent that you are at liberty to go. If anybody shows you a revolver or sand bag and says, "Shell out," you are at liberty to shell out or get it in the neck. You have that liberty.

Q. You think, then, the men who are working more than 10 hours a day are under some sort of restraint to do it?—A. Yes; because a job is a precious object, and because if a man was fired he would be likely to go around idle for some time and his family would be subjected to starvation. Therefore all labor organizations would like to reduce the hours of labor under 16, and are against overtime.

Q. Are there no instances in which laborers ask for overtime employment?—A. Yes; individually, for this reason: That when a man has not enough of an income to support his family he would be satisfied, under the stress of circumstances, to work himself to death; but if he can arrange it through a society of his so that another man will not be likely to take the other 3 or 4 hours work away from him—another man be allowed to work overtime and he be deprived of work—then he would be satisfied that 8 hours would be enough. He works the 14 hours mainly because the other man takes the number of hours work away from him.

Q. Would you apply the same legal limit to all occupations?—A. I think under our State constitution we ought to get a law for minors, for those under 21, for women, and for all such as would come in under the constitution, and the law would not be declared unconstitutional; and immediately after the Federal and State constitutions were so changed that Congress or legislatures were permitted to legislate on the freedom of contract, so that it would not be called interfering with freedom of contract, I should be in favor of prohibiting any man, except where he employs himself—a farmer, a man working for himself patching shoes

at his own house—I would be against allowing any man to employ another man more than the statutory time.

Q. Do you not recognize the necessities of some occupations requiring longer service in a day than other occupations?—A. I do; but that could be divided so as to put more men to work. For instance, in my own calling I am working 12 hours a day, 2 shifts of us. We work 12 during the day and 12 during the night. Now, they could put 3 men there, working 8 hours each, covering the 24 hours.

Q. But you would want the same wages that you have now for the shorter number of hours?—A. I do not think the law ought to designate the wages. That would settle itself on the same terms as it does now. I want as much wages as I can get, because my boss wants to get me as cheap as he can. That would be a natural tendency all the time.

Q. If a third more men were introduced it would increase the labor cost of production by just so much, and therefore the employer would have to get just so much higher price for his product?—A. Yes.

Q. You think that could be done economically, do you not?—A. Yes; I have an impression that that could be done economically, for this reason—that the invention of machinery has increased our ability to produce several fold. While I was inspecting factories I saw a number of those, and if you have no objection I will take time to describe some of them.

Q. I do not care to have that just in this connection, because I want to ask another question in this connection, but we shall be happy to hear that a little later. Speaking about the difference in employments and the time to be given to each, some employments are recognized as unhealthy and others as agreeable to health. Now, while you might put an 8-hour limit or a 6-hour limit on work in a close factory where there is a great noise of machinery or where there is a great deal of a strain on the nervous system, wouldn't it be unreasonable to apply the same limit to agricultural labor, which is outdoors, where they breathe the fresh air, come in contact with the earth, enjoying quiet, and where there is no particular nervous strain?—A. I think that agricultural labor has generally been omitted, and probably rightly so, from labor legislation, or legislation that applies to the factory work proper. We did not have labor legislation of the same kind I am proposing now—there was no agitation in its favor—before the factory system was introduced. The agricultural laborer to-day is under the same conditions as he was, say, a hundred years ago, almost; but the factory work is under different conditions. I had in mind the factory help.

Q. Could there be, in your judgment, legislation applicable to the form of contracting for a factory laborer that would not apply also to the farm laborer of the same class?—A. Yes; we have got that class of legislation. Since that would be beneficial to our people, and since that is a remedy to an evil that has arisen with the development of the present conditions, it seems to me it would be reasonable to have this class of legislation. I am not passing judgment on this, by the way, because it may develop large capitalist farms where the farm laborer would come in under the same exemptions as the laborer working in a foundry with the production of different classes of machinery.

Q. What particular economic reason, or physical reason, is there for your desire to limit the hours of labor in a day to 9 or 10?—A. It would simply eliminate the competition between the men for getting a job; it would distribute the work among the people more equally.

Q. Supposing there came to be more men than jobs?—A. Then I would limit to 6, not 8. It would all depend upon the necessity of the conditions.

Q. Supposing the process should go on so that there were still more men than could be furnished with work, you would then cut it down to 4?—A. Likely; yes. I would do whatever the conditions required, just as I would buy more food when there is an increase in my family.

Q. Supposing this made the labor cost of production so great that those producing the goods were unable to market them?—A. The invention of machinery would have a material bearing on the answer to this question. We are developing along that line. The shortening of hours becomes a necessity. We should not need to shorten the hours to-day if it were not for the fact that our ability to produce the things we consume is so much greater to-day than it was before.

Q. The same machinery would be put into use by the competitors of these same manufacturers, would it not?—A. Yes.

Q. And in many cases men could be found who would work more hours in a day, and in some cases the laws of a State or country would not be so protective as those which you ask for: how, then, could the manufacturers carry on their business and give regular and remunerative employment to labor?—A. You are inferring that the 8-hour law would hold good in one State and would not hold

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good in another State. You are inferring the same thing that Mr. Chalmers said about the English—that we are scabbing on the English, and other people will be scabbing on us.

Q. I want to get at your idea—whether you would introduce the reform you advocate in one State until you could introduce it in all?—A. No; I do not think I would wait until we could do that, because the same thing applies to the individual manufacturer. We had a strike to raise the price of cloaks. One manufacturer says: "I would give you the raise provided you can get the man in Philadelphia, the man in New York, and the man in Chicago across the street from where I live to pay the same price; providing your power extends so greatly that you embrace all the cloak making in the United States." So far as we could extend our power and embrace the whole United States in our domain, to that extent we were successful. But I would not wait, because in this case the power of the workmen is generated partially by the friction. The fact that we have a quarrel in one place sets other men to trying to better their condition, and they join a union; and in this way, through this friction, and constant agitation, and constant effort, the organization becomes greater and greater and embraces a larger field.

Q. You recognize the fact, then, that the reform you advocate must, in order to become effective or economically possible, be practically coextensive with the country?—A. I do; in time, in order to be perfectly successful; but I would begin, so far as I am concerned, in Illinois; and I am satisfied there are plenty of fellows in Pennsylvania who are thinking the same way, and they want to begin it with Pennsylvania, and so in New York. I want to cite one case that would bear materially on this very question. We had a law here in Illinois prohibiting the employment of women more than 8 hours a day and prohibiting the employment of children under 14. There is a glass factory in Alton, Ill., that employed a large number of children under 14, and it was to the interest of the employer to employ children. When the factory inspectors went out there to enforce the law they said they would have to shut up factory. When the factory inspectors enforced the law they did shut up 5 out of 10 of their factories, because they could not get children enough in Alton over 14 to feed the number of blowers. They sent agents to Indiana, where the manufacturers employed children under 14 years old, telling those manufacturers: "Gentlemen, you are taking an undue and unreasonable advantage of us. You are employing children under 14 in your State, making the same class of goods. This class of advantage is not right." They got it stirred up, and before long they enacted even a more radical statute in Indiana than they had in Illinois; but if we had not tried it in Illinois it is likely the people in Indiana would not. This corporation sent a committee to the governor to stop us from enforcing the law, and did all sorts of things to interfere with our enforcing the law. This very corporation was instrumental in getting a law in an adjoining State because it affected their interests. Mr. Tilt, the gentleman who testified here yesterday, went to Boston to find out what effect labor legislation there had had on their interests after the law prohibiting the employment of women longer than 8 hours a day was enforced in the factories. He went for the manufacturers' association in order to see whether or not Massachusetts could be brought to the same level as Illinois. So, as I say, if one State begins, the interests affected are of such a character that it naturally happens; it is no fault of the government.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You recognize that if one State has any advantage over other States in that respect the manufacturers are at a disadvantage in the market until the other States can be brought up to that standard?—A. Yes; partially. I should say also that the grievances from which the working people are suffering are of such intense and vital character that the working people ought to ignore that and make their fight in every State and every community where they can, using as much force and power as they possibly can.

Q. Have you studied the conditions of manufacture in the South?—A. Partially.

Q. You know, I suppose, that they work more hours in a day there than they do in some industries in the Northern States, and that younger children are employed there than in the North?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you consider that that gives the manufacturers in the South an advantage over the manufacturers in the North in the common market?—A. Partially; but it seems the bureau of labor statistics of Massachusetts is not very much alarmed on that. I read one of their reports—I can not just now think what month, one of these bulletins covering separate questions—one of the bulletins covered the question of the manufacture of that class of textiles manufactured in Massachusetts—on this subject, and it was shown that the principal industry which it was said Georgia and the Carolinas were going to take away from Mas-

Massachusetts was growing much more rapidly in Massachusetts than in the South. It seems that the people in the South, especially the colored people, are not very well adapted to the factory work, and that the high skill in Massachusetts, the greater intensity of work, and the greater intelligence applied to the work are overbalancing the longer hours, and the smaller children, and the lower wages in the South.

Q. Don't you know that the colored people have not been allowed in the factories in the South except in two or three instances recently?—A. Yes; I understand there is quite a prejudice against their being permitted to work.

Q. Don't you know that the most of the factory help in the manufacturing districts of the South is generally considered a very good class of labor, largely native Americans of sufficient intelligence to operate the machines skillfully, and that they are very glad to work the number of hours in a day that the factories are run?—A. Yes; I think you are partially right. Let me cite to you some experience right here in this city in reference to this very thing, and I think I can tell you my opinion on the subject somewhat clearly. I am a cloak maker by trade. I am not now working at it. About 8 years ago a man name Rosenthal, an acquaintance of mine, came to me and said: "I think I am going to open a shop on Dixon street. Dixon street is a Polish neighborhood. The people there are mostly day laborers, working around Deering's, and are a strong, physically vigorous people, very ignorant, and work for small wages." I just smiled and said: "Well, there are not any tailors out there. What are you going to do?" He said, "I have got five or six hundred dollars, and I am going to invest it in teaching some of the boys and girls in that neighborhood to make me pants. After I have taught them the business, as they can not speak English, they are likely to stay by me, and I can get boys and girls to work for \$3, \$4, and \$5 a week." The fellow, I understand, now is worth about fifteen or twenty thousand dollars. He has two tenement houses. He is employing many people, mostly Poles. He used every cent of the several hundred dollars he had until he taught his people, but when he finally taught them he replaced the higher skill of other communities with that of that community. Mr. Biefeld, of a cloak firm in this city, has planted a similar shop on Sixty-third street, and another on Ashland avenue and Eighteenth street—different communities, communities that were not engaged in that business at all; many foreign people; taught them the business, and have chased our people out of the business; and whenever we had a quarrel—strike—because the wages came down too severely and we had to work too hard for our living, these very shops that were planted were used against us and defeated our efforts. That same thing is done on a national scale. Manufacturers are transplanting their factories among people that have not been reduced to factory conditions as yet. They are planting so-called civilization. Before long probably they will go to China and Japan. I understand that English manufacturers are trying to do that in India. The labor movement will have such competition and cheaper labor to compete with for a living until such time as we make better arrangements in society. But as it is, I do not think I am afraid of that. If I were I ought to give up now and begin to work at the Chinaman's wages to start with; then I should be quite sure that the Chinaman would never compete me out of business. But I do not think it is necessary in this process of evolution; I do not see in that a reason why we should stop our trade unions, and trying to get labor legislation, and all the benefits we can from the growth of civilization, invention, machinery, etc.

Q. You properly recognize this as a great educational movement; but you say you would begin in one State where you would have the power and opportunity to begin, even though the condition might not be general, and even though it may subject the manufacturers of that one State to inequality and hardship in the general market?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, let me state this proposition to you: If you knew of a factory in Chicago in one department of which print cloths were made on a large scale, and in another department of which they were converted into finished goods for the market, and you learned that the owners of that factory could buy print cloths from the South, and have them delivered at the factory here at a lower cost than they could be produced for in its own print-cloth department, so that it would abandon that department entirely, and throw out of employment a large number of hands, and go South and erect a factory and produce that same class of goods there, do you think that is an argument in favor of beginning in one State at a time?—A. No; it is not an argument in favor of beginning in one State at a time; it is simply submitting the problem in an intenser form. I should have to do two things, I think. In the first place, I would, under conditions of that kind, pay a dollar a week for a walking delegate to go South and educate the people there; send enough men there to educate them, so that they would not compete

the life out of me; and, in the next place, I would hold my boss in such check as I could, so that he would not reduce my wages below living wages.

Q. Suppose you did send a walking delegate or other trade-union leader or agitator to the South and the operatives there warned him to leave and told him they had no use for him?—A. When he is fighting for his life or for that of ourselves he ought to stay there. It is not a problem thrown on the workingmen that they can throw off, you see. It is like a plague coming on us; we have to do a thousand and one things the best we can in order to fight it off. A man in Massachusetts can not live on the wages that a man in some small communities in the South can.

Q. Then you think they possess natural advantages in the South over Massachusetts or Illinois?—A. Well, it might be. Yes; it might be that a man that has a big farm and partially makes a living from the farm can send his girls to work for less money than if he worked for himself.

Q. Supposing they claim the right in a free government to have the benefit of their natural advantages, would you have any law, if you could have one, to prevent that?—A. If I could get a national law prohibiting the boss from employing the workman more than 8 hours a day, I would do so gladly. I think it is a very sensible method of solving a very great problem.

Q. Supposing they prevent the enactment of such a law as that; so that it becomes an impracticable measure of reform, what would you do then?—A. I should be at a disadvantage and should have a fight on my hands. I should have to submit, because I want to support my family. I can conceive of a state of affairs where I would work for \$3 a week, so as to have bread and butter, if not bread and butter then bread and water, to keep myself and family alive. I can conceive of a thing like that. I should feel very bad, and I would do everything I could to avert the calamity.

Q. Then in the ultimate you recognize the fact that it is the general market which controls the ability of the employer to pay wages?—A. Yes; in a way.

Q. And that general market is determined by competition with all who have access to it?—A. Yes; in a way. I understand I can not ask my employer \$5 for making a cloak that he must sell for \$4. He can not pay me that.

Q. Then the manufacturer is not entirely selfish and sordid and tyrannical when he refuses to accede to demands?—A. No; I did not charge him with that. I said the exigencies of their business, the nature of their business, forces them continuously to reduce wages or to wring more labor out of the laborer for the same amount of money than they formerly did. That is the nature of competition. The conditions force the workingmen to organize to maintain wages, and to strike for higher wages, because if he did not he would be left with no other means of support. As a matter of fact, we have been run down so much that at one time our people worked 18 hours a day in order to barely keep up. Some of our people died from exhaustion and overwork.

Q. Where was that?—A. In the sweat-shop trade in this city. Those were the conditions that existed in an industry where the people were not organized, and the bosses had clear play, and were working for cheapness and cheapness all the time.

Q. Was that sweat-shop business confined entirely to the clothing trade?—A. Yes.

Q. Were most of the people engaged in it immigrants from European countries?—A. Yes; but there was a very large portion of Americans. And, by the way, in reference to immigrants from European countries, what these manufacturers have testified, that they are better workmen, that, in my mind, simply means more helpless, more subject to the conditions imposed by the manufacturers until a man acquires the language—man or woman—and knows how to look for something else; they are more at the mercy of their bosses than the others that know the country. Now, for instance, as soon as those people know the language they are just as good trade unionists and just as loyal to the best interests of the country as any American. They are quite helpless under the circumstances. I am simply stating this as an instance showing that where there is no resistance it is possible to drive the lifeblood out of the people through the taking of profits.

Q. Don't you believe the condition of both employer and employed would be promoted and improved if there were an agreement between them that there should be no strike and no lockout under any circumstances, and that all the differences should be submitted to arbitration by committees chosen by each, and ultimately to an outside referee if it were necessary to call one in?—A. Yes, Mr. Chairman, heartily; but I want to say something in addition in reference to this same thing. In our own trade every time we had a quarrel we offered to arbitrate

and the manufacturers refused. In the coat-manufacturing business I have witnessed at least 10 quarrels, in every one of which we have offered to submit to arbitration and the manufacturers refused. Judge Tuley, a very venerable old man, a judge in this city, went to Mr. Hart, a member of the biggest clothing firm in this city, and offered all sorts of conditions—that it was not arbitration, that it was simply conciliation, so as to give both sides a hearing, get them together. The fellow said, "We have nothing to arbitrate. We want no union." The same thing was practiced in the case of Pullman; the same thing was practiced in the case of Norton Brothers. Nineteen hundred and eight men and women had been out and were starving. According to the statements of some of the men, 800 of the men have had to leave town. They offered to submit to arbitration. Mr. Norton said he could not have anybody outside of his business decide as to the terms on which he should employ labor. In every strike the workmen have been offering to submit to arbitration their differences, provided it is a fair arbitration, provided it is not the kind of arbitration that has been suggested here on this chair yesterday by some of the manufacturers—for somebody appointed by Federal authority, somebody whom the people can not reach by a vote, somebody whom they do not know, to adjudicate this business. If the workmen can have a chance to select that umpire you spoke about there is not a single case in the entire workingman's union that I know of where the working men were not in favor of arbitration and the other side refused point blank. And it seems that authorities on the subject never dare to accuse the other side plainly on this subject.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Testimony has been given before this commission that in Boston the building contractors and the bricklayers' union have an agreement under which they have worked successfully for 9 years, to the effect that there shall be no strike and no lockout under any circumstances, and that all differences shall be referred to arbitrators chosen by each party at the beginning of each year, and settled by them if they are able to agree, and if they are not able to agree settled by an impartial umpire whom they may call in, and who is elected each year by the joint committee. In that way it appears that both sides are contented and prosperous, that business has been uninterrupted, and that the public has greatly benefited by the agreement, as well as the persons immediately engaged in it, and that there has been no kind of difficulty, but it was found entirely feasible to adjust in that way. Do you think that such a condition of things as that would work well in the building trades and in the machinists' trades and other trades in Chicago?—A. I do, providing the other side was not so independent. They don't want to arbitrate. I should like to say another word in connection with this. It seems that there is a sentiment among the workmen of this city that when they offer to arbitrate the other side takes it for granted that they have lost a quarrel. The workmen do not find it to their advantage to advance the idea of arbitration every time they have a quarrel, because if they offer to arbitrate the other side, in its own heart, generally says: "These fellows are broken up; they want other people to come in and help them out; therefore we won't give in." So we can not, as a practical measure, clamor for arbitration; but I am satisfied the working people can be brought rightly to the idea of settling all their difficulties on the same basis you say these building contractors are settling their difficulties on in Boston.

Q. Of course that Boston scheme presupposes the existence of a union, and recognizes it, and treats with it as a party. If the same thing were done in Chicago, human nature being substantially the same the world over, do you see any reason why it would not work well here?—A. No, except that you must have an example of manufacturing. Building is somewhat different from manufacturing. You can not move a building from one town to another, and you can not construct a building to-day and keep it in the stock room for a number of years, and sell it then. You can not make a building in a room. You can not confine your laborers as they did in our strikes—get the scabs together in a certain room, get beds in there, and brought their food up there, so that the men did not leave, and we could not see them and talk to them. So the building trades have this advantage, and therefore the building laborers, in their several unions, have somewhat of an equal standing in the contest with the bosses. But the manufacturers feel themselves more independent, because they can manufacture their things at other places and bring them into the town; because they can manufacture in a dull season to be sold in another season, and because when they have scabs they can put them in a room and keep them there, so that nobody can approach them and talk to them. The manufacturers feel they have an advantage, and do not want to submit their differences to arbitration.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Where did you learn your trade?—A. Partially in the old country. I came here when I was 14; began to learn tailoring there; began to work when 12.

Q. Do you know anything about the price of tailoring in the old country?—A. Yes. In this class of tailoring the conditions of the trade have entirely changed and can not very well be compared. At the same class of work I can make here about six or seven times as much as my father made in the old country. Labor is more subdivided.

Q. How long did you work at your trade in this country?—A. Twelve years.

Q. When did you become a business agent for your union?—A. Since the last several years. I have been on and off. It has not been a steady employment with me for any great length of time—probably 6 months.

Q. When were you appointed factory inspector?—A. Began to work as factory inspector in July, 1893.

Q. Were you a walking delegate at that time?—A. I was the president of my union. We did not have an official that we paid and whom we employed at that time. The organization was not strong enough. I was president of the cloak makers' union at that time, and I had helped to adjust certain difficulties and troubles.

Q. How long were you business agent?—A. Six months only. That is only 2 years ago.

Q. Were you factory inspector before?—A. Yes; I was a factory inspector for 4 years. After I left the factory inspectorship I was elected business agent of our union and left it after 6 months. We had a hard fight and our union was broken up, and I have been out since.

Q. Do you think of anything else you would like to submit to us?—A. I do not think I laid enough stress on that 8-hour business. Our union got a law through in this State prohibiting the employment of women more than 8 hours and were defeated by a decision of the Supreme Court of our State. If labor people would lay more stress on it they could win more strikes.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, Ill., March 21, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. CLARENCE S. DARROW,

Counselor at law.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 12.45 Mr. Clarence S. Darrow, of Chicago, counselor at law, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Your name?—A. Clarence S. Darrow.

Q. Post-office address?—A. Chicago Athletic Club.

Q. Occupation?—A. Lawyer.

Q. Have you had any retainer in suits growing out of labor difficulties?—A. Well, I do not know; I may have occasionally. I have been in a great many of them, generally without any retainer. It would be very small; it would never have covered expenses.

Q. Which side have you represented in litigation?—A. Always the working-men's side; never the other.

Q. We should be glad to have you go on in your own way and make the points that you would like the commission to be acquainted with?—A. Of course I may be wrong about my views, but I should like a fair discussion of it. I came here because of my seeing in the papers this morning the statement of Mr. Chalmers, in criticism of the courts in reference to these labor troubles. Of course I frequently criticise the courts myself, and I think every man ought to do it if he wants to, and Mr. Chalmers has a perfect right to; but I do not think his criticism was just in this particular case, and I do not think that Mr. Chalmers's attitude in this particular difficulty—it is not a question of him. He is a very pleasant gentleman that I have no controversy with; but his own case would, perhaps, illustrate this whole question as well as any other, and as I happened to be employed by the labor organization in his case, I might refer to that, although his case is not different from the Debs case or any amount of them which are occurring every day, many of which I represented because they have got into the habit of coming to me when there is trouble of that sort. Mr. Chalmers found himself with a strike on his hands in his factory, and as in the case of all strikes the

strikers placed pickets; that is, they set a number of men outside the entrance to his factory in the highways, whose business it was to meet other men who should come there to be employed, who were employed, or who came there to seek employment to take their places. Of course, it is just like other cases, so I can use his as an illustration. He did what all employers are constantly doing within the last 5 or 6 years, rushed off to a court to get an injunction to prevent this picketing. Judge Haney issued an injunction in chambers, nobody present representing the working people, and that injunction not only forbade the men to use force and violence, assault and battery, but forbade their putting any pickets in front of his factory or on the street around it. After the injunction was issued the labor organization came to me, and I took the case to Judge Wines, who is a judge of the appellate court here, and he at once modified the injunction, leaving it active to restrain the men from force and violence, but still allowing their men to stand upon the street to meet men who wished to go to work, to tell them about the strike—in fact, to use persuasion, but not force. They had a right to do that, and that is the injunction that Mr. Chalmers complains of the modification of. At the same time, while this fight was on, he went to the grand jury, which is the proper place to go, and by presenting his evidence had a dozen or maybe twenty-five men indicted for assault and battery and conspiracy. The strike was settled and the other men went back to work, and they have refused and failed to prosecute a single one of those cases. They were simply indicted because of the trouble; and Messrs. Fraser and Chalmers, like everybody else that gets into trouble, go to the courts and use them in every way they can in order to help their side as against the men that are employed. Now, as soon as the strike was over they failed to prosecute one single man—came to me and asked to have us sign a release that we would not bring any damage suits against them if they would not bring any cases, which we did.

Now, from our standpoint or the standpoint of the working people, we believe that the issuing of these injunctions is a very great hardship; that they are against individual liberty and are placing men unduly under the tyranny of courts. Of course, judges are like other people; they go onto the bench just as you and I would go if we were elected, with the prejudice incident to our own point of view. Mr. Chalmers objects to our judges because they are elected; that is, because they are from the people, and says they ought to be appointed for life. It is true that the Federal judges, that are appointed for life in almost all instances, are very much more upon the side of the employer, and in all their rulings are very much more against the poor, than the State judges, who are elected. For instance, in all personal-injury cases, there is not a case where a railroad company has a right to take a change from a State court to a Federal court that they do not do it. For instance, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad is a Wisconsin corporation. If they are sued here in Illinois, they have a right to a change of venue to a Federal court, and they do it always; the Grand Trunk does it always; all of the railroads which can, do it; which simply shows that the judges who have been appointed for life by the President, who is naturally more closely associated with men in high position and of large moneyed interest, are more hostile to the interests of the poor and the working people than those judges who are elected by the people themselves; and that is what Mr. Chalmers complains of.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) In saying that, do you wish us to understand that you think their decisions have been unjust?—A. Yes. I do not wish to be understood as thinking that these men are unjust men, or different from myself or anybody else, but I think the constant tendency had been to crowd it toward the strong. For instance, most of the Federal judges have been attorneys for railroads, and they carry impressions formed before they were appointed—you could scarcely find one who has not been—and he has been accustomed to look at things from their standpoint for years and years; not that he means to be unfair about it, but all the influences have been that way, and all his training has been that way. He knows nothing about the other side of the case; he has not had anything to do with it; and I think any lawyer will tell you what Mr. Chalmers tells you in effect, that the Federal judges who have been appointed are much more on the side of the employer and the rich than the State judges, who are elected year after year from the people.

Q. Well, all the State judges are not elected; some are appointed.—A. There are some, but they are very few, I think. Of course, here in this State we have them elected for 6 years. I think there are very few States where they are appointed.

Q. Are all your judges elected for 6 years?—A. Yes; they are all elected for 6 years.

Q. That is your judges for the different courts in the same town?—A. The superior and circuit courts are 6-year courts, and the superior court is the same. There is a county court and I think that is a 4-year court, but very little of the business which would involve these questions comes there. The judges are practically all elected for 6 years; and, in the main, our judges have always been a representative class of men—men who stood well in their profession, and who have never been suspected of anything excepting a fair administration of the law.

Q. Are your justices of the peace and judges of the local police court elected for the same term, 6 years.—A. No; the justices of the peace are appointed.

Q. By whom?—A. They are appointed by the governor upon the recommendation of the judges. The judges recommend a certain number; then the governor appoints them, and they must be confirmed by the State senate. So, really, they are the result of the judges, and the governor, and the State senate. Generally, the recommendations of the judges go through, but not always; and while a great deal has been said about our justices of the peace, they are really a very good set of men, take the whole class through.

Q. Are they trial justices?—A. Yes.

Q. Hold local courts?—A. They hold local courts. Of course, their jurisdiction is limited to \$200 in civil matters, and no criminal jurisdiction except to bind over to the grand jury, or to fine in misdemeanor.

Q. Are there jury trials in justices' courts?—A. Yes; in civil matters, but there is very little of that, it is almost all done by the justices. In fact, it is a sort of court where the main business does not come very much.

Q. Are these justices lawyers as a general thing?—A. Lawyers in this city; very seldom anything else.

Q. Are the judges of the superior court lawyers?—A. Yes; hardly ever anything else. I do not know of an instance where they have not been, and I think they have been generally very fair lawyers in this city.

Q. Do they generally belong to one political party?—A. Oh, no; not in Chicago. We mix up here about every election. We always elect the party that was not in the last time here, so they are changing every time practically. There never was much difference as to parties in this town except the opinions of judges or justices of the peace. They were all alike, really, for that matter.

Q. Well, now, I interrupted you, perhaps; you can go on.—A. Now, as to injunctions, of course the position of the workman of necessity has not been or is not often fairly put and fairly stated. It is generally represented by the persons who give us all the information we have, but it is not true that the men claim that they have a right to do acts of violence. The Debs case is a fair illustration, and we can make it appear better by that than any other. In that case there was a general railroad strike. Judge Woods issued a blanket injunction order against Mr. Debs and his associates and all other persons whomsoever.

Q. Was he a Federal judge?—A. He is a Federal judge; yes, and I mention his name simply because it was his case—not that he is different from anybody else. From this injunction it was rather difficult to determine exactly what was meant, but it probably meant that those men were enjoined from committing acts of violence—not from striking, but from committing acts of violence. The strike went on, and at a certain stage Mr. Debs and his 5 associates were arrested for contempt of court. It ran against 10,000 people in Chicago, but nobody else was arrested; they were. They were brought in and tried, and the issue practically was whether they were responsible for those acts of violence. Now, Judge Woods held that they were. They were also indicted, where the question was exactly the same, and on a trial before a jury we got nearly through with it, and one of the jurors fell ill and it was continued against our wish. We were willing to go on with the 11—I representing the defendants, being one of the attorneys—and their attorney suggested that they would not be convicted. And the next time they came up for trial they dismissed the case. In the meantime Judge Woods had sent these men to jail, and had determined as a matter of fact that Mr. Debs and his associates were guilty of these particular assaults and this particular violence, whereas there was not one word in the whole course of the strike by Mr. Debs, not one single act of violence, not one letter or one telegram that could in any way be construed as violence. Now, what the workmen claim is this, that there ought not to be any right of a court to issue an injunction in any case where the facts constitute a criminal offense; that that should be left to the criminal law; let the police arrest; let them go to the State attorney and indict. The executive power is always prompter and quicker to act, anyhow, than the judicial. If it is fairly done, and we must assume that it is—if not, we should get men who will do it fairly—let them arrest and indict and try them before a jury just as any other criminal case is tried before a jury; and if the courts do insist, as they have

insisted, that they may punish for contempt where the facts constitute a criminal offense, then it should be that they can not punish until the case is submitted to a jury. If the courts are allowed to issue an injunction against John Smith to restrain him from burning a house, for instance, and then try him, and the question is whether he burned the house or whether he violated the injunction, it amounts to depriving him of the right of a trial by jury.

Q. Would you then have your proposed prohibitory statute extend against the issuing of injunctions in such cases, or against exercising the authority of the court to punish for contempt?—A. That, I think, is a very pertinent question, and it is one that is subject to a great deal of discussion. Personally I should say that the courts ought not to issue any injunction where the facts charged constitute an offense against either the United States statutes or the statutes of any State where the court is sitting. But still I should think the workmen were fairly well protected if they were allowed to issue injunctions, provided, as you indicate, that no man should be punished for contempt of court unless a jury found that he had committed such acts as were charged. I think that would protect them very well; but I believe the whole question of injunctions has been carried an unwarranted length.

Q. Do you not think it would be preferable to extend this provision against the granting of injunctions in such cases, and leave the court at its own discretion the right to punish for contempt generally, in cases that can not possibly be anticipated in all their length and breadth?—A. Of course, these questions resolve themselves in the end into the feeling of the judge; you know the judge is the final arbiter. From our standpoint the judges have been chosen from a class who are naturally, I will not say hostile, but not sympathetic with the interests of the working people; and I do not think that the Debs decision would have ever been entered, or these other decisions would ever have been entered, if the judges had not been educated on the other side of the question; and in that way if they are left to the judges—if the proper public sentiment is created, the law would not be as it is to-day. I do not know whether that is exactly an answer to your question. Of course, a judge may have considerable discretion and he can do wrong. I remember that in Bancroft's Constitutional History he says that if the people themselves do not believe in liberty, their rights are easily sacrificed under the forms of law; and that is true. A good judge or a good lawyer can make a good excuse for any sort of thing he wants to do; and after all it is more a question of the kind of man you appoint. I think the tendency has been that too much power has been exerted by strong corporations. They are always active; they always watch us to who are appointed judges; whereas the workmen are very poor and their interests are very poorly protected; they have not the money to do it, and the friend of the strong is on the bench. The tendency is that way, and it still goes on and on.

Q. The workmen are very numerous?—A. I know it, but you can not get them to go; you can not get them to vote. They forget what election day is, and they do not vote for themselves. I was the candidate for Congress in this district here. Nine-tenths of them are workmen that never have a case that they do not come to me on, especially if they have not got any money: yet I was defeated by 300 or 300 votes. I know there was not 1 workman out of 50 in the district that would not have preferred me, but they simply did not take any pains to go and vote, whereas the other fellows are always busy.

Q. Perhaps they thought they had better keep you at home; they needed you here more than they did there?—A. Perhaps they did. [Laughter.] That is simply the fact; they work all day, and it takes about all they earn to make a living, and they let those things go.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Is Chicago an exception in that case?—A. No; they are all alike, all alike; my case was not an exception.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You do not think then, that the working people, by reason of numerical strength and their great interest in the matter, would have as much influence over an elective judiciary as the great corporations have over the appointive judiciary?—A. Nothing like it; they do have a good deal, beyond any question, but they have not the same influence that the great corporations have even over the elective judiciary. I think it is very seldom said that our courts, our State courts, are unfairly biased toward the workmen. Of course, there is room for that opinion, just as I might have my opinion the other way on the Federal courts, but to no very great extent; though they certainly have some influence with them.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Mr. Darrow, you have no idea that Mr. Chalmers's idea about the appointive judiciary will prevail and make any headway in this country?—A. I do not think so.

Q. No alarm need be felt on that score?—A. It is always well to guard what liberties you have got, and I think the tendency of democratic people is against arbitrary power anyhow; to keep with the people all the rights they have. I do not believe that any great number would be willing to give up the right of electing judges and appoint them for life; for it can not be otherwise than that a man appointed for life would be released from his responsibility to the people largely. Of course, there are some advantages that might come from it. It might make him more independent. But after all it is the people's government, and if a man does not represent them, they ought to have a right to have somebody who does.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Have you ever heard any complaints in reference to the Federal judges, that there has been any abuse of power by judges who have been appointed for life in the different States?—A. I really have not information enough to give testimony on that; I think they are very few, are they not?

Q. Yes; very few.—A. I suppose the tendency would be the same, except that there would not be as much danger from the governor perhaps as from the President, because he is a little closer to the people.

Q. In Massachusetts where I live there is an appointive system, and I do not know any class of people who would like to change it: they have all great confidence in the courts?—A. Massachusetts has the only State court in the United States that has disgraced itself by sending a man to jail because he struck.

Q. When was that?—A. That was the last leading decision, in which Judge Holmes wrote a very able dissenting opinion, and the court was almost evenly divided, one more in favor of the rich than the poor. It is the only State in the Union that has done it.

Q. Was that the only reason in the case, simply because the man struck?—A. Yes; they held that the strike itself was unlawful without reference to force and violence; that the strike itself was an unlawful act. That is always urged by the corporation lawyer. There is not another supreme court in the United States that is on record that way. I think I may say safely; and that was by a divided court in which Mr. Justice Holmes wrote a very able dissenting opinion—at least I thought it was an able one.

Q. That was in a recent case, was it not?—A. Yes; within the last 2 or 3 years.

Q. I have really heard almost nothing about that case, but now that you allude to it I remember that there was such a case.—A. I have it thrown at me every time I go into court, so I have gotten very familiar with it, although in an English case, where I suppose the judges are appointed for a long term, there is a very strong leading case the other way. We quote it very frequently, and so I do not suppose the Massachusetts case is a criterion.

Q. The fact that the court was so evenly divided would rather take it out—

A. Oh, yes, I should think so. Are they appointed for life there?

Q. Yes; they are appointed during good behavior; that is, for life.—A. Does that mean all your courts, or just your supreme court?

Q. All the higher courts, the supreme judicial court, the superior courts also, and the municipal court in Boston, which is a large court.—A. Of course, in the profession you know—I assume you are a lawyer—all over the country the Massachusetts reports are regarded very highly—Massachusetts and New York—as being the result of lawyers, but it does not follow from that that they are any closer to the people; it rather follows that they are not.

Q. In Vermont the judges are elected by joint assembly of the legislature every 2 years. As a rule they are reelected, but in one instance that came under my observation a large suitor in court for years, a railroad company, exerted so much influence in a lobby that an eminent judge who had decided a case against them was left off the bench.—A. Oh, yes, I guess I know. He is an old gentleman that lived up at Rutland, did he not?

Q. Judge Barrett?—A. Judge Barrett. I happen to know him. Yes, I heard about that. Well, they always have to meet those things. There is one point I heard you ask Mr. Bismarck that perhaps our people do not always make themselves clear on or get fully heard on.

Q. Take as long as you wish to.—A. Of course, we are always put in the attitude of wanting to do violence and not be punished for it, and, I suppose, that is the case in some instances. Of course, it is often true that violence does come out of strikes, and that if comes from pickets outside of the works. It comes everywhere where there is great excitement, and there always is in those places and must necessarily be. Now, we do not claim in any way that men should be protected in acts of violence. The police department ought to take care of that, and they should be arrested and arrested promptly. While personally I should sympathize with the man who commits the violence rather than with the man against whom it is

committed, still I know that he must be punished for it, because it is the only way that civil government can be carried on. But we insist that in the first place it is right to have a labor organization. Combinations of capital are going right on, and it is necessary that there should be combinations of labor. This is as well established in England as the Parliament itself now. If men have the right to join together in an organization, they have the right to strike; that is, they have the right to quit work if they want to, and the employer has the right to make them quit at once. Both sides must have that right. Feudal laws were very different from the laws we have now. Of course, under some other system it may be different. If they have the right to strike, they have the right to persuade others to strike, or not to go to work.

Q. Suppose a considerable number are assailing a man with opprobrious epithets in the street; is he entitled to police protection from that?—A. I think he is.

Q. I suppose the authorities are lax sometimes in their duty, and they do not furnish such protection?—A. I think they are, I think they are. I think they are many times lax, but, of course, that does not furnish an excuse for a judge to step in. We have got to assume that the law will be carried out, have we not? These men we assume we elect to carry it out. If we elect a mayor, we assume he will carry out the law; if he does not, then we have got to get another one. Just the same, there is no more assurance that a judge will carry out the law than that the mayor will. The only safety is to keep every man in his own sphere; to keep the departments of government where they belong—assume that they will do their duty even if they do not. I have no doubt that city officials often toy with the strikers. I know of an instance where the mayor might be of one party and the sheriff of another, each having power to suppress a riot, and each toying with them so as to gain advantage for himself and his party. Those things often happen and have happened here, and they are wrong; but that does not furnish an excuse for some extraordinary remedy that is mischievous in itself. I know that men with money and influence take a hand in electing officers here so that they may have men that they like, just as other people do; and it results like everything else in any system.

Q. Do you think of any remedy for the evils against which you complain, except a statute against an abuse of the power of injunction or punishing for contempt?—A. I do not think of any immediate remedy. I am going to appear before a committee to-morrow at Washington, on Friday; they have a bill pending on this question.

Q. House Committee on Judiciary?—A. Yes; and the bill there is along that line. I think that the law ought to prevent any punishment for contempt in cases where the acts are criminal, or at least ought to provide, as I suggested and as your question might, that there should be no punishment for contempt, even if the injunction ran, until the jury passed on it; and I think that is very safe. Then it should be left like everything else to the progress of things. If the workmen are getting the worst of it, as I think they are, they should gradually get their friends on guard more than they do; but you can not remedy it in any other way.

Q. Have you studied the labor problem sufficiently to have ideas as to the expediency or in expediency of strikes as remedial measures?—A. I have my own ideas about it.

Q. Should you like to express them to us?—A. I am perfectly willing to if you care to hear them. Of course, I do not believe in the strike as an ultimate at all; I think the strike is war. I do not believe in war of any sort. But the strike as viewed by the men who are interested on the side of the labor people, those who have studied it most intelligently, is not regarded as an ultimate, but only as a war measure—nothing more. It is wrong in the whole nature of it, and the labor union in itself is an exclusive aristocratic evil. It is not right. Really there ought not to be any of these divisions between men. But a labor organization sees capital banded together and powerful, and it is an army on one side and the laboring men are an army on the other. Of course, the practical interests of labor and capital are hostile. As Sumner points out in his political economy, the more the employer pays for wages the less he has for dividends; the less he pays for dividends the more the laborer has to have out of it. But they are hostile. We know the employer is interested in getting wages as low as he can, and the employee in getting them as high as he can. Now, the employer has a tariff to protect him against the cheap prices of foreign goods, and he has his combinations at home to protect him from too cheap prices from domestic goods, but all that the laborer has is his combination to protect him from too low wages, and to say, if you can not give \$2 a day we will not work. It will not do any good for one man to stop, because his place can be filled by somebody else; so the only way for us to do is

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for all to stop at once, and practically it means to coerce the employer into giving higher wages.

Q. So far as concerns the conditions and prerequisites of general prosperity the employer and the employee have a common interest, have they not?—A. Yes; I think so, and I think the law ought to recognize sooner or later what Mr. Bisno suggests, that there are business interests besides the selfish interest of the employer and the selfish interest of the employee, and that in a great warfare in the shape of a strike the public really have some concern themselves and ought to manage it to some extent.

Q. Now, you have touched on a very important point. I should like to have you elaborate it a little.—A. I do not know how clear my views are, but, of course, the old doctrine of John Stuart Mill and the laissez-faire economists was that there should be as little government as could be, or none at all; that everybody had the right to do with his own as he saw fit; a man could pay any wages he wanted to, or no wages; and on the other hand, the employee could work for anything he wanted to, or nothing, and that the public had no concern in it. It was an individual question. Perhaps that might have done once, but I do not think it will do to-day. For instance, everybody in the United States is interested in the railroad. If you should stop all the railroads that enter Chicago, probably in a month the city would be a heap of ruins. New York would be destroyed probably in that time. People could not live. Our industrial and social life has become so complex that there is really no private business any more when it comes to commercial life. Everything is in combination with everything else. For instance, take our street car interests in a great city. If the street cars stop running it involves everybody in ways that they can not tell; it involves life as well as progress. Everything has been built up on the basis of it, assuming they are going to run—assuming everything is going to run as it is. It seems to me that there certainly should be in every State, so far as the State jurisdiction is concerned, a compulsory board to take action in reference to all general strikes as between employer and employee. There should be, so far as the United States is concerned—in reference to the railroads they have complete control over interstate commerce, and the people never ought to stand off and see these employers and employees fight this all alone. It is simply a warfare between the two, in which both sides ignore the public rights entirely, and I do not think that society can exist any great length of time unless they take it up as a question which affects everybody and say that the public has some concern in it. I think, perhaps, the first step would be providing boards of arbitration that should have some power; not to have simply the right to do it if some one will submit it to them, as we have in various States. People should recognize that they have a general interest in these affairs where vast bodies of men are concerned, and certainly corporations where all the rights to do business are granted by the State—they should have authority to take a hand in it and see that they are settled fairly. I think that would be the first step and a very important one. Of course, our legislatures have done something in that direction. In this State and in Wisconsin we have them, and I do not know in how many others. There are a number of them, but they never yet have been given any power excepting where the people consented to it, and, of course, they very seldom consent. One side is always ready to consent and the other refuses, according to which side has the advantage. Not necessarily the same side always.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Do either capital or labor oppose such legislation as you suggest?—A. I think in general that capital has been opposed to it. I suppose I look at some of these questions a little differently from many men of what you might term my class. I am inclined to think that these great trust institutions would not oppose it as seriously as the small manufacturers have been in the habit of doing, and I think with the trust developments the matter could be handled much better and much easier than it could have been formerly with the more individual life.

Q. Your idea is compulsory arbitration. Would the labor unions yield consent to legislation of that kind?—A. I think they are almost on record in favor of it. Is not that so, Mr. Bisno?

(By Mr. BISNO.) I think they are mostly in favor of it.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Most of those who have appeared before the Industrial Commission are opposed to it, the representatives or national or international officers.—A. Has Mr. Gompers expressed himself?

Q. Yes, he has expressed himself in opposition.

(By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) I do not know whether he used the word despotism, but he said it takes away liberty.—A. Well, I know he did as to some things, but I did not think it was as to compulsory arbitration. Of course you have all

studied this question enough to know that back of it is the old theory on one side of what you might call anarchism and on the other of socialism; one of which believes that the Government should exist and should control everything, and the other believes that the State should fall to pieces and do nothing. All these moves toward compulsory arbitration and the like are virtually along the line of State control and going toward socialism, as perhaps all government is. Of course there are a great many places to stop on the road, but you find men divided up largely on that idea.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) On this question of specific measures, you believe that government is and should be an instrumentality of the people first of all for the preservation of order and the promotion of justice?—A. I do, certainly.

Q. And with those rights and duties asserted and exercised, do you believe it is possible to extend specific measures to specific evils?—A. Yes; gradually extend the power of Government to cover these specific evils as they arise. I do not think that I am wrong in saying that the great majority of men who have been students along the line of these questions are in favor of compulsory arbitration as a stepping stone to something they think is better and is in the right direction. Of course, there are so many so-called labor leaders who are like any other class of men. They are not necessarily profound students of these questions any more than the rest of us, merely because they are interested in them, and their opinions are, like everybody else's, subject to consideration; but I think the majority of those who have studied the question carefully along that line have been in favor of gradually extending this power. Of course, it is often abused like everything else. Railroad and warehouse commissions are often used by railroads against the people—fixed; boards of arbitration would be; but that is true of anything, and you have got to assume that they will be rightly used; if they are not, the people will some time get around to use them rightly. The only question is whether it is correct in theory, it seems to me.

Q. Merely because some man is weak and fails to execute a good law, you do not consider that an argument against the law?—A. No, no, I do not. Let him fail to execute it, if he wants to; then let the people get another man. If they get another of the same kind, why some time they will get another of the right kind. They have got to grow up that way anyhow.

Testimony closed.

Whereupon the subcommission took a recess until 2.45 p. m.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 21, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. LEVY MAYER,

Lawyer, Chicago.

The special subcommission met in the Auditorium Hotel at 2.45 p. m., Mr Clarke presiding. Mr. Levy Mayer was introduced as a witness and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. Levy Mayer; member of the bar, member of the firm of Moran, Mayer & Mier; office, 77 Dearborn street Unity Building, formerly owned by ex-Governor Altgeld.

Q. Are you counsel for any organization now engaged in manufacturing?—A. Yes.

Q. Or whose members are engaged in manufacturing?—A. Yes.

Q. What organization?—A. We are counsel for the Illinois Manufacturers Association; also for the Glucose Sugar Refining Company, the so-called Whisky Trust in its different branches, and other corporate enterprises.

Q. We should be happy to have you go on and state in your own way anything pertaining to the present labor difficulties that are pending in Chicago.—A. Possibly, gentlemen, what I may say will not have an immediate bearing on the labor difficulties in Chicago, but my views, I think, will be pertinent with reference to the situation before the law, judicial as well as legislative, of corporate interests.

In my judgment, we are now in the midst of a hungry, rapacious rebellion against property rights, when those property rights are owned by corporations I am more particularly concerned in what I am now saying, with private corporations, though my firm are counsel for railroad companies. The question, as I understand it, that is before your committee, has reference rather to the conflict between labor and corporate capital that is more particularly going on now in Chicago.

Q. That is the special theme that we have under immediate consideration, but our jurisdiction is very broad; it covers all corporations, quasi public as well as private, and conditions of business generally, and the relations of labor and capital in all business—private employments and public employments.—A. It is a singular thing—and I think I speak utterly free from prejudice if it is possible for a lawyer whose interests consist in defending corporate interests to be free from prejudice, and I think I am—a survey of the legislative and judicial history that is being made daily here in Chicago and elsewhere is simply appalling when one stops to consider where is the goal of this precipitate, ungoverned, and ungovernable vice which is honeycombing the legal and constitutional protection to which corporate interests are and should be entitled. A corporation, a private corporation particularly, is merely a convenient association by which individuals put a limited amount of capital into a common enterprise; but it is remarkable that just as soon as two or three or four individuals, who can pursue their business legally, unmolested, while acting as individuals, put their business into corporate guise—I say it is remarkable how soon their rights before the law change.

If the people at large had the time to pursue an investigation such as is incumbent upon men who make any particular calling their specialty, I think they would not only be appalled, but horrified.

Recently there has been this great outcry against so-called trusts and monopolies, which, as I look at it, is but a repetition of the Populistic craze that pervaded this country a generation ago, and the so-called Granger legislation, the mental judgment of the legislators and the legislatures of the Middle and Western States. This discrimination which is being made against the conservation of property when owned by corporations, and which is being made in favor of the individual laborers, workmen, or employees, either in their individual capacity or collective capacity, baffles any grave student of social economy. Take the State of Illinois. We have very strong legislation, as strong as the tutored or untutored mind of legislators could make it, against combinations, by which two or more interests are prevented from making any kind of agreement that will affect the price of a commodity or the amount of production. You will be amazed when I read you from the same law what the legislature says as to the rights of the men who create a most constituent part of that property. After legislating with all the severity they possibly could against combinations in the form of corporations, the legislature of Illinois adds a proviso, contained in the law of 1897 of this State, which reads this way: "*Provided, however*, That in the mining, manufacture, or production of articles of merchandise, the cost of which is mainly made up of wages, it shall not be unlawful for persons, firms, or corporations doing business in this State to enter into joint arrangements of any sort, the principal object or effect of which is to maintain or increase wages."

So that under the letter and spirit of the statute, if three men, in the honest pursuit of legitimate enterprise, form an agreement, driven thereto by the ravages of overkeen competition, to merge their little businesses into one, that same statute makes it punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary. If the workmen at the same moment form an association to deprive the employers of labor of the right of employing it, and to deprive the owner of labor, which is his property, of his voluntary right of distribution, of its sale, they can do so; and the compact formed by three men in this room, those who employ labor, is punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary, while the compact formed in the adjacent room by the men who are going to be employed is distinctively given the mark of legislative approval.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Has the constitutionality of that statute been tested?—A. Its constitutionality is being tested now; what the decision will be is a delicate matter for one to discuss who is engaged in the attack on its constitutionality. But the law was passed. That is a sample. I could call the attention of the commission not merely to that particular section, but to others equally unprincipled, equally ungoverned by any rule or principle of right or wrong, which appear on the statute books.

Now, bear in mind that in the State of Illinois there are to-day engaged in business, as near as approximation can arrive at a result, about 25,000 corporations, and that the larger part of trading and mercantile and manufacturing business is in the hands of corporations, put there for the purposes of convenience, for the purpose of limitation of liability of those who put investments into property, put there legitimately; and yet day by day that equal legal protection which should be accorded to all property interests, whether owned by A, B, and C as a partnership or owned by the same individuals putting their partnership business into a corporate form, is denied them.

In 1895 the legislature of Illinois passed a law making it a misdemeanor to interfere with the use of a label which designates unionism. That is to say, the association of laborers, the workmen, the wage-earners—for whom I entertain, it is needless to say, the same regard as for those who employ them—assuming a badge which is attached to property indicative that it is made by the union. An infringement of that label is made a misdemeanor, while a label of the same character, if adopted by a so-called combination, is made by the statutes of Illinois of 1891 and 1893 *prima facie* evidence of conspiracy.

So riotously wild have the legislatures run that the most idiotic climax will be found in a law passed in 1899 by our legislature. Bear in mind that Illinois is merely a specimen. I do not single it out because it is the worst. It has sisters and brothers whose legislatures adopt the same laws and stronger laws at different sessions of their legislative bodies. In 1899 the legislature of Illinois adopted an act by which they made it a penal offense for a manufacturer or employer of labor to solicit labor without at the time of the solicitation writing into his advertisement for labor the fact that there was a strike or a lockout, of course the manifest object being to foster, to aid, and to encourage trade unionism and to destroy property unionism. That is the latest sample of Illinois legislation. That if a manufacturer or employer of labor puts a card in a paper, or puts a placard on a post leading to the entrance of his workshop, that he desires to employ the services of 1 or 5 or 10 engineers, firemen, laborers of any kind, unless in that advertisement there is that accompaniment, if there should be a strike or lockout, he commits a crime. The legislature does not exact, when there is a strike and the workmen advertise for positions, that they must advertise that there is a strike or a lockout. And so along the whole line of legislation, and by legislation I mean not only the enactments adopted by the legislators, but I mean to a considerable extent judicial legislation made by the judges, judicial legislation keeping on a parallel line with legislative legislation, and sometimes even getting in advance of it, both of those lines pursuing, wittingly or unwittingly, an organized attack upon corporate property.

I am not here to discriminate between so-called quasi public corporations and private corporations, but the remarks I am addressing to you have reference particularly to private corporations, because they receive from the State no privilege. They enjoy no benefits, while public or quasi public corporations, like railroad companies, do receive to a certain extent a limited privilege, the principal one of which is the right to take your property by condemnation, but always accorded with the provision that they must make due compensation for it. But, divorcing public corporations from the discussion, the vast quantity of private corporations, which, as I have said, are merely individuals in another form, the onslaught that is being made by legislatures and by judicial detractions upon these interests betokens ill, in my judgment, to the prosperity of labor, because when the prosperity of the manufacturer is attacked necessarily labor suffers even in greater proportions. The courts—some of them—honest in their convictions, in my judgment, but convictions that flow from environment, from association, from political caprice, from political alliance, from political tenure of office, seem to be to a large extent unable as they are constituted to give the equal protection to property that they accord to the individual. There is an old, trite saying that the poor man has not an equal standing before the law. Of course the Declaration of Independence and the constitutions of the different States and of the United States rebel against the suggestion, but it is repeated and repeated until it has become an aphorism.

The fact is that to-day the rich, particularly if the wealth has corporate form, do not stand equal before the law. I do not intend to disparage one at the cost of the other. I am commenting upon a situation as it exists, and a situation which is developing more and more in the direction of judicial recognition of socialistic and communistic and judicial abrogation of individual corporate property rights. The conundrum is not to be solved by the tirades of abuse from the rostrum, from the pulpit, from the press, and from the judicial tribunal that are being heaped upon the conservative idea that what a man owns belongs to him. By such ownership, of course, I mean corporate ownership. I do not know whether it is expected that I shall make any suggestion as to what, in my judgment, would tend to produce a cure, and yet, as the matter is in mind, I will proceed to suggest further: I think there are 45 States in this country to-day, forming, as we are taught in our schools, one indissoluble Union, and yet you form a corporation in Indiana, and let that corporation attempt to do business in Illinois and it becomes an alien, with all the meaning that that old Roman term implied; it is a hostile, it is an enemy. Why should a corporation organized in Indiana, or organized in California, or in Texas, or in New Jersey, doing business in every other State

in the Union, be regarded in every such other State as a foreign corporation? It takes its franchise in Indiana and does a part of its business in Illinois. Now, as soon as it undertakes to do business here it is regarded as a foreign corporation, compelled to pay a franchise tax, precisely the same as though it were taking out its charter in Illinois. If it has taken its charter in Indiana and paid its corporate franchise tax why should the law compel that corporation, just because it is organized beyond an imaginary artificial line, to pay a franchise tax, the same as though it took out its charter here? One cure, as I look at it, gentlemen, is a uniformity in the corporation laws of the different States, so that a corporation will not be invited to go away from the place where its property is located and its principal business is conducted to another State because it can there get a franchise giving it greater privileges. I suggest that one cure is uniformity in corporation laws.

Q. What hope have you for uniformity in that kind of legislation?—A. I will come to that in a moment. Another is to give to a private corporation every power that an individual or an association of individuals possesses. Why should there be a restriction upon the rights of a private corporation as to the amount of business, the kind of business, or its corporate powers? A private corporation, as I have said, is really only another name for a limited partnership. People at large see in the name "corporation" some hydra-headed bugaboo; but it is merely a certain number of individuals who put a limited amount of their property into that corporation because they do not want to risk any more. By combining their investment a large corporation ensues, which does a proportionate amount of business, employs more labor, and causes the wheels of commerce to revolve. I say private corporations should be given the same power which private individuals possess. Being given that power in each State, there will be no temptation for a corporation doing its business in Illinois to go to New Jersey or New York or elsewhere for its charter; and having uniform corporation laws, a corporation organized in New York does not become and should not become an alien as soon as it crosses the border line of New York into the various other States of this country.

Thirdly, a national incorporation act, under which corporations engaged in business beyond the confines of a particular State can be incorporated, and, when once incorporated under the national law, enjoy that protection which the laws of the United States accord to national corporations. The third, a uniform corporation act, passed by Congress, may require and probably would require a constitutional amendment. Until that is adopted I suggest giving to a foreign corporation the same rights which are given to a domestic corporation.

Finally, I suggest changing the method by which political conventions create judges; and I think corporate private property is likely to get back to a status of equality with private property. In private property I include labor, because labor is property, the most important part of property.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) In case there should be uniformity of corporation laws in the several States, and a Federal corporation law, would there be any need of changing the law giving jurisdiction to Federal courts when one of the suitors is domiciled in another State?—A. So long as State tribunals are inoculated with the feeling to which I have alluded corporations would be likely to avail themselves of national rather than State charters, because of the benefit it would give them of being enabled to carry their litigations into the Federal tribunals, the United States law being that a national corporation, no matter where sued, regardless of diversity of citizenship, can remove all causes of action into the Federal courts.

Q. Would you prefer an appointive to an elective judiciary?—A. I should, unhesitatingly, as the elective judiciary is now created. The elective judiciary has given this State and this country judges of very strong legal acumen, men of character, men of ability, men of strength, and men of independence; but when I tell you what I am about to say you will realize that the remarks I have made are practically pertinent. Lawyers in whose legal charge to-day are large or small corporate interests devote a considerable part of their time before litigation is instituted to a diplomatic game of judicial chess playing, by which I mean foiling with one another in their attempt to get a particular case before a particular judge for adjudication. No outsider can comprehend or realize that in a busy corporate lawyer's office, when litigation is threatened, much of his sagacity, much of his acumen, is devoted not so much to the determination of what are the rights of the litigants as before what judge can this particular case be tried. That is a startling statement to make, but it is true.

Q. Is that with the view of getting the case before a judge who is friendly to certain corporations?—A. It admits of two answers. Principally done for the

purpose of getting the case before a judge uninfluenced, by any of the "isms" to which I have alluded; not a friendly judge, not a judge who is a friend of the litigant or counsel, but a judge before whom the case will be tried and decided on its merits by an unbiased, unprejudiced, untrammelled legal head.

Q. When a man is appointed judge who has for years been counsel for corporations, do you think that his previous experience has qualified him or disqualified him for being impartial in his views and upright in his judgments in cases between corporations and their employees?—A. Given the man, possessing the other faculties, training, experience, honesty, integrity, health, application, and the judicial mind, the fact that he has been counsel for corporations, in my judgment, can and will in no way disqualify him from meting out justice as the Constitution and the statutes exact.

Q. Taking human nature at large, as it is found on the bench, what is your judgment as to the influence of previous employment in giving that man qualifications or disqualifications for his office?—A. My experience would lead me to say that experience does not disqualify nor create a bias or a prejudice in favor of or against the interests covered by such prior experience. I have never been on the bench, and what I am saying now, if I had any aspirations, would probably destroy any chance of my ever getting there, though I am free to say I have no ambition of any kind to go on the bench. My experience is that the past professional experience of the judicial aspirant does not disqualify him from doing justice pro or con. I speak now of the past legal experience. I am not speaking now of the past lack of legal experience.

Q. It has been stated to us by a lawyer that nearly all of the decisions of the Federal courts in labor cases have been against the laborer and in favor of the corporations, and he went further and expressed the opinion that those decisions were generally unjust rather than just. Do you agree to that?—A. I in no way concur in that. I should ascribe that statement to a lack of legal discrimination. I should ascribe it to the want of applying, in such criticisms, the rules which should be applied to both classes. In other words, those who comment adversely upon the decisions of the Federal tribunals in matters involving injunctions, particularly where property rights are protected, are men who are thoroughly inoculated with that spirit of protecting trusts and combinations in labor and refusing equal protection to combinations in property. The same rule which the Federal tribunal will apply against labor strikes, against picketing, against labor obstructions, will be applied against property conspiracy. The reason why the line of demarcation appears so strong is this: that it is to the Federal tribunals that property goes for protection. It is the State tribunals that property ordinarily avoids, if it has the election. Thus we have two pillars of adjudications—one in State tribunals, governed by the influences to which I have alluded, creating a so-called bulwark of liberty for the workingman, for the striker, for the walking delegate, for the obstructionist; in the Federal court a so-called bulwark of protection for the corporate property interests. The reason is that to these tribunals property interests apply for protection, and therefore that line of adjudication. But the same rule of conduct, the same rule of law, the same conclusion, and the same final adjudication would be made in that Federal tribunal if the position of the litigants were reversed, and instead of property claiming protection, labor were claiming protection against wrongs at the hands of property, similar to those which property claims protection against at the hands of labor.

Q. Would not that be equally true of most of the State courts?—A. I should say no, I am sorry to say, because the State judges hold office by a limited or fixed tenure. Their office is dependent upon popular support as expressed at the ballot box. That ballot box puts men on the bench because of some supposed popular leaning, removes from the bench for some supposed unpopular adjudication. I have a recent illustration in my own office. We have employed a gentleman of astute legal ability as an assistant in our office, who was an able, bright, honest, successful judge on the bench of Omaha, and who was refused the nomination and reelection because of a decision he rendered against the cry of a so-called Know-Nothing element that pervaded society in Omaha, which undertook to influence the judicial judgment with reference to litigation affecting property of the Catholic Church. If that man had held office for life or good behavior, those influences, which in his particular case—fortunately for justice—did not reach his mental equilibrium, could not be exerted upon any mental bias. It has taken me a long time to come to the conclusion that an elective judiciary is less excellent than an appointive judiciary, because I am aware of the difficulties that grow up around a life tenure of judges—that there may be a leaning to too much disregard for individual or public or popular right. But looking at the judicial

HEARINGS BEFORE THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

records of the life-tenure judiciary and at those of the elective judiciary, in my judgment the reasons in favor of the former far outweigh the reasons in favor of the latter. By life judicial tenure I mean not merely the Federal judiciary, because in some States the judiciary in the State courts, as in Massachusetts and, I think, in Rhode Island, and it is my impression in Connecticut also, hold office during good behavior—for life. The argument that is advanced is that the appointive power is a politician; but if the law provides that the judiciary shall be appointed for life by the appointive power from among the two leading parties, we can better afford to take our chances with the judges once on the bench, absolutely free from all possibility of bias and popular whim, and run the risk of getting an occasional incompetent or bad man on the bench.

Q. Do you think there has been some abuse of the power of injunction in labor difficulties?—A. It is possible that in the granting of injunctive remedies courts occasionally go astray. They do in the administration of justice in every other department of life; but the average—and that is what life is made up of, that is what society is made up of—the average of cases where there has been an injunction invidiously or unjustly granted, in my judgment, is by no means greater than the average wrong decision in any other branch of human affairs.

Q. Do you think it would be well to enact statutes prohibiting the granting of injunctions against acts which are criminal offenses by statutes or by the common law?—A. I decidedly say no. Such statutes would be in line with the statutes to which I have alluded. They would in the end be statutes of a class-legislative kind, and would be statutes equal to an attempt that was made recently in Texas by the legislature to define for the judiciary by statute the meaning of the constitutional provision as to "former jeopardy." The judicial department is equal and coordinate with the executive and legislative, and the legislative has no right, and regardless of right there is no propriety, in my judgment, no justification, no excuse for providing by the legislature rules for the guidance of the judicial tribunal. For the legislature to say to the judge, "You shall not issue an injunction to prevent an irremediable wrong and conspiracy, because the parties can be punished by the criminal code," is not to furnish the redress which the law contemplates shall be furnished. The punishment of conspiracy by the criminal law is for the State, but that does not give redress to the one who is being wronged. The men who are placing pickets and obstructionists in front of the factory of Smith, and who are slugging and destroying the physical capacity of men who are willing to work—such an act, if permitted without injunctive relief, though punished by the criminal code, would furnish no remedy to the individual property owner who was suffering in his property rights. There is no substitute, in my judgment, for the broad gauge that has existed in the common law and exists here by which courts are governed in the administration of justice. No legislative inhibition, no legislative restriction, in my judgment, has ever accomplished or ever will accomplish any social good for the community in that line.

Q. Is not the use of the injunction to restrain such offenses a comparatively new use?—A. Yes; because the offenses are comparatively new. The elasticity of the law—that is its great advantage—that it is elastic, the principles of the system, and are made applicable to new states of circumstances. There was no such thing probably a hundred years ago, or fifty years ago, as labor agitations of the kind that are dealt in now, just as there was fifty or a hundred years ago no such thing as the so-called real, genuine trust, as the term is used. As society develops, its commerce increases and business becomes intermingled, and these new states of circumstances arise; but the law is simply applying the same principles.

Who would deny to the owner of real estate, improved with a dwelling, in which he and his family are living, the right to go into court and ask for an injunction to enjoin his neighbor from producing a noxious smell? There is no outcry against the court issuing an injunction to prevent that. Why should there be an outcry against the court issuing an injunction to prevent a thousand or five thousand laborers or workmen, organized in an intangible association over which the courts can probably never get a jurisdiction, issuing an injunction against so and so, and so and so, to prevent them from obstructing the complainant in the lawful, proper use and enjoyment of his property? It is simply the application of a principle which has been applied since the injunctive remedy has existed long before the common law. The injunctive remedy has developed from the old Roman system of jurisprudence.

Q. Do you think it would be wise to have legislation limiting equity jurisdiction to the higher courts, which are supposed to be composed of men of legal learning?—A. In this State the question answers itself. In this State equity

jurisdiction is vested only in the tribunals that have unlimited jurisdiction, the same as common law.

Q. Take, for instance, Pennsylvania, where the county judges, some of whom were not lawyers, could exercise equity jurisdiction?—A. There should be on no bench, inferior or superior, an individual who is not a lawyer. The administration of justice requires that the man who administers it be familiar with law. You may just as well put a carpenter at the work of firing your engine, or put your fireman at the work of looking after your electrical apparatus. Those positions require particular training, and that training is the training of a lawyer. Of course, no tribunal whose occupant is not a lawyer should have any equity jurisdiction to grant injunctions. In my judgment, such a tribunal should have jurisdiction to do nothing.

Q. Do you think there has been any abuse of the right of the courts to preserve their own dignity by punishing for contempt?—A. I think not. There may be occasionally a man on the bench who has the mistaken idea that the exercise of the power of punishment for contempt creates respect for his judicial person, but that man is mistaken. Respect for the judiciary is not created, either among the Populists or at the bar, by the exercise of the power to punish for contempt.

Q. Yet you recognize it as a necessary power?—A. I recognize it as a necessity.

Q. And that it must be left very largely, if not wholly, to the discretion of the tribunal?—A. To the same judicial discretion to which is left the decision of every contested question that comes before that same tribunal. I am a strong believer in the principle that one punished for contempt should have the right to have the adjudication reviewed in a higher court.

Q. You don't believe that the question should be submitted to a jury?—A. By no means. It would obstruct the administration of justice. It would make the judicial tribunal a laughing valentine, to be tossed around in the fickle contests and struggles that go on in every petty controversy. I believe that the right of review should be scrupulously preserved, so that no judge issuing a contempt order should have the power to issue a final order. I speak now, of course, of the courts that are not final courts of review. A finality must vest somewhere, because the highest courts, the supreme court of Illinois, like the Supreme Court of the United States, in its sphere, has the power to enforce orders by contempt proceedings, and has done so. There can, of course, be no appeal from that tribunal, because if there were the tribunal to which the appeal would go would itself have the power to punish for contempt, and there would be an endless chain of reviewing tribunals.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 21, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. J. S. ROBB,

Dressmaker, Wife of a Nonunion Painter, Chicago.

The special subcommission met in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, March 21, 1900, at 10 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 4.55 p. m. Mrs. J. S. Robb requested to be heard as a witness and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name?—A. Well, there is only one reason that I care—I should not like to have my name published, on account of my husband.

Q. We can not take your testimony without your name.—A. My husband's name is J. S. Robb. We have suffered so much a little more won't hurt.

Q. Will you please give your post-office address?—A. No. 655 Bloomingdale avenue, Chicago.

Q. And your occupation?—A. I am a dressmaker, family seamstress. My husband is a painter.

Q. Do you carry on your work at your home?—A. No; at private families.

Q. You go out, then?—A. Yes; I go out.

Q. Now, we shall be glad to hear your statement.—A. The statement is just this: My husband has been for years contending with the powers that be; he has incurred the enmity of the house painters' union, simply by protecting the interests of his employers.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) He is a nonunion man?—A. He is a nonunion man at the present time. He has belonged to the painters' union two different times. He has been brought home to me beaten and maimed by the business agents, the

entertainment committee—compulsory education. I have gone to the front as an American woman. We are brought up that way. We are taught it is our duty, if adversity comes, for us to go to the front, if possible. Thank God I owe no man a cent. That has been going on ever since 1886. My husband has earned at his trade \$7 since the 1st of last October. He is not allowed to work. There are bosses in the town, the city of Chicago, who are told if that man is given employment they will call strikes, sympathetic strikes; throw out—every building in Chicago can be tied up.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Has he been able and willing to work during that time?—A. Able and willing to work; always had the highest rate of pay; has letters of recommendation from his employers; has been foreman of the largest building in the city of Chicago, the Marshal Field wholesale house, that was built by Norcross Brothers, a Massachusetts firm, and on the Armour elevator, one of the largest buildings of its class in the world.

Q. Has he made frequent applications for employment?—A. He has made applications; he has walked the streets from one day to the other. Men have told him: "I should like to give you work; I would give you work, but they will call a strike on me. I can not do it. I have signed the scale. I can not give you employment." He is a thoroughly competent man in all classes of trade.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Has he ever sought entrance into the union?—A. He has sought entrance into the union. There was a fine entered against him of \$100. He had been a member of the union twice.

Q. What was the offense?—A. The offense was going one Sunday and putting in a skylight over some \$7,000 worth of fine electrical machinery while the work was on a strike. There was a star-chamber meeting called and a fine was entered against him of \$100. He refused to pay it, consequently a vote of expulsion was taken. The contractors were Angus & Gindele, general contractors.

Q. Had he violated the rule?—A. That was the law. He worked, while there was a strike, in protecting the interests of his employer while putting in that skylight to prevent the destruction of thousands of dollars worth of fine electrical machinery at the power house of the West Side Union Traction Building. That was his offense.

Q. Has his employer not taken care of him since then?—A. Employers don't do those things—not Chicago employers. They laid for him, as they say, some six or seven men, in the halls of that power house, and beat him into insensibility. The policeman (turning her back to the commissioners) never saw it; very conveniently turned his back—policeman on the corner; I have forgotten now his name. Two men coming through the hall saved his life. They beat and kicked him into insensibility.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Did he know who did it?—A. Entertainment committee; that is all.

Q. Did he ever institute any prosecution?—A. The man was frightened out of his life. He would not allow me to see a lawyer to enter suit. I must have my living taken away from me. I am an American woman. I am not disposed to be thrown on charity. I have had to have coal brought to my house because I had none. I considered I was taking work from some woman that had no protector, when I have a husband who is able and willing to support me, and who has always had, when he has been at work, the very highest rate of wages, regardless of unions or any other corporation, because his employers considered him worthy of it.

Q. Do you wish us to understand that he was intimidated?—A. Certainly. The man is afraid of his life. Now, if he knew I was here this afternoon he would want to leave town to-night, if he had to walk.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) He will read it in the papers in the morning.—A. Let him read it; I will stand for it. I went to the painter's union at one time and I told them I wanted them to allow my husband to work and support me; that he was able and willing to work, and I did not propose to be turned on charity by such people; that I was an American woman and as an American woman wanted my support in its proper channel.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What answer did you get?—A. They let him alone for a few months.

Q. Let him work?—A. Let him work.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Did they call him a scab?—A. They called him a scab.

Q. Have you any children?—A. No.

Q. Does the fact that they call him a scab affect you socially?—A. Doesn't affect me socially, because I consider it is an honor to be independent. I am the one that has had to suffer, instead of having the comforts that I should have as an American woman. As my husband is a citizen and a voter and has had honorary service through the civil war and 5 years in the regular army—George

Washington's Own—if that does not entitle him to protection under the Constitution of these United States in supporting me, is there any place in the world where there is protection?

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Are you acquainted with the wives of working people?—A. I haven't the time. Every day is occupied that I possibly have. I have my regular customers, my private dressmaking. I have very ordinary prices. I do not get the pay my work should give me, simply because I feel—our expenses are very small; if you were to see the place we live in and the conditions under which I live, and my grocery bills, and the old soft coal I burn and all of that—of course I get two bushels of soft coal for a quarter, where hard coal is \$7 a ton, you know.

Q. Do you know whether the wives of other working men consider it an honor to have their husbands called scabs?—A. You don't understand. I don't mean it exactly that way. I consider the word scab should be eliminated from the English language.

Q. You regard it as a term of reproach?—A. I regard it as a term of reproach. It is the vilest, to my mind, most contemptible word that can be applied. The word demands all the corruption, the low vile ness that is in a man's character—to call another a scab.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) What synonym would you suggest to be used in the place of the word scab?—A. Well, I don't know that there is any word in the English language that can take the place of that word scab.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You think it is generally regarded as such a word of reproach that the use of it is practically intimidation?—A. I do. I think the word scab—as I have expressed my opinion freely and fully, there is nothing more I could say on the word scab. I don't think there is a word in the English language or that can be coined that would express the filth, contempt, and corruption of the word. It is a word I never allow used in the house. I have had a little adopted boy, and I have never allowed him to use the word.

Q. What remedy would you suggest?—A. My remedy lies in the governor of the State. Any corporation that is not for the benefit—is not conducted for the benefit of a community, its charter should be annulled. As long as they conduct themselves in a way that is beneficial, organization is all right. I belong to several myself. I find great benefit from them, in one way and another.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) What organizations do you belong to?—A. I am an officer of the National Blue and Gray organization, and I am a member of the relief corps.

Q. Do you belong to any secret societies?—A. I do not believe in secret societies; no.

Q. Do you have in any of these societies rules for the government and discipline of the members?—A. We have never had any occasion to use them.

Q. Have you such rules?—A. We have; very light.

Q. Provide punishment?—A. Don't know that there is any punishment.

Q. Do you provide for expulsion in case of nonpayment of dues?—A. No, not any of the organizations; there is no provision for expulsion. We are supposed to do our duty by one another and go on humanitarian principles. If my husband goes out to his work, or to look for work, I don't see that it is the right of any man or men to prevent him—the Constitution of the United States guarantees life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and if the support and care of the ones that belong to a man—if that is not the pursuit of happiness I can not understand what is.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you feel that adequate police protection is afforded in case of these labor difficulties?—A. Adequate police protection is an unknown quantity, in a measure. Different minds have different opinions as to what adequate police protection is. During the Debs strike I saw policemen wearing white ribbons.

Q. What did that mean?—A. That was the American Railway Union emblem; it was also the Christian Temperance emblem. They were wearing the white ribbon in sympathy for the Debs organization. If the police and union labor leaders were taken out of politics, I think that it would be a great deal better. My husband is a voter; he is a citizen; what taxes we have to pay, we pay; and I think every man that is a taxpayer should have protection.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) How long was your husband in the Army?—A. Four years in the volunteers, civil war, and 5 years in George Washington's Own First Infantry; and it seems to me that a man who has given 9 years of his life to his country's service is entitled to some protection under the laws. My husband is of Scotch birth, not American born. He is an American to all intents and purposes.

entertainment committee—compulsory education. I have gone to the front as an American woman. We are brought up that way. We are taught it is our duty, if adversity comes, for us to go to the front, if possible. Thank God I owe no man a cent. That has been going on ever since 1886. My husband has earned at his trade \$7 since the 1st of last October. He is not allowed to work. There are bosses in the town, the city of Chicago, who are told if that man is given employment they will call strikes, sympathetic strikes; throw out—every building in Chicago can be tied up.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Has he been able and willing to work during that time?—A. Able and willing to work; always had the highest rate of pay; has letters of recommendation from his employers; has been foreman of the largest building in the city of Chicago, the Marshal Field wholesale house, that was built by Norcross Brothers, a Massachusetts firm, and on the Armour elevator, one of the largest buildings of its class in the world.

Q. Has he made frequent applications for employment?—A. He has made applications; he has walked the streets from one day to the other. Men have told him: "I should like to give you work; I would give you work, but they will call a strike on me. I can not do it. I have signed the scale. I can not give you employment." He is a thoroughly competent man in all classes of trade.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Has he ever sought entrance into the union?—A. He has sought entrance into the union. There was a fine entered against him of \$100. He had been a member of the union twice.

Q. What was the offense?—A. The offense was going one Sunday and putting in a skylight over some \$7,000 worth of fine electrical machinery while the work was on a strike. There was a star-chamber meeting called and a fine was entered against him of \$100. He refused to pay it, consequently a vote of expulsion was taken. The contractors were Angus & Gindele, general contractors.

Q. Had he violated the rule?—A. That was the law. He worked, while there was a strike, in protecting the interests of his employer while putting in that skylight to prevent the destruction of thousands of dollars worth of fine electrical machinery at the power house of the West Side Union Traction Building. That was his offense.

Q. Has his employer not taken care of him since then?—A. Employers don't do those things—not Chicago employers. They laid for him, as they say, some six or seven men, in the halls of that power house, and beat him into insensibility. The policeman (turning her back to the commissioners) never saw it; very conveniently turned his back—policeman on the corner; I have forgotten now his name. Two men coming through the hall saved his life. They beat and kicked him into insensibility.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Did he know who did it?—A. Entertainment committee; that is all.

Q. Did he ever institute any prosecution?—A. The man was frightened out of his life. He would not allow me to see a lawyer to enter suit. I must have my living taken away from me. I am an American woman. I am not disposed to be thrown on charity. I have had to have coal brought to my house because I had none. I considered I was taking work from some woman that had no protector, when I have a husband who is able and willing to support me, and who has always had, when he has been at work, the very highest rate of wages, regardless of unions or any other corporation, because his employers considered him worthy of it.

Q. Do you wish us to understand that he was intimidated?—A. Certainly. The man is afraid of his life. Now, if he knew I was here this afternoon he would want to leave town to-night, if he had to walk.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) He will read it in the papers in the morning.—A. Let him read it; I will stand for it. I went to the painter's union at one time and I told them I wanted them to allow my husband to work and support me; that he was able and willing to work, and I did not propose to be turned on charity by such people; that I was an American woman and as an American woman wanted my support in its proper channel.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What answer did you get?—A. They let him alone for a few months.

Q. Let him work?—A. Let him work.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Did they call him a scab?—A. They called him a scab.

Q. Have you any children?—A. No.

Q. Does the fact that they call him a scab affect you socially?—A. Doesn't affect me socially, because I consider it is an honor to be independent. I am the one that has had to suffer, instead of having the comforts that I should have as an American woman. As my husband is a citizen and a voter and has had honorary service through the civil war and 5 years in the regular army—George

and am engaged in a number of litigations involving these questions relating to patents, and I have heard discussed, and given some study and attention to, the present conditions here by reason of that fact, outside of my interest in it as a citizen.

Q. We should be happy to have you go on in your own way and give such information as you may have that bears upon this general question, and any opinions that you may choose to express.—A. I do not know whether you would call it information; I do not know whether you would call it evidence, opinions, and conclusions based upon these facts and conditions that I have just stated. I have lived here and practiced my profession a quarter of a century. It is the great center outside of New York City of patent litigation relating to manufactures. I was born in this State and have a civic pride in this city, and I know that the statistics show that in the city of Chicago and within a radius of 40 miles of the city, sweeping in Waukegan and Joliet, there is now more money invested in manufacturing industries and in value of output than in all New England.

Q. Than in all New England?—A. Than in all New England. I had occasion to investigate that once in an interview with President Harrison regarding our branch of the profession, a number of years ago, and that was what we believed to be the fact at that time, and it has been intensified and duplicated since. I know that within a short time past there has been an exceedingly restive and uneasy feeling among all the manufacturers as to this locality. It has arisen out of the uncertainty in one respect and the certainty in another of trouble and disorder and danger arising out of the attitude of certain labor organizations toward these industries. To use the expression of the President, the condition is intolerable, and something drastic has certainly got to be done to alter and change these relations in this locality, or the manufacturing investments and property will be practically driven out and ruined. My reasons and belief as to these matters come largely out of interviews and facts that have arisen directly in connection with these questions in relation to the periling and litigation of property. I do not know how far it may be well to carry such a drastic proceeding, but the State seems to be in no serious disposition except to masquerade under forms that look well as a statute, but mean nothing as to practical enforcement. As to how far these conditions will push the manufacturers, I do know that within the last few months I have heard a number of large manufacturers who have their property interests at stake here, who have advocated the programme of simply fighting the thing right up now, the same as the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy did on the engineers' strike, and settling this question one way or another, and if it can not be settled, moving their industries outside of what seems to be the storm center of disturbance and disorder here. I do not know whether that is anything. I have only been asked to come in here within fifteen minutes, but those are the ideas and beliefs that had crystallized in my mind in regard to present conditions.

Q. What do they desire—to break down trade unionism, or merely to put a stop to certain abuses incident to it?—A. There is no disposition, I think, to break down trade unions—that is, trade unions as carried on with any spirit and intention of, we will say, supporting and recognizing these industries; but the present condition, which seems to be a stand-and-deliver position of the trade unions, and their evident intention to put a ball and chain on them and have them walk around with it, that thing has got to quit and stop. That seems to be the general disposition of it. The organization of the labor union seems to be a far more perfect and formidable affair, and to have far more effect in carrying out and enforcing results, which they decide when used by the manufacturers, than any association of the manufacturers seems to be. I want to state here that my opinion as to this matter is colored and taken largely from the complaints and the discussions I have heard—simply from one side, and that is the manufacturers themselves.

Q. Have you personally appeared in any litigation growing out of the labor difficulty?—A. No; I have not.

Q. You have, then, no personal or professional knowledge of the exact demands of the trade-union people and the exact purposes of the manufacturers in relation to these controversies?—A. I have not any exact information as to the demands of the labor union, except what I see discussed in the editorials in the newspapers. I have some more, I think, of an understanding of the demands of the associations, from the discussions with me of the individual members.

Q. Is it your opinion that it is impossible or impracticable for the two sides of this controversy to come together and unite upon some basis for continuing work harmoniously and profitable to each?—A. In the present condition of what appears to me to be a kind of fermentation on the part of the labor unions in this particular locality, if that exists, there does not seem to me to be any chance of alignment or conclusion between the two camps.

Q. And you observe the news that there seems to be a movement on foot to extend the machinists' strike to other places?—A. Yes.

Q. And undertake a sort of national movement?—A. I see that they claim they can bring more than 100,000 machinists in all parts of the United States into their way of thinking and have them take on overt acts the same as they have here. It seems to me improbable that they can do it.

Q. Will you describe what you mean by overt acts in this connection?—A. The same conditions that are complained of here; for example, the entry upon private property by members of these organizations and the practical coercion of employees and of manufacturers into lines of action and terms dictated by them.

Q. Do you consider that manufacturing property and the manufacturing business are not adequately protected by law here and by the administration of law?—A. I do. I think that this city will read a lesson of the red torch of the commune if the conditions are not changed here.

Q. Will you specify any acts of the trade unionists that seem to you to be violations of law, or rather that jeopardize property and business?—A. I should not care to go beyond general statements without having more time to formulate a statement of facts. I have definite and well-defined ideas and views on this matter, as I say, from conversations that I have had with my manufacturing clients. The instances that I would, if I might, perhaps recite, would be perhaps considered in the nature of gossip or hearsay. I should not like to go on here and attempt to mention particulars and give instances from matters that were talked about with me without any expectation, I know, that they would be made public or placarded by me in that way.

Q. Have you any further statement? We should be pleased to hear it.—A. No, I do not wish to volunteer. This whole matter has been impromptu. I left my desk to come here without the slightest expectation beforehand, and I was informed that a general line of conundrums would be propounded, and perhaps I might say something that would be in the way of suggestion of some kind of information. But I should not like to volunteer.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Is there no effort being made at conciliation or arbitration? Is there nobody in Chicago big enough, or able enough, or no organization big enough or able enough to try to bring these warring parties together and bring peace?—A. It would seem to me that there ought to be; evidently up to this time there is not. It seems to me parties could be selected in whose decision both sides would have confidence. It would certainly test the question whether it could not be settled in that way.

Q. Is there no man in Chicago, or association of men, who are free from partisan connections, and in whom the laboring men and the business men, too, would have confidence, who might inaugurate a movement to that effect? Can you think of any such?—A. I can not.

Q. Is it not the duty of the people of Chicago whose interests are being injured to go to work upon that line, instead of continuing in a warring, abusive attitude toward the laboring men, for instance, and the laboring men continuing in that way toward the other side?—A. The theory is right, and the practice undoubtedly would be right to attempt that. I have understood that a great many things had arisen, and before they got around to a final meeting of the parties something had come up or some parties had intervened which destroyed exactly this spirit which you speak of. I happen to be counsel for a large number of manufacturers, east and west. You are talking about the spirit, or what they preach. I should think I could perhaps express it by Richelieu's quotation, "Withal to conciliate; failing all to crush." Now, all the manufacturers that I have known anything about are in the spirit of conciliation, but there is a certain line or limit that you meet, that to them and to me, as I say, seems destruction and the extinguishment of all manhood and property rights, and that line they are not going beyond. You speak of hearing gentlemen speak of this. It would be a difficult question for the President of the United States to select men of national repute, of high honor and fairness, unbiased or uninfluenced in any way by local conditions here, that both sides would have confidence in.

Q. Perhaps the President of the United States would not feel warranted in doing anything of that kind unless he were requested by both sides to do it.—A. That certainly is a fair reply to the question, but if it is intimated, to carry the joint debate a little further, that he would do it if it was requested, that part of it would be simple.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you know of any obstacles to general and great prosperity in the manufacturing industry here except these labor difficulties?—A. I do not. We have everything here, cheap coal and ore, water and rail transportation, and forests, and all of the forces that to me make this a center of manufac-

turing in this country, and I do not see why it can not be of the world; and we are at the high tide now, if it were not for these conditions as they are here now.

Q. Success in business depends upon the harmonious working of labor and capital; you all recognize that, I suppose?—A. Oh, yes, of course, so long as the burdens that are put on the business by that harmonious relation are not such as to practically extinguish the business itself or take the profits of the business from the manufacturers and transfer them to the pockets of labor. It looks to me as if the end of these labor organizations was to practically share in the dividends of the manufacturers without any of the risks of the manufacturers.

Q. Have they made any demands, so far as you know, for sharing profits?—A. No; but I think that is their tendency; that is what the logical conclusion of this condition means.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Do not the contractors say that it is not a question of wages; that they are offering nonunion men just as high a scale of wages as the union men demand?—A. Yes.

Q. Would not that seem — —A. (Interrupting.) I was not talking about manufacturers; I was talking about what my belief was concerning the ultimate object of the labor union. After they get this they will drive the wedge in a little bit farther.

Q. It is a fact that the contractors in the building trades are offering just as high wages as the union demands?—A. I understand so, and the highest wages that are paid in any part of the country, and double what are paid in Europe.

Q. Then there is no present substantial evidence that the workmen are demanding a share in the dividends, is there?—A. Except that if you go back and see the progressive steps that have led up to this thing in the organization, and the claims that are now and then made, perhaps by parties that they themselves repudiate, it seems to me the logical conclusion.

Q. Organization has been rapid and continuous here, has it?—A. I understand so; not an unbroken but a rapid succession.

Q. Do you think that the workmen, to hold their own against great industrial combinations that are going on, must organize and act in a concerted way?—A. Up to a certain point I think there is no objection to combination in industrial organization.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Can you see any reason why the manufacturers can not be called together, and the leading representatives of the workmen be called together, and each select a committee to meet the other and see if they can not harmonize the differences?—A. There is not any reason against that in the world.

Q. Do you not think it would be good policy to do that?—A. Good policy; yes. As to what the results would be, it would be another matter; but it is good policy to try it.

Q. Do you think the warfare is entirely industrial, or does politics enter into and complicate it?—A. I am not a politician, but it seems to me that it is leavened all through with political conditions. That is the reason why I said a while ago that it seems as if, although the State statutes look well and theoretically read all right, when you come to the enforcement of them—the translation that is put on them—the condition of enforcement destroys any relief that can be given by them.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Has an effort ever been made on the part of the conflicting parties to come together?—A. Oh, I have understood so; I have understood that there has; yes.

Q. Did it amount to anything?—A. Up to a certain point there was an alignment of views, but when they got to these certain questions it seemed to be irreconcilable.

Q. Should you care to state where the dividing line was?—A. There are those who can define that with accuracy.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Who are they? Do you know?—A. I should say perhaps some representatives of almost any of the large manufacturers here could go into details as to that.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Can you furnish the commission with the names of the persons who could be summoned—confidentially, if you desire?—A. When I get back to my office I will telephone to several gentlemen that I believe have the information that you gentlemen would desire, and will ask them to communicate with this commission.

Q. As to the failure — —A. (Interrupting.) As to the negotiations or discussions that were entered into and the alignment of views, and as to where the roads divided and the reasons for it.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you think of any needed national or State legislation to improve industrial conditions?—A. It seems to me, and has for some time, that

~~if~~ the relief came it should come through a uniform Federal enactment, and with power and disposition to enforce the enactment after it was made.

Q. Can you think of the definite lines of such an enactment that would come within the Constitution of the United States?—A. I should want more time, Mr. Clarke, to do that. I should not want to start here offhand and formulate that proposition.

Q. Do you believe there would be any advantage in a Federal corporation law?—A. I certainly do. All my clients are largely of that character and I certainly do.

Q. You think there could be one?—A. I think so.

Q. Within the Constitution?—A. I do.

Q. Do you wish to say anything in regard to an appointive or elective judiciary?—A. My practice is entirely at this time before Federal judges in all parts of the United States; and compared with my practice in the series of years before an elective judiciary, I think there is every argument in favor of the appointive and that the judicial history of this country will show it.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Can you give reasons in favor of your position?—A. I can give reasons that are entirely satisfactory to me. The Federal judges of this country are of life appointment; they are men of the highest order and standing. The man who makes the appointment of those judges has a life object before him to refer to. They are usually men of the highest character and standing. I am before them all in all parts of the United States in different times in the year, and they are above any kind of shouting or clamor of the mob, or any bias of these corporations; and I think as a body of men they rank above any judiciary in the world.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) It has been stated that many of them have previously been counsel for corporations. If that is so, do you consider that they are entirely absolved from prejudice growing out of that service when they enter upon their judicial duties?—A. Mr. Commissioner, the Federal judges that I have seen who have occupied those relations—I had rather be against the corporation than in favor of it, for which they were counsel. My observation has been that those judges stand up so straight that they fall over backward. I can not think of an instance in all my practice—

Q. Do you as a lawyer think it necessary to the obtaining of justice by the common people that they should have a hand directly in the choice of judges?—A. Elect them by political movements? I do not. I have my views as to the superiority of the Federal judges in this country, who are appointed. I want that understood of the Federal appointments for life. I am not familiar with what few States there are where they are appointed simply for a series of years by the governors; but in my view fair, absolute, and certain justice is meted out to laborer and manufacturer by the judge who holds a life position. Of course great care is taken in the selection and appointment of the Federal judges. For the last two or three administrations here, politics seem not to have cut a great figure in the appointment of Federal judges: Democrats have been appointed by Republicans and Republicans by Democrats, and eminent lawyers have been put on where the President was absolutely blind to what his politics were—instance after instance of that kind.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Nearly all that the country has experienced of Government by injunction has come from the appointive judges, has it not?—A. Two or three of them, not very many of them. When you come to look up those gentlemen personally, certain comments can be made upon them that show that they are a wide exception to the rule.

Q. Do you know of instances where corporations in time of labor troubles have applied for injunctions at the hands of the Federal judiciary and had them refused?—A. Oh, yes; I think there are cases of that kind.

Q. You are not advocating an appointive judiciary locally, are you, in the States and counties and cities?—A. No; I have qualified what I have said here; it was in regard to the Federal judges.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) In the State of Illinois, are judges elected on party tickets?—A. Yes.

Q. And they are always therefore partisans?—A. It is my belief; yes.

Q. They may be good men, but they are chosen as partisans?—A. They are chosen as partisans and the end of their term is always in view, and in any cases that arise where decisions may be affected by partisan questions or by partisan control or party organization, there results an uneasy feeling, to any litigants who are pushed up before the judge under those conditions.

Q. Can you conceive of any one interest that any class in the community may have which would not be more secure if the judges had a longer tenure of office and were independent of all temporary influences?—A. I can not. I believe in

a long tenure of office and higher recognition and remuneration for services rendered and a high standard of appointment, which depends a good deal on the remuneration. When you come to this question of remuneration, there is scarcely a case arising but the lawyers on one side or the other, where vast interests are involved, would themselves willingly pay the difference between the salary that is paid to the judge and the salary they believe ought to be paid to him, to have it tried before a man in whom they have perfect confidence. There is no question that they are not paid enough, because lawyers of that class and character will not abandon their practice and take the position.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Would you have a provision for readily getting rid of a corrupt judge or a judge who might have displayed a Jeffreys spirit?—A. I should be in favor of the most drastic legislation. A man against whom there was a fair presumption that he was open to that kind of criticism or influence would have no business on the bench or trying any case between litigants.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do the Illinois laws provide for impeachment or for removal upon information in case of malfeasance in office?—A. There is a law, but, as I said a while ago, the laws appear to be all right when you come to the spirit and intention and political bias and the influences that are mixed up with it; but when you come to translate it and enforce it, it loses its significance and effect.

Q. Do you consider it necessary to the enjoyment of all the protection of popular government that all branches of that government should be elective and subject to frequent action of the people?—A. No. An affirmative answer to that question would be in entire contradiction of the opinions I have expressed on an elective judiciary. It is the judicial department that I am constantly in contact with, and that certainly is my opinion as to that department of the Government. It should be taken outside of these political tempests and excitements. And men of high order and standing, with life positions and with good salary, are the only absolute assurance of the dispensation of justice in this country.

Q. Even, then, in State matters you do not think that any class of people would be jeopardized, or their interests jeopardized in any way, if the judges were appointed and had a tenure for life or during good behavior?—A. What I have said has been my belief that has arisen over a long series of years from my contact in every shape and direction with the Federal judges of this country. Whether or not those conditions would arise in the States is an entirely different question, it seems to me; but if we had governors of each State who approximated in character and judgment and standing and in honesty of purpose and intentions to the Presidents who have been elected, and who would make these appointments on the same high plane, I should have exactly the same views as to the appointment of the judiciary. But that is entirely theoretical. It does not seem to work in some of the States. I am talking about the Federal Government, and I certainly believe that if it was carried into State appointments it would have the same effect and be equally desirable. Parties who are in State politics and all that could inform you gentlemen whether there is any possibility of doing it in this State or not. There certainly has not been, I think, lately.

Q. Have you studied the question of compulsory arbitration so as to have an opinion as to whether there can be a statute providing for it that will be constitutional and effective?—A. I have given no such study to that as would make my opinion of any value to you gentlemen.

Q. Unless you have some further statement to make yourself, we will excuse you.—A. I have not, Mr. Chairman, and I am not here as a volunteer witness; I came over here as a kind of *amicus curiæ*, to simply crystallize some of the conclusions I have come to on the questions you have asked me, as I have stated.

Testimony closed.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 21, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. THOMAS NICHOLSON,

Contractor.

The special subcommittee met at 10.20 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 11 a. m. Mr. Thomas Nicholson, of Chicago, contractor, was introduced as a witness and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. Thomas Nicholson.

Q. Your post-office address.—A. 815 Dearborn street, Chicago.

- Q. Your occupation.—A. Contractor.
- Q. In what line are you?—A. The building line.
- Q. Building contractor?—A. Yes.
- Q. Is your business chiefly in Chicago?—A. Chiefly in Chicago.
- Q. Do you carry it on in other cities also?—A. Yes; we are building at the present time in Cincinnati.
- Q. How long have you been engaged in business in Chicago?—A. Twenty-five years.
- Q. Do you erect many buildings here?—A. Yes; erecting them all the time; large buildings.
- Q. Have a large number of hands in your employ from time to time?—A. Yes.
- Q. Sustaining business relations with all classes of workmen engaged in the building trades?—A. The very closest relations possible under those circumstances. I am the superintendent, the outdoor superintendent, on the work for the firm, and consequently I come into direct communication with all the delegates and the union.
- Q. Are all the men whom you employ members of trade unions?—A. Yes; necessarily they are.
- Q. Are they in other cities?—A. Partially so. Whichever branch of the business is in the hands of the union, we employ union men.
- Q. With how many unions do you have relations in your business?—A. Last season on our Chicago buildings I think it was five different organizations we had to deal with on the one building.
- Q. Is there any agreement or system or practice in vogue between the building contractors and the representatives of the union for conducting their business relations?—A. Yes; there are well-defined rules on one side or the other, on the union side especially.
- Q. Is there any agreement between the two sides for conducting their business relations?—A. In many of the unions. Some of the unions in the spring present a list of what they call demands, and they have them filled out and subscribed to. It generally gives their working rules and the rate of wages, etc., and when we subscribe to them we live up to them.
- Q. Have you any regular system which is in operation from year to year for composing differences as they arise?—A. Until within 3 years we had it with one particular branch, that is the bricklayers' union. We had a mutual agreement with them regarding all the rules on both sides that would come directly in contact with each other.
- Q. Was that agreement in writing?—A. It was in writing.
- Q. Can you furnish a copy of it to the commission?—A. No; it was not personally with our firm in writing; it was with the contractors' association. They had representatives on one side and the bricklayers' union had their representatives on their side, the president, etc. They had a regular arbitration committee, and whatever changes were to be made in their rules were brought before that committee and gone over back and forth. They had a splendid system of arbitration that was brought into vogue when, about 12 years ago, we had an industrial fight like what we have to-day, and after staying out for about 8 weeks both sides were tired of it and they came together and concluded a peace. The basis of the peace was a board of arbitration, composed of, I think, so many members from each body, and this board had full power to act. In case of any disagreement I think one of the county judges was to be the umpire; but in all that period that it was in use, I think 8 or 10 years, that umpire was not called 3 times. The bosses themselves settled grievances, and the rules were printed and each contractor knew what they were, and the workmen knew what they were and we got along very well.
- Q. Is that agreement in force now?—A. No.
- Q. When was it abrogated and why?—A. Either 1 or 2 years ago a new phase of the labor question came up. The amalgamating of the separate unions—not exactly an amalgamation, but the different unions have formed a representative central council called the building trades council—and the organization of bricklayers, which dealt directly with us, were after a while brought to join the central organization and become members of it. The central organization had no provision for arbitration, and the bricklayers' union had to forego that clause in entering this central body. Consequently we have had no direct communication with them, as we had heretofore.
- Q. Did they forego it willingly, or do you not know?—A. I do not know of that.
- Q. It had worked satisfactorily to both sides up to the time of that federation?—A. Yes.
- Q. Has any effort been made, so far as you know, to induce this central organi-

zation to adopt such a system of arbitration?—A. There has not been any direct effort made. The only effort that has been made was with this new association that has been called into existence in this present fight, as we call it the contractors' association. I understand that when they got under way they proposed some arbitration or wanted arbitration to go on this matter at present. But that has not anything to do with a systematic way of arbitrating.

Q. Do you belong to the contractors' association?—A. Our firm is a member of it.

Q. You think it would be better to have a systematic permanent system of arbitrating than to get one up temporarily for an emergency?—A. If this thing is fought out on these lines without arbitration, we are going to have the same thing come up in a year or two. It is no solution of the question at all; it is merely seeing which is the strongest.

Q. Was one of the agreements in your former arrangement that there should be no strike and no lockout, and that all differences should be submitted to this arbitration?—A. Yes.

Q. You think that is a desirable fundamental principle?—A. That is the fundamental principle on both sides, because both sides are gainers from that; the workman is not stopped in his employment, neither is the manufacturer nor the contractor. Since this arbitration clause was abrogated with us, I have seen a stoppage of 3 days that cost the laborers probably four or five hundred dollars, when the whole matter did not amount to \$5.

Q. Do you know how many laborers in the building trades of all classes are thrown out of employment by the pending difficulty?—A. There are about 16 associations or unions that we come in contact with in the building trades, and I should estimate the membership of those 16 unions at about 25,000; but there are indirectly about as many more out of employment, because they can not work on account of our being stopped. Take, for instance, the planing-mill men; they can not work because there is no demand for sash and doors and blinds. And the quarries will all be idle now; no one will quarry stone when there is no demand for it. The other day I was looking up some estimates for some buildings out of town and for stone. I asked the price on the stuff in Chicago, and I found that the strike even extended down to the Bedford quarries. They refused to sell any stuff down there for us in Chicago. The same condition existed down at Lemont and Joliet. That is about 60 or 80 miles; about 150 miles between the two points. They replied that they could not open up their quarries or do anything like that for a small order when the city was closed up to them. All those workmen will suffer.

Q. How long has this difficulty been pending now?—A. It has been pending 2 years.

Q. Two years?—A. Yes.

Q. Well, how long since the strike or lockout, whichever it was, took place?—A. February 5 last.

Q. Is it a strike in all cases, or is it a lockout in some cases?—A. I should term it a strike of the employers.

Q. The employers?—A. Yes; I think the employers have just quit—quit doing anything. They do not solicit work.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Why is that?—A. The terms that the union ask us to work under are such that we can not carry on the work. There are two conditions that the owner asks of us when we solicit a contract. The first is the cost of the building, whatever it may be, and the next is the time of finishing it. These are two stipulated things that we have to name. Now, you can not do either of those two things without knowing or taking into consideration the conditions of your business.

Q. This condition makes that uncertain?—A. Makes it impossible.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Was that an honest reply which you received from the Bedford quarry people?—A. It was.

Q. Are the Bedford quarries run only for Chicago building purposes?—A. They supposed I wanted it for Chicago, I presume. I have no business to state what they presumed. They stated to me that under the present conditions they would not ship stone to Chicago.

Q. Are they not quarrying stone there at Bedford all the while for all parts of the country?—A. Yes.

Q. It would not, then, pay to open their quarries just to furnish stone to you?—A. I do not know; I have no interest down there. I do not know anything about that.

Q. You know that the quarries are very extensive and that they are shipping material to all parts of the United States, do you not?—A. Yes; but they are shipping the most of it here.

Q. Most of it here?—A. Yes; we take more of it than any city or any other body of cities together.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What were the demands of the union or the working-men which the contractors found themselves unable to comply with?—A. As I said, I had five different organizations or unions on my building last summer, and those unions have a clause in all of their agreements that are presented to us that a sympathetic strike is to be allowed. A sympathetic strike is a far-reaching affair. I will relate an incident, and probably from that you can judge better. Last year an owner concluded to put up a large elevator here. We had a contract for part of it. You see we make the masonry. We do not have the machinery portion; the owner himself gets the machinery. In this instance he got the boilers in Racine. At the time when he bought those boilers everything was sailing fair and smooth in the building line. We went ahead with our work, and when we were about ready for the boilers they came around on the cars to the building. The owner was immediately interviewed by the unions and notified that if he put those boilers in the building all work on the building would be stopped, all mechanics would be taken off that belonged to the union; that is, they would put in force the sympathetic strike clause, which they had the right under their agreement to do—carpenters and steamfitters and everyone else; and when asked for a reason, they said that since those boilers were contracted for the boiler makers' union had gone out on strike. Now, the boiler makers' union had never come directly in contact with my part of it. The boiler makers' union had gone out on strike, and they were in sympathy with them, and consequently they would not allow any of their unions to touch those boilers nor go near the building as long as they were there. The owner had to switch those boilers into the yards and keep them for six or eight weeks on the cars before they could be put into the building. The building then was finished and the union men went away and the boilers were put into the building. Suppose that owner had stood on his right to put those boilers in and ask us to stand on our contract. We could not do it, because the sympathetic-strike laws stood. We were all one way; we were innocent parties; we were practically closed up, and we would do other work around the building, the carpenters putting up the doors, etc. You see there was an uncertainty that we could not provide against.

Q. That is one of the demands and conditions that is considered an obstacle to the harmonious working of the two elements?—A. Yes; that is the most serious one, I think, to all; but it can be avoided by a board of arbitration without any trouble at all.

Q. Could be?—A. Yes.

Q. Since there was no permanent board of arbitration to whom it could be referred, can not one be arranged now for the purpose of settling this temporary difficulty, and possibly to become a permanent institution?—A. After both sides have kind of got tired of this business, they will then see each others' views in a different light. At the present time they both stand on their rights, and those rights are opposite. They are both right, too; both right.

Q. And you all claim to be sensible men?—A. Yes.

Q. And desire to do the right thing?—A. Yes.

Q. And willing to be fair toward each other?—A. Yes.

Q. Why not make an arrangement that will enable you to come together?—A. There are certain fundamental rights that one side claim and the other side do not want to allow. If it was not allowed the one side would have no standing without it. The sympathetic strike is a strong weapon in the hands of the union. It is the strongest weapon they have had. It is one open to little discussion. It can only be effective by the consolidation of those unions in a central union. You can not have it if your unions are not consolidated.

Q. Do you see any objection to a central union?—A. No; I see a great advantage in it; because then we are dealing with one institution instead of with from 5 to 10 different unions. If I can not agree with any one of those unions I shall have the 10 on my head; while if we had a central body our central body could arbitrate with theirs; that is, combination meeting with combination. And when they are brought on a level plane they will get together in good shape. And as long as you get one central body that is strong and another that is weak, the one that is strongest has nothing to arbitrate. It does not make any difference which side it is, whether it is the contractors or the men's side; whichever thinks it is the strongest has nothing to arbitrate. They say, here are our demands; we have nothing to arbitrate; here they are.

Q. If the central body and the contractors would revive the arbitration scheme that you worked successfully with the bricklayers, and adopt it and make it a permanent system, there would not be any sympathetic strike would there, or

any occasion for it?—A. No; no strikes of any kind. The only strike that would happen then would be when by some unjust means that board of arbitration might be swayed from its duty and render an unjust verdict. Then I presume that one of the sides would be apt to have recourse to the rule again, because that would be all that would be left to them. We have no system of appeals in all these things. We have made no progress in this affair in 30 years; not a single iota of progress. The only little sunlight that ever shone on it was that arbitrating business for 10 years, and that was not unanimous. It was only by a bare majority of both interests that we got it to work. The masons did not like it.

Q. Well, is there ever any system that appeals from decisions of arbitrators in law?—A. No; not from arbitrators, but I was referring to cases where there would be. For instance, both the employers' body and the employees' body claim the power to fine their members. There is no appeal from that. I am a member of my association. If I am fined there is no appeal from it. You see there is no exact justice. That is not the system that justice is administered on. There is no equity in it.

Q. Has it been decided in any case at law whether a body can fine its members in that way?—A. You know very well that there are many ways that they can make it so disagreeable that it is easier for you to pay the fine than to be under their displeasure. It is not so much the right or wrong of the thing.

Q. Was there very much building going on in Chicago when this difficulty occurred?—A. No; it has occurred in the dull season of the year.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) If a man joins a labor organization and subscribes to all its rules, which include penalties for violation of obligation or any of the customs of the craft, is he not properly amenable to their discipline then?—A. Yes.

Q. If he violates those rules and obligations?—A. Yes.

Q. What criticism can be made, then, on an organization for enforcing the rules on a man who has agreed to abide by those rules?—A. Let me give you a case in point. Suppose that they make the fine so large that it means that you are completely exterminated; what then? They have the power to do it.

Q. Do they do that?—A. When I say they I mean both sides. There is no difference between the sides. They are working under the same rules; the employers fine them as well as the employees.

Q. They have subscribed to the principles?—A. Exactly. The other day they fined a building firm here \$500.

Q. Did they pay it?—A. Our own firm got fined last summer, but they were very kind to us; they remitted the fine when we owned up that we were in the wrong, and the others did the same.

Q. What would have been the result if you had refused to pay the fine or have the matter compromised; should you have been a scab firm then in the eyes of the other contractors?—A. Yes; we should be the same as a board of trade man.

Q. Would they have endeavored to interfere with your business in any way?—A. I could not say.

Q. Do you know what the custom is?—A. Yes.

Q. Can you tell us something about it?—A. Yes.

Q. Please do it.—A. Last year when we went to get the prices on our brick we were asked if we were in good standing with the masons' association. If we were not, the brick was a different price entirely for us. They had one price to members of the association and another price outside of it.

Q. How do you regard such a practice as that?—A. Oh, that is just the same as all the rest of the practices—exactly the same as both sides. We are no better than anyone else. I put it in the same catalogue with protection on all these things that come up. It is just merely an incident to them—part of a combination.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you think it possible or feasible to maintain organizations where there are conflicting interests unless there is some system of discipline?—A. No; it would be impossible to maintain it without discipline of that sort; they would be all divided up.

Q. You have no complaint to make of that, then, on either side?—A. No, no.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You said that this practice of fining men in the unions that practically exterminated them or drove them away is to be reprobated. Do you think also that where the contractors might put a boycott on an individual contractor, so that he could not get materials and carry on his business, that is equally as reprehensible?—A. It is the same system carried on by different parties.

Q. And equally reprehensible?—A. Exactly, and I would propose that the board of arbitration that these matters should come before to be settled be parties of an equitable turn of mind.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you think that sufficient effort has been made to get such a board of arbitration?—A. No; I think that both sides are unnecessarily

prejudiced one against the other. The one side—the workingmen—have had such enormous power wielded by their central union that they are intoxicated with their power.

Q. Can you see any other outcome of this matter than some kind of an agreement between the hostile forces?—A. No; I can not. I do not think it. Compulsory arbitration is taking away the liberties too much of the individual or the association. If the grievance is on both sides, they are judging the future of unbiased parties; and, then, being subject to the view of the public, the public would bring a strong pressure to bear upon any of these unjust actions on either side.

Q. You recognize, then, that the public has a large interest in it?—A. I think they have the largest interest in it.

Q. In view of having the largest interest, would not some public system regulated by law to prevent these difficulties, or speedily to compose them, be advantageous?—A. It would be apt to be one-sided, because in the employers' association to-day there are 1,300 votes, and our workmen have 25,000 votes. You see why we can not make unbiased tribunals emanating from votes.

Q. You think it is practically impossible, owing to our system of popular government, do you?—A. Yes; impossible.

Q. What, then, is the remedy that you would suggest?—A. I would suggest that both parties should arbitrate. But, as I say, at the present time they have not been long enough battling yet to, as you may say, lose their wind; consequently they will not take any person's advice from outside. One side does it—one side will not do it; and unless both parties agree to arbitrate I do not see what is to come of it.

Q. You think, then, they are not exactly in the mood for it?—A. No.

Q. But the principle is all right—is recognized by both as being all right?—

A. I think the contractors' association take the stand that they will not arbitrate as long as that Building Trades Council is under its present directors. You know that is asking the enemy to take their generals off the field before you treat with them, and you see that is not equitable. If both sides are so confident that they are right, they need not be afraid to arbitrate under any circumstances where there are fair arbitrators.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have the building contractors a printed constitution and by-laws of their association?—A. I hardly think they have, because it has only been called into existence during the strike. It did not exist before. We existed only as separate bodies before that, and the other side existed in the form of this Building Trades Council; consequently, you see where the one side was weak and the other strong. The other side saw that; so they have a central body now, and it is up to them. But there are a thousand different businesses now that are suffering through us. Take the manufacturing woodworkers, manufacturers of sash, doors, and blinds; the stone quarries, and sandpits, and the limekilns—they are all shut down; all suffering through nothing wrong on their part. You see how the public is suffering. I estimate about 300,000 mouths to feed; they are not having any breadwinners to-day. That will have some peculiar effects after a little while. A great many of the employers say: "We don't want to deal with unions at all." That is like asking your enemy to lay aside his weapons so you can go for him. They have no other weapons of defense except the union.

Q. Do you believe that if the building trades council people were to offer to arbitrate, or if the contractors were to offer to arbitrate, that the other side would consider that the side offering to arbitrate felt that they had lost the fight, and that they would then continue it?—A. No, I do not think so. The difficulty will be in getting unbiased arbitrators.

Q. You think there is no fear on either side holding them back?—A. No.

Q. That sort of a settlement?—A. No; don't see where that would come in at all; because, in regard to fights, according to my experience in past fights, this one is hardly started yet; it is only beginning.

Q. The reason I asked you was, one gentleman testified here yesterday that that is why the labor side would generally, in these fights, refuse to be the first to move in the matter of arbitration, because they would consider that the other side would look upon them then as beaten.—A. A few of the unions are in favor of arbitration. I spoke to the president of one, and to the second in authority of another—the two largest unions—and they consented to it at the time when this arbitration question was brought out by Mr. Madden. The president of the carpenters' union and the head men of the bricklayers' union said they would be very willing to arbitrate this matter, but that, being members of this central body, it had to go before each organization in that body to be voted on. I should like to

make a suggestion here in regard to these bodies on both sides: If, in arbitrating, it might be possible to get a system of referendum voting by each organization, regarding the rules, etc., that may from time to time come up. At the present time the heads of those unions come with their nearest friends and acquaintances and control those unions without the help of the rest of the voters. They are governed by a system of voting similar to the States; but some of the unions are so large that if they were all to come down you would have to get two churches to hold them the night the officers are elected, whereas only about 300 or 400 come. Consequently, the 2,000 or 3,000 thousand that remain at home have not a direct vote. By referendum vote I mean a vote similar to what they have in Switzerland. Whenever anything of any moment comes up you put it on a postal card and mail it to each member, and he votes yes or no and sends it back again. By that means both bodies would have better officers and representatives, and questions would be better known.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you know whether or not that system has been tried, either by the employees or the employers?—A. Never has been, except in one business. It has been employed in two different businesses here; the typographical union has got it, and the employees of the Great Northern Railroad used it with great success this year, and defeated a strike through it. They were going to have a strike on their hands, and the employees took a referendum vote from one end of the road to the other, and the majority ruled against the strike. Now, there it was not in the hands of three or four or ten men to order that terrible strike. It came directly before the people who were most interested in it. If the strike here had been treated the same way, we should not have had any strike—on both sides.

Q. Do you know of any agitation on your side or on the side of the men for adopting the referendum?—A. No; none whatever.

Q. You would earnestly recommend it, then, as one of the means for avoiding these labor difficulties?—A. Yes; I think it would be a great means of doing so.

Q. You think that would be strictly in line with the true principles of popular government?—A. Yes. I base it upon this: I notice that unions, when first formed and for a number of years, are carried on in very good shape; they depend a great deal upon the principal officers, the honesty of those officers, and their executive ability. But after a time certain interests get a hold so as to get those offices for their own friends, and when that goes along for a certain time everything changes; they begin to nag on us and get disagreeable rules and regulations, and get friction at once, while the former good men that were there carried the thing on with success. Take the locomotive engineers; see how long they have been under Chief Arthur, and how few strikes they have had; and I could give you an instance in our own association, the bricklayers' association; for 8 to 12 years they had very good men, of good executive ability, at the head of it, and all that time that we had the arbitration board we had no trouble; but the officers of it changed, and with the change of officers comes the change of course. One may be a peace board and the next combative fellows. These things take place, and the rank and file have no hand in it at all—no hand in the placing of these officers.

Q. Have you brought up the subject in your contractors' central body?—A. I am not a member of it.

Q. Do you know what proportion of the contractors object to trade unions and to dealing with their representatives?—A. No.

Q. You said that some of them were opposed to them?—A. Yes; but you would have to get their names to it before you could tell whether they were for or against them.

Q. Is it your opinion that the majority is for or against it?—A. The majority, I think is for the trade unions; that is, are not against the unions. They all usually are for it, but they qualify it that they are in favor of the unions of a certain kind—unions that would not bother our interests.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) What feature of trade unionism is most objectionable to the contractors?—A. As I said before, I think it is the sympathetic strike; that is about the only real feature I see. This walking-delegate question that they bring up—I find very little to say against that, and a good deal in its favor. I consider that the delegate is only a man appointed to do certain things, and I must say that many of them are good, conscientious men, attending to their business just as I would to mine. I have had a good deal of dealing with them directly, and I have found most of them are good men.

Q. Is not an impression sought to be made that the walking delegate is the whole thing—that he can order a strike or call a strike off, and do everything?—A. Some of them seem to have that impression; but I found it different. I found that his powers are not very well defined, and if he is a seditious man—what I mean is,

hasty and hot-tempered—he is apt to make trouble. As I said before, he does not carry around any written regulations in regard to his powers, and the men ascribe many powers to him that he has not got.

Q. His men?—A. The workmen. You see he has so many in such a district to look after, and he has to see that these men are working according to union rules. If he did not, there could not be any union.

Q. Did any of the walking delegates with whom you came in contact ever arbitrarily declare strikes, or call them off, or make trouble for you?—A. Yes.

Q. They did?—A. Yes.

Q. Can you relate the circumstances of the case?—A. In building an elevator for the Armour Company we employed stonemasons to dress off the top of the large stones, and the union delegate of the bricklayers came around and arbitrarily ordered all his men belonging to his organization to quit work on that building. The trouble was between the two organizations—not between them and me. They said the stonemasons had no right to cut those stones, and that the bricklayers' union had that right. It took these two bodies 2 days to settle which of them should do the work, and in the meantime the work stopped. Then they compromised the matter. One fellow took one part of the stone off and the other fellow took the other portion off. All the same wages to me; did not cut any figure with me; I was not interested. They lost about \$300 in wages on that one trifle, when my loss did not amount to much. That is to show you that they actually do harm to themselves through the system. Now, if there is an arbitration system in vogue, a central one—you see an individual arbitration would not do; it would have to be sent to a central board, because it was a dispute between two different trades.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you know upon how many buildings partially erected work has been suspended as a result of this present difficulty?—A. I don't know how many.

Q. Have you any approximate idea?—A. I read in the papers, from the report of the masons' association, there were 300.

Q. Do you know whether or not they were generally large buildings?—A. There are not many large buildings. There are probably about 20 large buildings.

Q. What are the others, dwellings?—A. Small and repair jobs; something like that.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Does the strike affect the work on this Government building?—A. No.

Q. It does not seem to go ahead?—A. Could not go ahead with this weather, anyway, and they have no material there to go ahead with; the granite has not come.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Is it practically impossible for the owners of those buildings to take the matter into their own hands and go ahead and complete the work?—A. Yes. They can go ahead with any of them and complete them if they could but hire the union men to complete them.

Q. But, as a matter of fact, do they do that?—A. No; because they are in the same boat as we are—it is the owners on a strike more than anything else. We put strike clauses in all our contracts, so when these kickups of the unions come it is the owner that gets it.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) He suffers?—A. Yes. We could not do otherwise without being ruined.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) What effect does that have on building in the city?—A. It has not a very good effect.

Q. Is it a very serious loss to the city and to the contractors and to the material men?—A. If we had a brisk building year it would be serious, but as we have had very dull years for the last 10 years here the effect has not been so serious.

Q. If this trouble were removed, what would be, in your opinion, the effect upon building?—A. It would have a good, healthy effect. But building is not where all the things come in. This same system that we are under now is being introduced in nearly every branch of manufacturing interests, and it will have the same effect on the manufacturing interests that it has had with us.

Q. I don't know that I understand exactly what the main points of difference between the different parties are. What are the real subjects of contention?—A. The thing in a nutshell is this, that the employer and employees have organizations and both of those organizations work separately. For instance, the employees' organization goes on to-night in its lodge and formulates a whole lot of rules and says, "Now, those are the rules we are going to have in our shops this year." And they go on—number, number, number, different rules—and when they get to the bottom of it here is the place for the employer's name to be put. That is all the employer has to say about those rules—this little piece at

the bottom. If he does not put his name there, the employer knows what the consequence is—that he has got to fight. Now, if there were no organization of the employees on that side, we should not formulate our demands in that shape, but they would have to work under us: we should have it our own way; we would knock out the 8-hour system; we would knock out the weekly pay day; we would knock the double-time business, and we would have it just as it was 30 years ago—right straight as you find it in the farming communities to-day.

Q. Is there no difference, then, between the contending parties in regard to pay per hour?—A. Sometimes that comes up—not this year; but 3 years ago, I think it was, or 4, the union loop was built through the city, and the common, everyday laborers on the buildings had no unions, never had a union before that, and they were working all the way from \$1.75 to 90 cents a day. I could point you to buildings here where the labor was 90 cents a day. That class of laborers began organizing. They got up a union, and with the help of the other unions, when they joined their central body, they have been able to gradually raise their wages, and their conditions were bettered, until last year they were able to formulate the regular tabulated statement, print it, and send it around to us, containing all the regulations. The rate was to be 25 cents an hour. That was a good rate and everyone signed it without any hesitation. They were the same parties that were getting an average of \$1.50 4 years ago, and some of them as low as 90 cents. This year they improved a little on that and made an advance of 15 per cent or 20 per cent on the good wages of last year. Now, if you keep that on indefinitely, where would you get? The bricklayers, when we had this board of arbitration—both sides came and agreed on the wages. The wages were about the same for about 6 years. This year the bricklayers on their side alone, you know, raised it 15 or 20 per cent—15 per cent, I think it was. They were going to raise from 50 to 60, but it was not done. This was only put in for us the day before the strike occurred, consequently we don't know anything about it. It is the making of these demands on one side that is objectionable, without the other having a say at all about it.

Q. While these demands are within the rules that have just been adopted for signature by the other side, is there no chance for consultation about it?—A. Oh, no; there is not. We are never taken into account at all, but we are asked to mail them back.

Q. Without any immediate consultation?—A. Without any immediate consultation; that is, one side, you see, is just merely dictating to another; that is it.

Q. You say you have no constitution or by-laws with your association?—A. Oh, yes; the masons' association has. The one you asked me about was a different association from the masons' association. That is a new body just come into existence. But the masons' association is a regular incorporated body, with rules and all, and has been in existence for about 12 or 14 years.

Q. Then, so far as the constitution is concerned, it is permanent?—A. Yes; yes.

Q. And the by-laws are subject to be changed from time to time?—A. Yes. All this comes in the working rules which govern us at our employment. The rules for governing the societies themselves we do not know anything about. But each side formulates—or one side, anyway, of late has been formulating—working rules. It is the employees' side this time. They have been formulating all the working rules.

Q. I suppose you do not have in your possession the constitution and by-laws of the masons and builders' association, do you?—A. No; I am not a member of it.

Q. Now, as it seems that it is barely possible to get arbitration or conciliation between the contending forces, what is your judgment in regard to arbitration under some State or Federal law?—A. I do not think it would be possible to get a law passed, and if you did get it passed it would not last long. The Irish land law and the Scotch cotter law are the only two laws I know of in regard to compulsory arbitration, and they had to do only with the landlord on one side and the tenant on the other. In Ireland, if the rent is too high, you just notify the court, a court especially adapted for it. It was a short way of smoothing over the Irish land difficulty, and it was most excellent, and the same way in Scotland.

Q. If something of this kind could be inaugurated, what would then be the prospect of getting the contending forces here together in a peaceable way?—A. The different interests that are outside of us, such as the quarry, brick, lumber, and so on, have not been touched much yet. It has been bad weather and the quarries could not be opened up, and the mills usually do not run much in the winter. But in a few weeks more, when the good weather comes, their employees will begin to come around and wonder why they are not going to work. They will bring pressure on their employers and they will bring pressure on other ones, and you would be surprised to see what a lot of things will come into operation

to concentrate on these two bodies. These two bodies are the whole thing at the present time, and each of them is standing on its own rights.

Q. Are the material men preparing to go to work this spring?—A. Well, yes; they always do. But in regard to the point of work, there is no use of their piling up stuff, paying out money for labor, and letting it lie there in their hands until they see some way that they are going to turn that into money.

Q. If the contractors and the builders and the unions remain in this condition, is there any encouragement for the material men to go to work?—A. Oh, no; no encouragement.

Q. They will not, then, come around to sell material until a change occurs?—A. No. They will make a pressure to come from that side of the house. There will be a pressure from the other side. The grocery men will not be able to carry these long credits that these men are wanting. They are wanting them now, and these grocery men will begin to kick, and after a while you will find that the public will step in, and when they step in one or both of those sides will be satisfied then by allowing these other ones to do that which they ought to have done themselves.

Q. Would it not be good policy for the contending parties to get together and not wait until the summer comes and the harvest passes?—A. They are prejudiced against each one another bitterly.

Q. You think that prejudice will have to work away before they can do anything?—A. Yes; it will.

Q. And the forces will be adequate to bring that condition of affairs about?—A. Well, the pressure on either side, of the hungry workmen—they will begin to see their position when they see there is no disposition to give them bread.

Q. Which side will hold out the longer?—A. You take 200,000 on one side with mouths to fill and hunger starving them, and men on the other that have money, and there is no question about that. I am approached every day by parties to give them something to keep them from starving.

Q. The unions are not able to take care of them?—A. They will take care of them partially; they will take care of a certain portion, and they will beg help from outside unions to aid them; the outside unions will help them and protract the thing longer.

Q. Both sides maintain about the same attitude toward each other—neither side disposed to give in?—A. I think they are in a worse attitude, because the longer it has lasted the more bad blood is spoiled between them. The workmen are in a very angry mood, and when some workmen take their places they are apt to lose their temper a little and their judgment.

Q. In other words, had the conciliation better come before their judgment gives away?—A. You may conciliate him at this time; but he never forgets the time when he was hungry. Thirty years will not efface it; and that is what I see is the most deplorable thing among the lower classes. The lower classes are all-powerful; they have the votes. The lower classes of Europe do not. A fight there means the stirring up of their blood, but here it is different.

Q. How do they see that after?—A. (Interrupting.) They see it to their own self-interest—a different point of view there.

Q. And the party that can make the greatest bid for their self-interest is the one that gets the most?—A. Well, that is usually the case. We all vote according to our interests when we get to the bottom of it. "When self the wavering balance holds, 'tis rarely right adjusted."

Q. Why should Chicago become the storm center?—A. Because we have the largest bodies of workmen here of any place in manufacturing. Chicago is Simon pure a manufacturing city; there is nothing else in it but manufacturing, and we have enormous manufacturing interests here.

Q. Do not the workmen recognize the fact that they must necessarily lose largely, as well as the manufacturers, in this strike?—A. Yes; they knew it from the beginning; but it is principle, they say; there is a fierce attack on them. The workman knows what the consequences are of the breaking up of his union, and he will make a fight for that union to the very last ditch.

Q. Is there a determination on the part of the employers to break up the unions?—A. I do not think there is. Some of them may talk that way, but I do not think that it can be.

Q. Are not unions, properly managed, a good thing instead of a bad?—A. They are. There are a great many good points in them, such as the equalization of wages to all of us. I like to pay the same wages my opponent is paying. I should not like him to pay 20 or 30 per cent less than I do; and if there was nothing to regulate the wages we would always be under a suspicion that he was getting his labor at a lower price.

Q. And maintaining that regular scale of labor in any particular industry is an advantage to all engaged in that industry, is it not?—A. As long as that scale is kept in a condition consonant with the surroundings.

Q. Will the workmen in times of depression be willing to concede something to conditions?—A. I have failed yet to find anyone with lower wages. I do not know but there might have been such a case, but I can not remember it.

Q. They demand the same wages in times of depression as in times of prosperity?—A. We have passed through a period of depression here for this last 8 or 10 years, and the one special union that I have had to deal with has steadily kept its rate of wages at the same figure, or very near it.

Q. If shorter hours or an increase in wages is agreed upon in time of prosperity, that continues during depression, does it?—A. It does where the unions are strong enough to uphold it, and where the employers do not combat it by any effective method. But our experience in this past 10 years has been that these unions have carried through their workmen in excellent shape, after having got the rules, and have also held up the price of labor all through the dull times.

Q. Do or do not unions improve the moral and social and intellectual condition of their members?—A. They do, greatly; they improve it greatly. They are the only thing that improves. There is nothing else left for them. The churches do not; I am quite sure politics do not; and I do not see anything else. The unions are a great social uplifting for their members.

Q. And the good and the bad that comes from a union depend altogether on how the union is managed?—A. Exactly, altogether.

Q. If the officers have the interest of their members at heart they will make an effort to better the condition of each individual member, and not of themselves alone?—A. And they will know that their employers' interest is their interest; a great many of them do that.

Mr. CLARKE. Unless you think of some further statement you would like to make yourself, Mr. Nicholson, we will excuse you.

(At 3.25 p. m., March 22, 1900, Mr. Thomas Nicholson was recalled as a witness, and testified as follows:)

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Have you papers that were spoken of this morning that you are ready to submit to the commission?—A. Yes.

Q. Please refer to them and make them part of your testimony.—A. It is part of the Master Mason and Builders' Association constitution and by-laws for 1898, showing the rules of arbitration adopted by the master masons for that year. As I said before, the arbitration was dropped afterwards, and now we have no arbitration. That is the last year that arbitration took place. It had been in vogue for a number of years. I have here the bricklayers and stone masons' constitution and by-laws of 1894, showing the same system of arbitration there. Their constitution provided for arbitration at that time. It was carried on before that and consecutively until 1899.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have you the discipline features of the association you belong to, the one you spoke about this morning, by which they prevent a man who has violated some of their provisions from getting materials on even terms with others?—A. I could not speak accurately on that of which I don't know. I am not a member of that personally. Our firm is a member. My son is a member. They only allow one individual of the firm to be there, consequently I can not speak of it.

I have also the new system that has been adopted, and I think has been partly the cause of this trouble, this last year or so; that will bring it stronger to you. Here is the agreement that we signed with the carpenters' executive council April 21, 1899:

CARPENTERS' EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF CHICAGO AND VICINITY,
Chicago, April 21, 1899.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

Between T. Nicholson & Sons Co., contracting carpenters and builders, party of the first part, and the Carpenters' Executive Council of Chicago, party of the second part.

The party of the first part covenants and agrees, in consideration of the strict observance by the party of the second part of certain rules, regulations, and obligations herein set forth, that he or they will faithfully keep and strictly observe the following rules:

ARTICLE I. Eight (8) hours shall constitute a day's work between the hours of 9 a. m. and 5 p. m., except Saturday, when work shall cease at 12 o'clock noon.

ART. II. The minimum rate of wages for a journeyman carpenter shall be forty-two and one-half (42½) cents per hour, from April 1, 1899, to March 31, 1900.

ART. III. Double time shall be allowed on all overtime, Sunday work, New Year's Day, Decoration Day, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, or days celebrated for the foregoing. No work shall be allowed under any pretense on Labor Day, which shall be the first Monday in September, or after 12 o'clock noon on Saturday. But if two or more shifts of men are employed, the same men shall not be allowed to work on more than one shift under any circumstances, and six (6) hours shall constitute a night shift, and the wages for such six (6) hours shall be equivalent to eight (8) hours during day.

ART. IV. Every journeyman carpenter shall receive his pay in full each week on Tuesday, not later than 5 p. m., but in case of discharge he must be paid at once on the job or waiting time paid. In case of a temporary lay off for any cause whatever he shall be paid in full if he so demands.

ART. V. All apprentices shall belong to the union and carry the current working card, but no one shall be allowed to work as an apprentice after having attained the age of twenty-one (21) years.

ART. VI. There shall be a steward appointed by the carpenters on each job, whose duty it shall be to see that all carpenters employed shall carry the current working card issued by the Carpenters' Executive Council, and report any violations of the articles contained in this agreement.

ART. VII. The foreman controlling any job shall belong to the union, carry the current working card issued by the Carpenters' Executive Council, and see that all provisions of this agreement are strictly enforced.

ART. VIII. The properly credentialed agents of the party of the second part shall have access to any work under construction by the parties of the first part during working hours.

ART. IX. The party of the first part agrees to hire none but union carpenters in good standing, carrying the current working card issued by the Carpenters' Executive Council. In cases of a company of contractors only one member of the firm will be allowed to work with tools.

ART. X. A sympathetic strike when ordered to protect the union principles herein laid down shall not be a violation of this agreement.

ART. XI. The party of the first part shall not be allowed to lump, piece out, or sublet any of his carpenter work; neither shall any journeyman who is a member of any association represented in the Carpenters' Executive Council be permitted to take piecework in any shape or manner.

ART. XII. Any violation of the provisions of this agreement by the party of the first part shall be considered a just cause by the party of the second part for ordering all carpenter work to cease.

T. NICHOLSON & SONS CO.,
715-167 Dearborn street, City.
CARPENTERS' EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,
T. CRUISE, *President*.
LUKE GRANT, *Secretary*.

[SEAL.]

I also have a letter here from the carpenters' council, dated January 2, 1900, which reads as follows:

"DEAR SIR: We beg to inform you after April 1, 1900, the demands of the carpenters will be for a minimum wage scale of fifty cents (50) per hour.

"We will be prepared to receive signatures to our new agreement after March 1.

"Respectfully, yours,

"CARPENTERS' EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,
"Per LUKE GRANT, *Secretary*."

You will note here this is an *ex parte* agreement; it has been all written up by the other side, except the signature (referring to agreement submitted by the carpenters' council, to go into effect April 1, 1899).

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Did you sign this agreement?—A. My firm signed it. That was fulfilled to the letter. That was for last summer. There is nothing in that agreement that I take any umbrage at, except that it is *ex parte*.

Q. You were not consulted in the making of any features of it?—A. No; all that I could do was to refuse to sign it.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Is that what you say was the beginning or the cause of the present trouble?—A. I would not say it was the cause, but it contains a different mode of procedure from the former way, of arbitration, of getting mutually together and making agreements. If you will note these articles you will see it is very easy to get up trouble on that score.

Q. A somewhat similar method seems to have been adopted by both sides here—laying down an ultimatum or dictating terms to the other without a previous attempt to come together.—A. Exactly; there you have the thing in a nutshell.

Now, here is one of a later date. This is this year's one; the bridge and structural iron workers' union, number so and so, which is of the same import, only stating they have made changes from last year, and asking us to note these changes. It says: "Herewith please find a copy of our new agreement, which goes into effect May 1, 1900. Please note changes from present agreement in article 2 of first part in regard to scale of wages and pay day; also in article 3 of first part the words 'reconstruction' and 'wrecking' have been inserted after the word 'erection.' Also a change in article 2 of second part by inserting matter in reference to inspection of iron or steel work of a public or semipublic nature." (Agreement referred to follows.)

"THIS AGREEMENT

"Made and entered into on this ——— day of ———, A. D. 1900 between the following contractors of the first part, and the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union No. 1, of Chicago and vicinity, of the second part, to go into effect on the first day of May, 1900, and continue in force until the 30th day of April, 1901, to cover the corporate limits of the city of Chicago and vicinity.

"ARTICLE I. Witnesseth, That the party of the first part hereby agrees that on and after May 1, 1900, and until April 30, 1901, eight hours shall constitute a day's work, except on Saturday, when work shall cease at 12 o'clock noon. That double time be paid for all overtime, also for Sundays, New Year's Day, 22nd of February, Decoration Day, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving Day, and the 25th day of December or days celebrated for same. No work to be permitted on Labor Day. Work shall commence at 8 o'clock a. m. and end at 5 o'clock p. m. The noon may be curtailed by agreement by the foreman and a majority of the workmen, but in no way more than eight hours to be allowed between the hours of 8 a. m. and 5 p. m. Any infringement on time of noon hour by sending men from one part of job to another, or from one job to another, is strictly forbidden.

"ART. II. The party of the first part further agrees to pay a minimum scale of fifty cents per hour to members of this union, and further agrees to have pay day once every week; men to be paid in currency on the job between the hours of 8 a. m. and 5 o'clock p. m. In case of a lay off the men shall be paid inside of twenty-four hours. If men are not paid in that time they shall receive waiting time at the minimum rate per hour. The party of the first part further agrees that there shall be a steward allowed on every job, who shall attend to the interests of the union, and such duty shall be performed without expense or inconvenience to the employer.

"ART. III. The party of the first part agrees to employ in the erection, reconstruction, or wrecking of bridges, buildings, viaducts, steel stacks, and all iron and steel structural work, including foundations, and the erection and removal of falsework for bridges and viaducts in Chicago and vicinity, only members of the party of the second part, or those who will become members at next regular meeting after being employed, provided that they meet all the requirements of the party of the second part.

"The party of the first part further agrees that not more than one member of a firm shall work on a job controlled by said firm.

"The party of the first part further agrees that after material has been unloaded on site, all handling of same to be done by members of party of second part, except when necessary to use tackle or derricks to unload, it shall then be done by members of this union.

"The party of the first part further agrees that the business agent of the union shall have access to the works at all times during working hours, but shall not be allowed to interfere with or delay men on the work during said hours.

"In consideration of the foregoing, well and duly executed, the party of the second part hereby agrees:

"ARTICLE I. That they, each and severally, will faithfully and in a workman-like manner perform all duties that may be required of them by the proper authority; and the union further agrees that it will not allow its members to perform any work for any contractors that have not signed this agreement, but will use all lawful methods and call on our central bodies to assist us to carry out this agreement, the city of Chicago and like corporations excepted.

"ART. II. The party of the second part further agrees that in case of trouble or any misunderstanding between the parties of this agreement the difference shall be arbitrated. Work shall proceed, pending the arbitration, under the conditions

of this agreement. The arbitrators shall be three entirely disinterested parties, one selected by each party to this agreement, and the third selected by these two; and the decision of these arbitrators shall be binding on both parties. But none of the definite agreements of this contract shall be subject to arbitration. A sympathetic strike by other trades, or called by the central bodies, where it is necessary for the parties of this agreement to take part to protect union principles, shall in no way be considered a violation of this agreement. We also reserve the right to refuse to work on any jobs of public or semipublic nature where the inspection of iron work is not done by members of this organization.

"ART. III. This union strictly forbids piecework of any kind."

This one has not been signed because this year's work has not gone ahead yet; and this trouble has come up. I draw the most attention to the system that had been carried on before, between one of the bodies and the contractors. This system of conducting it was carried on harmoniously for about 8 or 10 years without a single break in our relations whatever: not a day off, for strike or any other cause.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) As a general contractor and employer for years of different classes of labor in the building trades, is it your opinion that that agreement formerly existing with one of the branches is entirely feasible for all the others, and that it would work equally well with all the others?—A. It would. It would work well, with good, honest men at the heads of both associations. It worked well there, which was a practical illustration of it.

Q. Is there any more reason to doubt that you would get good, honest men in all the organizations than there was in that one?—A. No. I have had relations with the present officers, and I have found them exceedingly fair and exceedingly courteous. I have had as much as any employer, because I am on the works, and I am the one that comes in direct communication with the walking delegate; and last year and year before we did about as large a business as any one. Last summer and a good part of the fall I had about 160 carpenters on one building, and had an average of 300 or 400 men working for us; and if there was not a chance to get trouble there there could not be anywhere. Certainly there were a few things that it was pretty hard to get along under, that did not amount to anything. A board of arbitration could easily have remedied that. It was not a thing that put us to any extraordinary expense. I think the unions have been blamed by the other side rather excessively. For instance, there is a large union here that has weekly pay days. Now, I do not see why the other unions should not have weekly pay days also. I consider it a hardship for men without a very large amount of money—they ought to be paid every week. But, for instance, one union here—not the one I am speaking of—wants to be paid at Saturday noon for the whole week. You know that would be a physical impossibility for a man carrying on a big business. The other one I refer to lets us pay on Monday or Tuesday, giving us time to make up a pay roll; but think of paying off 300 or 400 men, making up a pay roll, and paying right up to 12 o'clock Saturday. That is an impossibility. There are those little grievances that creep in, but they can be remedied. I think if the thing could be put before the plumbers as a body it could be fixed up.

Q. You are perfectly willing to pay once a week?—A. I think all men should be paid once a week. I am not willing, but I think they should be paid. I feel the same about hours. I believe they should work 8 hours. I had better give my reasons for it. Before I ever came to this country I never worked more than 51 hours a week in the poor country of Scotland. If we could exist on 51 hours a week in that poor country, why, in this rich country, should we work longer? We existed well there on 51 hours a week, 9 hours, and 6 hours on Saturday.

Q. How do the wages compare there and here?—A. There is no comparison in the wages. There is another thing beyond the wage question. They all seem to land on the wage question. The steadiness of employment cuts a bigger figure in the earnings of a man than the prices per day. Now, under the best circumstances of the year, in the building trades, you would find that you could not make over 200 days a year. Our pay rolls show that the common laboring man, with \$2 a day, will make as good an average in the year as the bricklayer at \$4 a day, because we can give him steadier work; that is, there is more of his employment around than of the other fellow's. The other man has shorter jobs; he is out of a job every week or so, and it takes a little while to get a job. These things should be taken into consideration, as well as the big lump per day. If we were hiring these men per year, you would be surprised at the small amount per year they would get. The average earnings of a bricklayer in Chicago last year, I am sure, were not more than \$400.

Q. Is employment in Scotland any steadier?—A. All over Europe it is steadier.

I am intimately acquainted with the German and the Swedish workmen also; have lived there.

Q. Why is that?—A. You would have to go back further in regard to business; for instance, fashions change here in nearly everything; values are fluctuating very quickly here; they do not fluctuate as much there. A man that is a manufacturer there, in dull times can keep that manufactured work in stock, which he can not do here, because that stock will be out of fashion. They do not change their fashions on anything there for many years. Now, since I have come here I have pulled down buildings that I put up—and I have only been here 25 years—because they are unserviceable. Go to Europe and you will see the same buildings for 300 years.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Is there a surplus of labor in this country that causes an uncertain number of days' employment in a year?—A. No; it is this way: Our work is peculiar; one time we require a big number of men. Maybe there is an extra amount of building going on in one place, and men go there from other cities. That city is not able to handle that amount of work. In this city for 10 or 15 years we have had a big surplus.

Q. The more frequent demolition of buildings here than there makes more work for labor, does it not?—A. Yes; it does, but it does not make a capitalist safe to put up things ahead of the market. For instance, in New Orleans no man will build unless he leases first. He won't speculate; won't put up a building until he can sign a lease for a few years. We were taking our chances, putting up buildings, and either selling them or doing something else.

Q. The rapid growth of a city requires frequent changes in the buildings, does it not?—A. It is the change from the old method of three or four story buildings to the sky scraper that is causing it mostly; and in factories we have made the change mostly by locating them on the railroads and making it convenient for getting in coal and for export and so on. We have made many changes. It is wonderful what changes we make. For instance, here are elevators built 15 years ago; they are nearly useless to-day, because they are going to lengthen the cars. The elevators are so made that when you put 10 carloads into them and open the doors of the cars, the grain runs into the spouts. If you change the length of the cars the spouts don't fit the cars, and you must build a new elevator. That is what we are going to do here.

Q. It would seem these frequent changes would make more work and steadier work, rather than less work or more unsteady work. Can you enlighten us a little more on that topic?—A. It simply means more work if you take it in the aggregate; but then the work is uncertain. One year we will have every man well employed. Last fall there were several divisions of our men that were well employed; every man, I think, was employed. From the 1st of January until the middle of May or the middle of April one-third of the bricklayers only are employed, and about one-half or two-thirds of the laborers. It fluctuates in that way. There is no rule that you can lay down for it that it will keep to.

Q. Are laborers in the different classes in the building trades better employed in Scotland and in other European countries than here?—A. They are employed more steadily; for instance, you go on a big building there and you are about a year on it. There are very few buildings here that you are on more than three or four months, and the average of them take about as many weeks. The most of our buildings here that the men are engaged on—take, for instance, the bricklayers and their laborers—they are engaged about four weeks only, then they must hunt around again.

Q. Are not the conditions of the workingmen there, all things considered, better than here?—A. Better there?

Q. Yes.—A. No; rather better here; with the advantage on the side of these men here. It was when they could own a home here, but that time has passed, and it very nearly brings them equal to-day. In the larger cities this last 8 or 10 years they have not been able to accumulate a home; I guess about 20 per cent of the ones that owned homes lost them this last 10 years.

Q. Do you know whether or not that is as true in other trades as in the building trades?—A. In the other trades the hours are long and the scales of wages low. In most of the trades outside of building, where they are unorganized, labor is always poorly paid and the hours are long.

Q. How many workingmen in the different trades own their homes in Scotland, compared with this country?—A. They could not own them if they had the money. They can not get them to own, and if these conditions here continue they will be in the same shape here, as a result of the changes that have occurred in 30 years.

Q. Are you acquainted in Coventry, England?—A. Fairly well.

Q. Do you know how many workmen in that city own their homes?—A. In which city?

Q. Coventry?—A. No; but I know that the English workmen, by a system of cooperation, both in their stores and their buildings, have made great progress during this last 15 years—great progress; and it has tended greatly to elevate the men. Here we have not anything of that kind. But what I deprecate most is that our workmen are unable to get homes. If our workmen had homes they would not be striking and nothing else would occur here; we should be a well-governed community in every respect.

Q. Why are they unable to get them? Because they can not pay for them?—A. There are two things: In the first place, the land surrounding this city is plentiful everywhere, and it is easily got to by workmen, but it is held at prices outside of the power of workmen to buy. Now, I have gone through that myself. I had to buy a lot at an extortionate price—could not find one lower; plenty of them, but held by land owners for speculation. That is the case here to-day. I can take you over thousands of acres here in this city that has been lying idle since I came here, and you will have to pay for every 25 feet as much as it cost per acre 25 years ago. Now, a workman, to buy a lot, it will cost him \$500. For instance, I am taking a lot 5 miles from the center of the city; it will cost me from \$400 to \$500, and a cottage put on there would cost \$100 more. That is \$800. It would take a man with a family and the unsteady employment, 8 to 10 years, by very close economy, and maybe longer, to make that home. But there has been no effort among the working classes themselves to provide themselves with homes as a body.

Q. Are there no building associations among them?—A. There are building and loan associations, but the money borrowed from a building and loan association costs you 15 per cent, unless the benefits derived from the others will pay back some of it, and the courts can show you what the foreclosures on building and loan associations have been in these last 2 or 3 years. It is enormous, and a great many of them have gone into the hands of receivers. In the next place, what is a workman to do with his small savings? There is no savings bank provided by the Government for him. I have known a number of them to lose from \$100 to \$200 or \$300 with those banks.

Q. Do you mean building and loan associations or savings banks?—A. No; savings banks. The building and loan associations' rates are entirely too high. Think of paying 20 per cent bonus for a loan and then paying 7 per cent interest!

Q. Have there been a considerable number of failures of savings banks in this city?—A. Yes; from time to time. I will give you rather a severe instance of my own: I had some girls, and I thought to get them to be somewhat economical with their pin money, and I took them down to the Dime Savings Bank, on Washington near Clark, and I used to give them pin money, and they went there for 4 years. When they got \$30 or \$40 apiece in the bank it shut up. I had a brother, a bricklayer, a very saving fellow, and he lived down on Oakland Boulevard. He accumulated some money and he put in the Oakland Savings Bank, and when he wanted to use it for a house the Oakland Savings Bank was non est. I myself used to put my money in the States Saving Bank, and I remember the time when the servant girls and others used to stand in a row 30 deep to put their money in there. They speculated down in the wilds of Calumet, and up went the bank. I could go on multiplying that from my own experience.

Q. Are there no State inspectors of savings banks?—A. I do not know whether there are or not; but they are failing right and left around us here.

Q. Do you have State inspectors of building and loan associations?—A. Yes; but the difficulty with the building and loan associations has been in their loans. They have been loaning on property that has gone down in value, and the loans have been rather large that they have given on that property, consequently the man that borrowed the money had the best of the bargain, and he slid out from under and left the building and loan associations with the securities, and they have any amount of them.

Q. Would it not have been better for the working people to have invested in small lots and built small houses and gradually paid for them as they could?—A. If they could at a moderate price; but at the excessive prices now, you see, the interest would eat them up, and then the danger of bad health and being out of work—the whole thing goes by the board then if the demands are not met promptly; the terms usually are that it goes by the board.

Q. Are you familiar with the conditions in other manufacturing cities and towns?—A. Yes.

Q. Is it not true, as a rule, that very large numbers of workmen own their own homes?—A. Much more so than in Chicago. I was impressed greatly in

Indianapolis, Cincinnati, and Cleveland with the number of little cottages on little lots that were out in the suburbs of those cities occupied by the working classes.

Q. Do you think it is practically impossible to make that system successful here?—A. Under the present conditions of the unsteadiness of work. Our wages are high enough; our wages are as high as are paid anywhere, except maybe in some small mining towns in the West. But that does not represent all; it is the amount he can make in a year, when he is in good health and can take every opportunity he can to get work.

Q. Why is work unsteady?—A. That is a very hard thing for anyone to say. You should go back to many causes. There are many causes for it here.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Are you familiar with the system of local taxation of the lots that are held for speculation?—A. Yes.

Q. Are they assessed at or somewhere near the prices that are asked for them?—A. No; there is no comparison at all. They are assessed at what they call "acre prices," a mere nominal thing, until the workingman puts a cottage on them, and then the assessment is immediately raised.

Q. Who chooses the assessors?—A. I could not answer that. Nominally, it is supposed to be the voters; really it is a different thing.

Q. Is it beyond the powers of the voters to select assessors who will assess that property at its valuation?—A. Generally it is three or four men that never knew anything about property. Being put in to assess the property in Chicago in four months, they don't know anything about it. They stand across the street and guess at it. I can give you any amount of proof of it.

Q. Is there anything to hinder them from choosing someone who can know?—A. The time is so limited; our assessors only have a few months. You go over to Berlin or any of those European cities, and they have an exact system, all on record. Here, there is no system at all; you may be assessed 75 per cent of the value of your property, and that man 10 per cent, and the other fellow 1 per cent, all in the radius of a mile.

Q. Do you see any reason to prevent the introduction of the Berlin system here?—A. Yes.

Q. What?—A. I do not wish to say. I refuse to answer that.

Q. Do you not think, for the interest of the workingmen, and therefore of the entire community, that there should be a fair valuation of real estate for taxation?—A. I believe in a fair valuation of everything in sight, in the State of Illinois; doesn't matter what it is; whatever it is—anything that has a value.

Q. Is it your opinion that if these lots, held year after year for speculation, were taxed at somewhere near the price that is asked for them, they would remain unoccupied any great length of time?—A. No; they would not. They would change hands.

Q. Is it your opinion that they would then be sold at a price within the reach of the common people?—A. They might be lowered in price. It would be apt to break up. It would not be as profitable to hold them as it is now.

Q. You believe, however, that it would be very desirable for workingmen to own their own homes?—A. This will give you an instance of it: I remember one time through curiosity attending an anarchist meeting on Lake street. I never was more surprised than to notice that nearly every one of those folks wanted to own a home. If you go that far, what must it be with the others? I never saw a person yet but wanted to own a home, except probably a tramp. That is the great desire of man—to have a home and family and the wherewith to support them. The conditions are, on one side, poorly housed men, and on the other side any amount of vacant land. Why the two things could not come together I do not understand. The workingmen themselves do not make any effort in Chicago here. They have made no effort at cooperation as a body whatever, neither in stores nor in procuring homes, but they always state that the land being held so high is the first impediment to it, and the \$400 to pay for a little cottage is altogether out of the reach of them all.

Q. Now, that we have so much more rapid transit than we had a few years ago, is it not possible to go out a little farther and acquire lots at a reasonable price, so that the fares would not be burdensome to the people?—A. For 5 cents you can go in a direct line from here southwest about 7 miles, and when you go there you will find that the lots are selling for \$400 apiece. I am taking it out there. When you only go 2 miles from here, or 2 miles and a half, they commence at eight, nine, and ten hundred. In 1872 I had to pay \$1,350 for a 25-foot lot—couldn't find one to get better—about 4 miles from here. To-day that lot is not worth half that.

Q. When you say 25-foot lot, is that a front foot?—A. Yes, 25-foot-front lot.

Q. How many square feet in those lots?—A. One hundred and twenty-five feet deep. Nearly all our lots are 125 by 25 feet.

Q. Do you know how those prices compare with prices in the workmen's dwelling sections of Philadelphia?—A. No; I have no direct knowledge of Philadelphia; but it is about double, treble the price of those around Cincinnati and Indianapolis, the same distance out, as far as the cars will go.

Q. Can you think of any way of correcting that evil and giving Chicago an equal advantage for growth with those other places except to assess that property for what it ought to be assessed at?—A. Yes; it is very easy to do that, if the workmen knew how to go at it. Take New Zealand. Three years ago they were burdened there with large bodies of land in the hands of owners; and they passed what you might call an eminent-domain law there; that is, they empowered the government of New Zealand to borrow money and take those lands away from those parties; put a jury on it and pay those parties the full value of those lands; cut it up into small holdings, and sell it on 30 years' time at so much. New Zealand has made money by the operation. In the first place it was occupied by one large sheep owner. Now it is occupied by 500 families. Those 500 families gave 500 times or 300 times as much business to that community as was there before. They were all benefited by it.

Q. Do you see any objection to the introduction of that system here?—A. No. It is a custom in Europe. Take Birmingham. It was there where Chamberlain made his first feather. The English Parliament authorized the municipal government of Birmingham to condemn the plague spots of the city, and gave them the authority to borrow money and rebuild it. They have done so, and it has been a success; paid them back the money, beautified the city, and made healthy homes for the workmen. I have examined the homes there, and I must say they impressed me greatly—the magnificent flats the workmen have there; so comfortable.

Q. You would consider that such a taking of land would be for public purposes within the meaning of our constitutional provision for eminent domain?—A. That is for a lawyer to say. The State of Michigan's constitution won't allow the cities to own any of their own railroads—street-car railroads. Now there is another thing that I must enter a protest on here. I ride about 40 to 60 miles on street cars every day, and through the workmen's district—compare them with the street cars over in the district where I live. One represents 50 years ago, and the other one represents the most modern out; and that man pays as much for his miserable car service as I do. Now I must say that the workmen on Halsted street, North and South Halsted street and Clybourne avenue—it is a disgrace to the authorities to ask a workman to ride under the conditions they do to their work in the mornings and evenings, and charge them full pay, where they have to ride by a strap. They ought to ride at half pay. I have counted fourteen men standing on a back platform in some of these districts. I have seen girls—about twelve, fourteen, or sixteen, jammed in like a lot of cattle, each one paying 5 cents for that ride. That is not right.

Q. You think Chicago is at a disadvantage compared with other cities in that respect?—A. Yes; I am perfectly confident of that, because I ride in other cities; and last week I was in another city a week, and week before in another, and I can see where this discontent and trouble is coming from.

Q. What would be your suggestion of a remedy for that condition of things?—A. The public-spirited citizens that have been blessed with wealth should take interest enough in our municipality to put it on a par with the best-governed city in the universe. I think that we ought to. The conditions here—you will not find anything like them this side of Constantinople. New Orleans is the dirtiest city, I think, next to Chicago, but Chicago is the worst. I can take you up to streets on the north side where instead of having a nice flowerpot in front as they have in Germany—every man in Germany has got flowers growing in front of his house—they have got an ash box. This ash box has been there for a week, probably, unemptied. Now there are two families in that block, with maybe four children to each family. It does not tend to the moral elevation of those families to go out and look at this ash box, does it? These conditions are right in front of them. There is no alley. The real estate man that platted that cut the alley off so he could get more lots. That is the effect. Every lot that is platted has to be platted by an engineer before he can get a certificate for it; and consequently if a man plats his lot like that, the authorities signify that it is all right. Now, there is no pension for workmen at all.

Q. No what?—A. No pension.

Q. Pension?—A. No; Germany has got a pension for its workmen.

Q. Are you familiar with it?—A. Yes.

Q. Can you outline it?—A. Yes. The employers on one side and the employees on the other contribute equally to this pension fund, which the Government holds in trust for these employees. It is used in cases of sickness; and after an employee has come to a certain age—the age is specified—the Government gives him his pension. It is enough to keep him from the care of his relatives anyway. The same thing is done in New Zealand on a much better scale.

Q. Can you give the advantages of the New Zealand system over the German system?—A. No; I can not from memory place it.

Q. But you are sure that the system is better?—A. Yes; I am sure the system is better, and they have found that it works well. One of the peculiarities of it is that they think that the men seem to live longer under that condition—that the fear of having to go to a poorhouse when you are old is a blight upon the individual.

Q. Do you know how long the system has been tried in New Zealand?—A. I think about 5 years in New Zealand; and Bismarck started the one in Germany.

Q. How many years ago probably?—A. I think it has been 10 years in working order in Germany.

Q. Do you know any reason why that system can not be adopted by the State of Illinois?—A. No. There is no reason whatever why the State of Illinois should not have had it, except that we are not educated up to that point of taking care of ourselves. There is another thing that I did not speak on before that is of greater importance than any of it. That is the difficulties placed in the way of our young American men to learn a handicraft.

Q. Can you state those difficulties?—A. Each different trade has its own special regulations regarding apprentices, and the most of those rules prescribe a limited number of apprentices. In some instances they have prohibited them altogether. Consequently it throws our young men into the unskilled-labor market. You will find the department stores overcrowded with young Americans, and our wholesale stores, etc. Our people have never given it any concern whatever. At the present time 95 per cent of our workmen are foreigners or immediate children of foreigners.

Q. Do you speak of the country at large or this city?—A. I speak of this city; but there is very little difference; wherever one goes, the same thing probably exists. The problem is how to get our American boys into the mechanical arts. I am not referring to any special one, but I mean the whole of them. They rush to the professions because there is no obstruction put in their way to enter a profession. You can start at the grammar school and go right on, if your parents have the means, and end in Cornell or Yale. But in the mechanical arts they have to go to an employer like myself and ask him to take an apprentice. If the union does not object, we put him on. But how do we teach him? We place him beside other workmen, and they do not have a kindly feeling toward the young man because they always think he is coming up to take the bread out of their mouths; and all that he learns of a trade is from observation more than anything else. He is kept learning two, three, or four years, and in the very time that he is learning he also learns bad habits, bad language, and bad ideas. Those men that he is surrounded by are discontented and vent their own ideas of discontent and its causes, and the young man imbibes it from them, and the consequence is that when the young man is about 20 he is about as discontented as the next fellow.

Q. Is that any worse here than it is in countries where they have a better apprentice system?—A. They have hardly got an apprentice system anywhere in this country.

Q. I say other countries?—A. Oh, in other countries. The thing differs entirely there. In a great many of the handicrafts there the employers are small employers, and they take hold of a young man, and are with him themselves, and maybe have one, two, three, or four journeymen. They can watch over those young men, and can teach them directly by showing them, etc., and their habits are looked closer after. But here there ought to be some means of teaching our young American handicrafts. I made a suggestion and carried it out personally, but did not get any support in it. The reason that I did is this: You take the every day laboring men; that is, our common laborers. Their sons have hardly any opportunity to learn a trade at all, because if there is any opening it is the man's son that is working in that special trade that will get the place. He is on the watch for that. Consequently the common everyday working man has no chance to get his son raised up at all. Why can not we have trade schools here, which have built up Germany to such an extent that there is not its equal anywhere? We have only one trade school in the country, and that is the one in New York. There can be trade schools here so that when a boy gets through with his common education, instead of sending him to the high school, which is prepara-

tory to the professions, you can send him to the trade school and let him learn the trade there, and let him learn to be an expert.

Q. What does the trade school in New York instruct in?—A. In nearly all the building trades.

Q. Building trades?—A. Building trades especially. It is a philanthropic affair, and consequently it has contributions to it.

Q. Do you not know that we have textile schools in Philadelphia and Lowell and New Bedford?—A. Yes; these specialties; but what I am referring to now is the handicrafts. We have got what we call manual-training schools here, but it is a mere farce. If you will get a boy who has got through a manual-training school and put him on a building he is useless for a year or two, because it is not practical. It is not very good to teach boys in stone-front buildings that have to go outdoors for work. It is no good.

Q. You think, then, that trade schools are necessary and a good apprentice system is necessary?—A. The apprentice system I would not have.

Q. Would not have?—A. No. Our business has gone away from us as individuals now. If I have an apprentice, I can not see to his wants; my foreman is too busy to see to his wants; he has got his own duties to perform. Each workman has his own share of work, and he has not got time to show that boy. We ought to adopt a new system. That is a thing that has been in vogue since 1400; since the Flemish weavers started it it has been in vogue—that is, since 1440—this same system of apprenticeship, and we have never made any effort to change it. We ought to change it, and we ought to provide schools wherein my boy and this man's boy and that man's boy, after he is through his common-school education, can earn his daily bread. You have only given him half when you get him through the schools.

Q. Can you give us the practical details of the instruction and the working of the building-trade schools?—A. Yes; I can give you the practical working of that New York school. The boy enters just as he does in any of these higher schools. After a certain time there he is put on whatever branch of the building trade he takes up. Whatever he takes up he is put into that part of the building. It is a large one-story building, and in this part here, say about 60 or 100 feet square, they are teaching the bricklayers—to take up the trade I am most familiar with. They have a superintendent there who is a practical bricklayer. The first thing he does with those boys is to teach them how to use a surveying instrument. As a side issue they have to look up studies on the strains of timber and the strains on buildings and all such details as that. They are given a lecture once or twice a week. Those lectures are in direct connection with their own business. You see how it makes them; they know something about it. When he starts them to laying brick, that superintendent is standing over the class there, and they are all laying brick. Whenever he finds a fellow that is not laying it right he says stop, and he has him lay it over. I have seen them having to take down the brick to the bottom and work over the mortar and start in again. That boy would learn as much in 1 week right under that teacher's eye as he can learn with us in a month, and have practical illustration of it all the time. I had one of my boys go to that school, and when he came back—he was only a little shaver of about 17, but when I put him on the wall beside one of the bricklayers, it was a surprise—he could do the work as well as anyone. If we had a lot of those boys that we could give certificates that they could lay so many bricks of such a quality, should we not raise the standard of our work? We should get intelligent men; we should get men of the right ideas of the future, of economy, that would have an idea of right business methods in their heads.

Q. Has there been any agitation for the establishment of such a school in Chicago?—A. Oh, no; the opposite way; it would not work.

Q. Do you think it would be opposed here by the workingmen?—A. I think it would be opposed by the workingmen and the contractors; both of them. The contractors would be afraid that they would bring up a race of young men that would be smarter than they are by a long sight, and they would not like that. [Laughter.] And among the other fellows, in the special trades, the boys would generally select the trade that had the shortest hours and the highest wages, and that would be full. And, by the way, on short hours, I know that immediately after we had the 8 hours in the bricklaying business I had twice as many applicants for apprentices from American boys as I had before. The shortening of the hours made it more popular. That is the way I think. The higher you raise the labor of the country the better men you will have to do it. And for the next generation—I am speaking of them; I do not care for the present generation; we are no use, you can not do anything for us—but I should like to see the next generation be a nation of expert workmen that would equal any in Europe and be a little better.

Q. You think that would be for the good of the whole people?—A. Certainly; and it would pay the people to do it.

Q. You do not yourself think that it would injure either the contractors or their workmen?—A. No; good does not injure anyone.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Speaking about desiring the next generation to be superior as workmen to the European workmen, those who are engaged in such work as the manufacturing of machinery testify that the American workman is far ahead of the European workman.—A. It is the American machine mostly.

Q. American machine?—A. Yes; the American machine.

Q. Who has made the American machine?—A. Oh, it is extraordinary, the inventive genius of our men.

Q. Do they not have the benefit of our machines in Europe?—A. They are buying them up. Germany is just buying up our boot and shoe machines, and they are setting up some large factories; and we are buying German sugar machinery and bringing it over here, and there is where we are getting even.

Q. A manufacturer of machinery said here the other day that our workmen were better fed, better clothed, and their conditions generally better; and he notes that men in these conditions can get out better work and do more of it.—A. He is right, and he would see that if they would give them 9 hours he would not suffer any detriment from it, but it would help him a great deal. I have found that since we have adopted the 8-hour day we have got better men and better work than under the long hours.

Q. Do you get more work out of them?—A. I would not say it that way, but the men are better, steadier, and in every way better. I think their habits are steadier.

Q. Do they work more, proportionately, in 8 hours than they did formerly with?—A. Yes; but the peculiar thing is that we have been enabled, between the machinery and invention, to put up buildings as cheap now as we did in 1872 and 1873.

Q. In 1872 what hours did you work?—A. I think we worked 10 hours. The machinery has come to our help.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Are you not manufacturing sugar machinery now?—A. Well, hardly yet. The Michigan ones came from Germany. Well, there are good reasons. I think the Germans are heavy stockholders in that.

Q. It is comparatively a new industry?—A. Yes; and so is the cement industry. Within two years it is immense, the amount of cement works we have had here, and the Germans are operating them also.

Q. You spoke awhile ago about the German pension system. Is that compulsory?—A. It is compulsory.

Q. Made so by law?—A. Yes; it would be no use otherwise. You can not do it otherwise. That is why they fought Bismarck on it, the Liberals there. England had the same system up before this Parliament, and I think there is a likelihood before another Parliament that it will be passed, something like the German.

Q. From your observation do you think that the European mechanic is better than the American mechanic?—A. He is much slower, but he is taught to do his work very well, very well. He is much slower, but there are reasons for that, too.

Q. You mean the European mechanic is slower?—A. Yes; he is slower, but he does not work as hard. The American mechanic works far harder—that is, in the building line he will do nearly half as much again, in some instances double, that the European does in the same time.

Q. Why is that?—A. They seem to stick to their old methods. For instance, the size of the brick, as I have observed in many places on the continent, in Germany, and Sweden, and Bohemia. There the sizes of the brick are the sizes of the old solids, and they are so big and clumsy that it is very difficult to lay them. A man had to lay a brick with both hands and one brick at a time. He certainly spent a little time also in topping it and working it. It is the general system of hanging your material and your ways of doing to conform to the line of least resistance. I might as well describe to you the difference when I was in Stockholm. I saw women carrying up mortar in bags to the top of a six-story building. Here we have got a machine that takes it up three or four trips a minute. There is the difference; there are the two extremes, I presume.

(Testimony closed.)

Whereupon, at 4.30 o'clock, the subcommission adjourned until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning,

CHICAGO, ILL., March 22, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. MARTIN B. MADDEN,*President of the Western Stone Company.*

The special subcommission met at the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, at 10.20 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 12.15 Mr. Martin B. Madden, of Chicago, president of the Western Stone Company, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows;

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name and post-office address.—A. Martin B. Madden, 320 Chamber of Commerce Building, Chicago.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am president of the Western Stone Company.

Q. Is that a company which furnishes building and paving stones?—A. We are engaged in the business of producing, manufacturing, and selling stone for building or any other purposes that it may be required for.

Q. Where are your quarries?—A. At Lamont, in this county; Lockport, in Will County; and Joliet, Will County.

Q. Are they all in operation at the present time?—A. No; none of them now.

Q. What is the reason they are not in operation now?—A. The present condition of building interests in Chicago would force us to operate at a very great loss, if we were to operate at all.

Q. Have they been in pretty steady operation during recent years up to a very recent period?—A. They have never been shut down before.

Q. Has your business made you familiar with the general conditions of industry in Chicago and vicinity?—A. To some extent. Our business is a sort of thermometer, which in a measure gauges either the increase or the decrease of the manufacturing business in this community. When a decrease occurs it becomes almost immediately apparent, on account of the failure of the great manufacturing institutions to continue to increase their plants, while if the business of the manufacturing interests is increasing, it becomes at once apparent to us, because we are called upon to supply the material for the increase necessarily made in the plants, and our concern is of such a size that we come in touch with every interest where building material is required.

Q. What is the maximum number of men that you employ?—A. About 2,500.

Q. Are they divided between quarrymen and cutters?—A. We have a few cutters; we operate considerable machinery. But they cover all kinds of men—machinists, engineers, laborers, boatmen, railroad men, quarrymen, stone-cutters, etc.

Q. Are they generally organized in unions?—A. None but the stonecutters.

Q. Have you had any labor difficulties?—A. None recently; we have none now.

Q. Please tell us what you know about the general conditions, the growth of manufacturing and general business in Chicago and vicinity in recent years.—A. For three or four years, commencing at the close of 1892, and up to the close of 1896, nearly all of the great manufacturing industries of Chicago were practically at a standstill. Many of them were shut down entirely. It was almost impossible for men usually employed in those institutions to find work. From my experience they were willing to work at what they could get, but they could not find the employment. Commencing in 1897, there seemed to be an apparent increase in the amount of work to be found everywhere. The Deering Harvester Company, the McCormick Reaper Works, the Kimball Company, the National Malleable Iron Works, the Griffin Car Wheel Manufacturing Company, all of these very large concerns began to increase their force along in 1897. This is simply an example of what everybody else did. It soon became necessary for them to increase the size of their plants, and during 1897 they increased them quite materially. I speak now from personal knowledge, because we were called on to supply the material. The force of workmen in those institutions was increased at least 50 per cent, I think, during 1897. The increase gradually grew, until in 1898 they had more than doubled the men that they employed in 1896 in all of these institutions; and as the thing grew along they were, in many instances, obliged to work more than double time. In 1899 they increased their force of men over 1898 almost double again, and this necessitated an increase of the size of their plants to more than double what they were in 1896 and prior years. They are still growing, and they are building, or would be building if there was any building being done, adding to those plants. They have in contemplation very large additions to their plants, but of course they are not at work on them now. The iron industries have had a like increase in the number of men employed, and I might say that in nearly every line except in the building line this is true. The conditions that make trade in the building line are very peculiar. As a rule, the

building trades are the last trades to feel an improved condition of things. Real estate is the last thing to commence to move after a panic, and it continues to move after other things usually commence to go down. We have not yet been able to realize the commencement of the upward movement in the building interests of this community, though everything else has been booming. The trade conditions seem to attract men with money to invest—that is, men who had surplus money seemed to feel the early improvement of the conditions that prevailed prior to 1896, and invested their surplus money in securities that could be easily converted; and while these securities remained at a figure where it seemed that a profit could be secured the surplus money of the people of this community seemed to be drawn into that channel. Now that these securities have reached a point where many believe that they are not going to advance much higher, the natural tendency is to seek investments that are thought likely to produce profitable results. Real estate to-day in Chicago is very cheap, because it has not commenced to move. It will commence to increase in price as it commences to move; and if the conditions were settled, so as to guarantee a revenue on the investment, it is felt by the best informed people of the community that large blocks of money would be invested in this line of security, and that when the investments were made building would start. Last year the conditions were of a very unsettled character as between the contractor and the workman, and men who would have liked to invest their money in building hesitated to do so. They felt that there would be no certainty of being able to make the investment on a revenue-paying basis, and so the year was the worst in the history of Chicago in that particular line. The amount of building done reached only in the aggregate \$20,000,000. It is said by the architects of Chicago to-day that they have in contemplation, ready for construction, buildings the cost of which would aggregate for this year \$50,000,000 if the labor troubles were settled. In what shape they will be settled it is hard to say; but I am an optimist myself, and I feel that before very long some settlement that will be satisfactory will be reached. The only safe basis upon which negotiations can be entered for a settlement of this kind, in my judgment, is that of arbitration. It seems to me, too, that it should be voluntary arbitration. I heard you ask Mr. Nicholson whether any effort had been made to arbitrate, and I desire to elaborate upon his answer to this extent: That along in last November, I think it was, I undertook as a disinterested party—that is to say, a party not affiliated with either the associations of the contractors or the associations of the men, but friendly to both—to outline a plan under which I believed all the existing difficulties might be adjusted. I outlined such a plan, and then I undertook to act as mediator, to bring the two warring elements together. I succeeded in bringing them together. They met daily for, I think, about 30 days. They appointed a committee from the contractor's side and a committee from the men's side, of equal numbers. They finally made a unanimous agreement on the question of a settlement under the plan that I proposed. This agreement was signed; it was to be ratified by the organizations on both sides. The contractor's committee reported it back to the contractors; the contractors ratified it. The men's committee reported it back to the building trades council, but it has never been acted upon since. What the reason was I have never been able to ascertain. The difficulties, it seems to me, that arise between the elements in our business can easily be adjusted if a spirit of fairness is exhibited by both sides. My belief always has been that maybe my idea of a thing might not be the right thing, that your idea of a thing might not be what ought to be done, but that when we get together with a feeling that whatever is to be done will be done fairly, and all our ideas are put together and the best of each is taken, you reach a compromise that will not, perhaps, suit anyone, but will come nearer than anything else to suiting all. I believe that no question can ever be settled under any circumstances unless that settlement meets or nearly meets the approval of the majority of those who are affected by it.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Did any other effort follow that of yours?—A. Yes; the mayor of Chicago thought that perhaps he could bring about an adjustment, and he wrote a letter to the building trades council, requesting the appointment of a committee from that body, and he wrote a letter also to the contractors, requesting them to appoint a committee. The contractors, I believe, felt that in view of the failure of the men to ratify the agreement that they had entered into they were not justified in accepting any proposition to meet further with them until they had at least shown a disposition to act upon the questions that had already been adjusted; so nothing came of it.

Q. One side failed to act in the one case and the other side in another?—A. Yes.

Q. Is there any politics in all this trouble?—A. Well, I really do not know.

Q. Do not know?—A. I do not know, sir; but the trade conditions here, I think,

are better and have been better in the last 8 years, with the exception of the building trades. That exception can be accounted for by the usual conditions that exist and have existed from the beginning of time—that real estate is the last thing that commences to move, and consequently that building is the last thing that commences to move. Another thing that perhaps affected the building business here—preparatory to the World's Fair we built the city up very largely to accommodate the influx of people that were expected here, and after the World's Fair was over many of these buildings were not needed; many of them were not rented; and of course there was not much inducement to people who had money to invest it in the building line. I am firmly convinced, however, that if this difficulty is adjusted properly now we are just on the beginning of an era of prosperity in that particular line. If it is not adjusted, of course it is going to affect all interests; not only the manufacturing interests, but the dry goods interest, the grocery interest, the coal mines, the railroads—everything is affected by it. The movement of materials of all kinds is very bulky when the thing is going on rapidly, and it affects the railroad employees, the railroads themselves, the coal miners, the iron miners, the rolling mills, the grocers, the dry goods, the clothing; in fact, everybody feels it.

Q. You tell of one effort at arbitration which seemed to come almost to the point of success, initiated by yourself, and another on the part of the mayor, which failed too, and yet you say you are an optimist. Will you state why you are optimistic in regard to the conditions?—A. To illustrate why I think good results could be accomplished, take, for instance, a building upon which are employed 200 men of various trades. To-day if any one trade strikes on that building on account of a misunderstanding between the men and the contractor all the trades strike; the building is shut down completely. That is what is known as a sympathetic strike. This strike is ordered by what is known as the business agent of the labor organizations.

Q. Ordered by him as the mouthpiece of the union?—A. Of his particular union.

Q. Not his act, but really the act of the organization?—A. No; he has authority, I believe, to do it.

Q. He has?—A. And my scheme involves this method of curing that trouble: That a permanent board of arbitration, consisting of an equal number of men from each side, be appointed, and that wherever difficulty arises on any building before the business agent or the walking delegate has power to call out the men, he be directed to ascertain just what the difficulty is, and after he ascertains it to refer it to this board of arbitration. If it is a question of not very great importance the time should be limited in which this board of arbitration should have the right to decide it—for instance, 24 hours—but pending the decision of the board no men whatever should be called away from the work on the building. This may be extended to anything else, whether it is a building or whatever it may be. But I feel certain that if such a programme were laid down and carried out honestly 999 out of every 1,000 strikes would be averted. I say that because every man that is a member of any union, in talking with me on this question, agrees that this is the plan upon which to work; every contractor who is a member of his particular organization agrees that this is the plan upon which to work. Now, there is practically united agreement on the question. If there is, there ought not to be any difficulty in solving it. It is a plain business proposition, in which not only the men who are employed on the building and the contractors who employ the men are interested, but in which the men who are employed by every other institution in this city or in this State or in this country are interested. The failure of the men to work in any particular line not only affects them, but it affects all other men who are obliged to work for a living in every other line of industry that enters into the construction of the building, or whatever it may be, and what we need more than anything else is reason, just common horse sense. We want to have fellows meet feeling that each of them is fair. We do not want them to meet with a chip on their shoulders. We want the men who are employed by the contractor to feel that they are the equal of the contractor, and we want the contractor to feel that he is nothing more than the equal of the men, and that the intelligence of the one is as good as that of the other, and that the honesty of the one is as good as that of the other. If that feeling can prevail, and it can if the right influences are brought to bear, you will have no strikes, you will have no trouble of any kind.

Q. Do you believe that if the men were to make an offer of arbitration, the contractors would look upon it as an indication of weakness, an indication that the men were about to give up the strike, or vice versa?—A. Oh, I do not think so; the thing, you know, has been handled back and forth so often, and they know each

other so well, and the staying qualities that each side has, that they would not feel that way. It is simply a question now of whether the one element is going to dominate the other; that is as I understand it. I do not understand that there is any objection on the part of the contractors to organized labor; on the contrary, I understand that every contractor would prefer to employ union labor rather than nonunion. They realize that they get a better class of men, that the men have a better opportunity of keeping respectable wages by having unions; they recognize the fact that the better the wages paid the better the opportunity these men have of educating their children and giving them an opportunity of living the life they ought to have in a country like this. What I understand them to object to is this—and we might just as well see it—that in many of the trades they limit the amount of the work that a man does in a day. There is no objection to their wages or to the hours, or to the unions, but now it has reached a stage—now I am speaking from my wide circle of acquaintances in this city, and from the fact that I come in contact with them every day—it has reached a point where it does not make any difference what the contractor wants to do or what the labor union wants to do, unless a settlement of this difference is made to the satisfaction of the investing public, the investing public will not put its money into business in which these people are engaged. That is the situation, and after all, the man who has the money to invest is the man who must be satisfied before you can create an era of activity.

Q. Is all the right of this controversy on one side and all the wrong of it on the other side?—A. I really do not know the details of this controversy.

Q. You ought to know a good deal about it, having initiated this scheme of arbitration.—A. I knew this difficulty, but my point was not to go into the details of what the difficulty was on either side; it was simply to see if I could bring the contending forces together and let the men who did know what the details of the difficulty were go into them and adjust them along the lines that were formulated by me. Mine were simply general lines; they did not go into details.

Q. Being in a business yourself very largely affected by it, and being a resident of Chicago and knowing very much about this, as you must, you are certainly qualified to say yes or no to the question, Is all the right of this controversy on one side and all the wrong of it on the other?—A. Oh, I do not suppose a controversy ever existed where all the right was on one side and all the wrong on the other.

Q. Well, you do not believe it is so in this case?—A. Perhaps not.

Q. What is your belief on the subject?—A. I do not suppose it is; I do not suppose it is.

Q. Well, is not there an apparent effort to create the public impression that all the wrong is on the side of the building trades council people and all the right on the other side?—A. As to that I could not answer, because I do not know; I am not a member of either body.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you know whether your proposition for arbitration was ever acted upon in the unions or not?—A. I understand not; that is, not in all of them; I think it was in some.

Q. Do you know whether or not it was received favorably?—A. It was acted upon favorably in those where it was acted upon at all, and the National Federation of Labor, as I understand it, at Milwaukee, when they held their convention, adopted it; and I understand the international convention of bricklayers in Rochester have adopted it.

Q. Do you know why it was not acted upon by the other unions?—A. No, I do not. I simply acted in the capacity of a mediator in the beginning, and got these people together; and after I got them together, I dropped out; I did not have any further business with them.

Q. Do you know whether or not it was submitted to the other unions?—A. No, I do not; I heard it said that it was not, but I do not know.

Q. You have referred to the depressed period and the prosperous period. Were the conditions then of a purely local character, or were they national?—A. Oh, they covered everything everywhere in the depression and they do now in the activity.

Q. Do you know of anything that can be done by the State government or by the National Government to improve and preserve the conditions of prosperity?—A. Why I do not know of anything that can be done more than has been done. It seems to me that the first proposition is to have the government of the State, of the nation, and of the local organizations, such as cities, run on such a basis as to give confidence to the men who live in the country that whatever they undertake to do will be maintained. In other words, that if they invest a dollar they will be able to have security that that dollar will not be wiped out. If you once

establish confidence, or if you can maintain the confidence that now exists, the country will continue to prosper.

Q. Do you share the opinion expressed by some that there is a sort of rebellion against law and order, a feeling for it in the community?—A. Oh, no.

Q. And that there is a disposition to strike at property?—A. Why, this is the first time that I have ever heard that any such conditions existed or that any such feeling prevailed. I think that it might be said with perfect safety that we have as varied a population in Chicago as exists in any community in the world, both as to nationality and as to character of employment, and all that; and I feel justified in saying that there is no more law-abiding community anywhere on earth, and that nearly every man could be depended upon, in case of trouble, to assist in maintaining law and order and bringing it to a higher standard if it was necessary. I have no fear of that sort, because I believe that the people who were born in this country, and the people who have come to this country and have become its citizens and have assimilated with the American-born people, are too patriotic to ever, under any circumstances, allow any disorder of any kind to disrupt or even influence them in destroying any part of the government, whether it is local, State, or National.

Q. Do you think there is relatively a larger floating and nonresident population of working people in Chicago than in most industrial centers?—A. Why, no; I do not want to have it inferred that what I have said had reference to the floating population. As to nationalities, we have every nationality under the sun here, and they are located in sections of the city almost by themselves in many cases, and their habits and customs of course vary; but they are all law-abiding citizens; they believe in law and order. We have in one or two wards in the city a floating population; they are the wards along the river where the lodging houses are. This condition perhaps exists in every city. But they have no influence to speak of in the formation or execution of the government or the laws of this city, and there is no fear about its future or the future of any city in this country. Of course, the higher the order of government and morality you have in a community the more safety there is for the future of the nation; and the tendency is, in my judgment, to a higher order of morality and sobriety among the people of this country. Great cities will necessarily have more to say in the government of the country as the years go by than they have had in the past, and therefore the greater need of exercising every influence that can be exercised to lift up to a higher standard of morals and of honesty the people who live in these cities.

Q. Is it your opinion that the various foreign-born elements now domiciled here are becoming rapidly assimilated to the native population and accustomed to our institutions?—A. There is no doubt about it. From what knowledge I have of them and from what associations I have had with them, I feel perfectly safe in saying that we have no better class of citizens in Chicago, and that they can be relied upon always to defend not only the honor of the city, but the honor of the Government and the country, and that their only purpose is to advance its interests and to sustain its honor and to uplift the standard of American citizenship.

Q. Do most of their children attend the public schools?—A. Nearly all of them. We have 331,000 children out of our population here attending the public schools daily; that is our average daily attendance. Nearly all the children of the poorer people go through all the grades of the grammar school. Of course many of them are not able to allow their children to go through the high school, because they have to go to work. They are as I was; when I ought to have been at school I was at work.

Q. Is it your opinion that steady employment and good wages are great civilizers?—A. There is not anything on earth that makes people so happy as to have plenty of work with decent wages. There is not anything that makes them better citizens than to accumulate a little money, to begin to acquire a little property. There is nothing that makes the wife so happy as to have the husband come home Saturday night with his pay in his pocket. There is not anything that will advance the interests of the country to a greater extent in the future, for posterity—I do not mean for to-day—than to enable the men to earn sufficient money to allow their children to get a decent education; because in the public schools they learn that patriotism which is the groundwork, the footing, upon which the future liberties of the people of this country must stand.

Q. In view of those considerations, do you consider it the duty of leading and patriotic citizens to grapple with such difficulties as are now on here and endeavor to compose them?—A. I believe it is the duty of every citizen, whether he is a leading or patriotic citizen or not. It is hard to define what a leading citizen is. Some fellows think they are leading citizens, you know, and others think they are

not. But I think it is the duty of every honest citizen to do everything within his power to advance the interests of the community in which he lives. Whether it is to serve his neighbor in a case of sickness, or whether it be to find employment for some poor man who is unable to find employment for himself, or whether it be to serve the State in an official or unofficial capacity, if he does it rightly—or whether it be to use his good offices to bring together men who are contending for what each claims is a liberty, and endeavor to show them that concession is the only thing that can bring them to the realization of their hope—I think it is the duty of every citizen who believes in good government, who believes in the future of this country, and who believes in having the children of the country educated, to do everything within his power to keep at work the great army of people, no matter whether they be men who work with their heads or with their hands; because there is nothing so bad as idleness.

Q. You believe, then, that whatever the laws may be, the general remedies that may be proposed for the amelioration of our conditions and the preservation of good conditions, much depends upon public sentiment and the active exercise of the duties of citizenship?—A. More depends upon that than on anything else. First, of course, we must have laws under which we can live; they must be so executed as not to be burdensome upon the people; the people must have confidence in the men who are called upon to pass the laws and those who are called upon to execute them; and then, after that condition exists, the proposition as submitted by you must follow.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Is the compromise agreed upon under your plan and admitted and agreed to by the Builders' Association beyond the hope of revival?—A. I was inclined to hope that it was not, but I do not know. Some time ago I think it could perhaps have been revived, but whether it can be now or not I am unable to say.

Q. If agreed to by the builders' association would the contractors' association feel that the time had gone by, so that they could not stand by their agreement?—A. I am not able to answer that question because I am not in touch with them. I simply acted, as I said before, as a mediator, and after I got them together and outlined my ideas I dropped out, and I have been out ever since.

Q. You have heard no expression from that side that the time had gone by?—A. No. I have not.

(Testimony closed.)

Whereupon, at 1 o'clock p. m., the subcommission took a recess until 2.30 o'clock.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 22, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. HERMAN LILLIEN.

President of the Hod Carriers' Union.

The special subcommission met at 2.30 p. m., pursuant to recess, Mr. Clarke presiding. At that time Mr. Herman Lillien of Chicago, president of the Chicago Hod Carriers' Union, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your full name.—A. Herman Lillien.

Q. What is your post-office address?—A. 2924 South Canal street, Chicago.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. At present I am president of the Hod Carriers' Union; heretofore a hod carrier.

Q. Please go on in your own way and state the size of your organization, and how long it has been formed, and what its relations are to other labor organizations, and whether your people are employed or not at the present time.—A. The Hod Carriers' Union has a membership somewhere in the neighborhood of 5,000 men. The hod carriers, as a calling, would have more men, if the work had not been supplanted to a great extent since the introduction of the machine in our line of work. I refer to hoisting machines. In 1886 and 1887 we had a hod carriers' union here, exclusively composed of men that carried the hod. At that time the membership was in the neighborhood of 7,000 or 8,000. In 1887 there was what was called here the big bricklayers' strike for a half day Saturday—for a Saturday pay day, rather. During this strike the laborers lost the organization of which they were members. That did away with the first organization of hod carriers in this city that I know of. A couple of years afterwards we reorganized, and through the panic that succeeded the World's Fair time here the second organization also went to pieces.

In 1893 the scale of wages was \$2 per day for 8 hours' work, and \$2.40 for what we term here hod carriers or plasterers' laborers. As I said, after the World's Fair time, when the building industry fell almost to the ground, the wages went with it, and the organization was powerless and went to the wall—disbanded. Wages fell from the scale I have mentioned to as low as 10 cents per hour. In 1895 to 1896, in the winter of that year, I was working on one of the biggest jobs in the city, at the corner of Thirty-third and Wabash avenue, and the men there received from 10 cents an hour to 12½ cents an hour for 10 hours' work. The condition getting worse and worse every day, some of us on the south side, who had been members of the old union, though not in an official capacity, took it upon ourselves to try to remedy the situation. In 1896, March, we reorganized again the hod carriers' union. The hod carriers' union of 1896 is the hod carriers' union to-day. We have now four locals, conducted on a system emanating from the hod carriers' council, which is the representative body of the rank and file. Such locals have the right to so many delegates per capita. In 1896, when the membership of the hod carriers' union was 536 strong in the city of Chicago, of 2,000,000 inhabitants, I am saying that the work before us was of a very grave nature. Making very slow progress, we went to our bosses and asked that they help us to get along somewhat better than we were getting along with \$1 and \$1.25 a day. At that figure we could not see how we could keep families. For example, I was the father at the time of three children myself. We could not see our way to do it. We were getting in debt more and more every day. We wanted to be classified among the best citizens in this town; that is, men that work for a living. We went to begging; we begged the Chicago masons, which is an association composed of about 500 men that work exclusively at masonry work, but all our prayers had no weight. We were discarded, as they say among horses, and we were discouraged, trying to come to some settlement.

Q. What did you ask for?—A. We asked for a regular scale of wages to be framed, and the recognition of the hod carriers' union, so that we might establish a system that would equalize everybody in the business. But the membership being so small and our power being so limited, we were discarded. Nevertheless, we kept on with the good work, as we term it, and again, in 1897, we came to the Chicago masons, with the same results. In 1898 we came again to the Chicago masons, in the spring, with the same results; but the organization that I have the honor of representing, having acquired some membership and having become a member of the central body, the Building Trades Council, the power that we wielded at that time was more recognized than it had been previously. On the 27th day of June, or thereabouts, 1898, an agreement was made between the hod carriers and building laborers' union and the Chicago masons. The agreement held for one year, up to 1899. As a side issue, I might remark that statistics will prove that prior to the 28th day of June, or thereabouts, 1898, the percentage of the work done in the city of Chicago by the members of the Chicago masons was 49; whereas up to the 29th day of July, 1899, the percentage was 97 per cent, 97 and a fraction. That shows you the benefit derived from the contract. I have got here a copy of the working rules, formulated by the Chicago masons themselves, under which we worked for 2 years, not a particle of which has ever been changed by our union, and the rules that we execute at present on any work that we may engage on. About the 17th day of January, 1900, a communication was sent to the Chicago masons, asking them that an arbitration board be appointed by their side, that ours was ready to meet them, giving an appointment for time and place. We have never received any communication, but, instead, the members of the rank and file of the hod carriers' union were notified upon the different works by circulars, by notices served on them by the boss, that certain rules were going to exist, rules that they had formulated themselves without the consent of the hod carriers' union or anybody else, and those were the rules under which the men were supposed to work, or else they would have no work for them. This occurred on the 5th of February. On being served with those notices the men, being members of a trade union, the hod carriers' union, could not break the pledge that they had taken to those working rules, and refused to work under the rules the contractors had made. [Witness produces paper.] Article 6 is the article that was in the way, and on the breaking of that article we have never had any recognition for the Chicago masons since.

Q. You wish to read that as a part of your testimony?—A. Yes (reading). "Section 6. Members of the said hod carriers' union shall work for none but members in good standing of the Chicago masons and builders' association on any of the classes of work defined herein, excepting on work done by the Federal, State, county, or municipal government by regular employees."

Q. That you say is the one?—A. Yes, that was the one that was in the way. It meant that, if I was fortunate enough to own a lot and be able to buy 15,000 bricks, the bricks would not be sold me and I should not be able to lay them. I should first have to go to a contractor who was a member of the contractors' council—any other would not do—before I could make the purchase of that brick, and I should not be allowed to lay those bricks myself, but I should have to have a contractor. Then if he would hire me to work on that building myself, then I would be allowed to do so. Under these rules if an owner of any consequence wanted to build for himself we were not allowed to work for him. There was a lot of contention and hard feeling between the members. The public became alarmed when it saw it was going too far and ought to be restricted. This ultimatum, as we call it, was thrown down to us on the 5th day of February, and we have not done a day's work for the members of the Chicago masons since. Of the 5,000 members that we have in our union I presume that about 3,000 work for the members of the Chicago masons, about 500 for plastering bosses, about 1,000 for the fireproofers, and the other 500 for carpenters. I presume that we have got 400 men working in the city of Chicago to-day.

Q. About 400 to-day?—A. Yes.

Q. Are any of them working for the mason builders?—A. They are not working for the masons and builders except in one instance; that is on a job on Adams and Clark; Mr. Griffiths is doing the job, and he is working under our union rules, and therefore has withdrawn the ultimatum that he had served on the 5th of February. We are working for four or five different firms, George A. Fuller & Co., Whittaker, and two or three more whose names I do not recollect just now; but since they have employed members of the hod carriers' union, carrying the building trades council card, they have all been fined \$500 by the association, and it is impossible for any one of those gentlemen to buy material of any kind in the building line unless they pay a larger margin, and in many instances they can not get the material at all—even to the extent of depriving a man, Whittaker, of the renting of a hoisting machine, a hand machine. Mr. Whittaker came down to my office yesterday and told me of these facts, and I went to see a machine firm and I have not succeeded yet.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEY.) They are scabs then, are they, in their organization?—A. Those men for whom we are working now?

Q. Yes; I mean they are scabbed by the contractors' association because they have employed you; have they not that status?—A. That is the status.

Q. They are boycotting them in their work?—A. Yes; they are boycotting their work.

Q. Preventing them from buying material and buying machinery?—A. Yes; as far as I can ascertain.

Q. Do they tell you that?—A. Yes.

Q. Would they come and tell that to the commission?—A. I presume they would.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Does your association belong to the central council of labor?—A. We belong to the building trades council.

Q. How many organizations does that consist of?—A. It consists of thirty or thirty-one.

Q. You are in good standing in the council, so far as you know?—A. We are in good standing in the council so far as we know.

Q. Is it your opinion that those regulations of the contractors are unfair, and that they discriminate against labor?—A. Yes; because it does not give labor the right to work for anyone that wishes to employ them.

Q. Do you have any rules of discipline in your own organization?—A. We have rules of discipline; yes.

Q. Do they resemble the rules of the contractors in any respect?—A. To a very, very small degree.

Q. You recognize that some rules of discipline are necessary in order to preserve the organization?—A. Yes; I recognize that fact.

Q. But you think theirs go too far?—A. Yes.

Q. Had you any complaint to make, before this recent difficulty came on, about the wages that you were receiving?—A. We had no complaint to make up to the 1st of March. We made a request for 5 cents an hour more on the 1st of March.

Q. What was the result of that request?—A. The result of that request was the ultimatum served on the men on the different works by the different bosses.

Q. Have you a copy of that ultimatum?—A. I have not with me.

Q. Do you think you could find one and furnish it as a part of your testimony?—A. Yes.

Q. I wish you would do it.—A. Yes.

The following is a copy of the ultimatum referred to by the witness:

“NOTICE.

“*To the journeymen masons and building laborers of Chicago.*

“The unions affiliated with the building trades council having absolutely ignored the joint arbitration agreement and failed to ratify same, we hereby make the following rules to be enforced by the mason and building contractors of Chicago, on and after February 5, 1900, and you will govern yourselves accordingly:

“Wages for journeymen masons will be 50 cents per hour.

“Wages for building laborers will be 25 cents per hour.

“Eight hours shall constitute a day's work.

“Time and one-half will be allowed for all overtime.

“Double time for Sundays and holidays.

“No limitation as to the amount of work a man shall perform in a day.

“No restriction as to union or nonunion made material.

“No restriction as to the use of machinery.

“The foreman shall be the agent of the contractor.

“The right to employ and discharge whoever he may choose is reserved to the employer.”

Q. (By Mr. Kennedy.) Has your organization always been willing to arbitrate your differences with the contractors?—A. More than willing to arbitrate; have always sought arbitration.

Q. You acknowledge then, that all the right of the controversy is not on your side, when you submit it to arbitration; that there is right and wrong on both sides?—A. We acknowledge that there is right?

Q. Yes; and wrong on both sides?—A. Yes.

Q. Are you familiar with the efforts at arbitration made some months ago, one at the suggestion of Mr. Madden and another in which the mayor of the city took part?—A. That is a matter that does not concern me. I had much rather you would wait until such a time as I should be sent here as a representative of that body. I am here as a member of the hod carriers' union, and I am testifying as a member of the hod carriers' union.

Q. Well, have you knowledge of those matters?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you serve on the committees at all?—A. I served on the committee.

Q. You would prefer not to give testimony about it?—A. Well, if it is wanted of me. There is no reason, only that I have not been empowered by the organization that sent me there as a representative on that occasion, and I am not here testifying as to their workings. I am testifying here as a member of the hod carriers' union.

Q. You represented the hod carriers' union on that occasion?—A. No; I did not. I represented the building trades council.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) I think you should exercise your own discretion, Mr. Lillien, about whether you will testify on that branch of the subject now or not. Of course, we should be glad to hear you, but we do not feel like drawing it out of you unless you wish to give it now.—A. Well, I will come again to the first part. The power to testify here would have to be vested in me by the building trades council, which was the body I represented at that time.

Mr. KENNEDY. Well, we should not press you.

The WITNESS. As far as the hod carriers' union is concerned, I repeat that it is not only in favor of arbitration, but has begged for arbitration, as I showed you on the start, ever since 1896; and that on the 17th day of January or thereabouts we sent a communication to the Chicago masons—a copy of which I can provide the commission with if it so desires—in which we asked arbitration.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) I wish you would furnish a copy.—A. The word “beg” is mentioned.

Q. To that you received no reply?—A. To that we received no reply.

Q. Will you furnish a copy of that?—A. Yes.

Q. Thank you. You are still ready and willing and anxious to arbitrate your differences if it is necessary to arbitrate?—A. Always ready to arbitrate.

Q. You are willing to meet the masons and talk with them about it?—A. Yes.

Q. And come to an agreement?—A. Yes.

Q. And leave everyone to resume work on his job?—A. Yes; and will abide by the decision of the arbitration board in all cases—always have.

Q. Have they, in any talk that you have had with them, objected to your union?—A. Not since 1908. They have objected, very strongly objected; not only

objected, but put everything in our way so that we could not succeed. But since 1888 the objections have never been raised up to this time.

Q. When was their association formed; do you remember?—A. No; I can not tell you; but, if I am not mistaken, it was formed in 1887, as near as I can recollect, about the time of the bricklayers' strike of that year.

Q. Do most of your members reside in Chicago?—A. They all reside in Chicago and suburbs. There are very few that come from out of town. At times, perhaps, an outside contractor may have a job here and may bring some men with him. They deposit their cards with us while they are here, and they work among our men just as though they had been here a lifetime.

Q. Are they generally the heads of families?—A. The members of our union?

Q. Yes.—A. The great majority. The work is not very lucrative, and a young fellow does not care very much about the work.

Q. Is the work in times of peace fairly steady throughout the year?—A. No; the work for quite awhile has been very slow. It is impossible for a man to average four days a week.

Q. Do your men get other work at times when they are not engaged in hod carrying?—A. There is a certain percentage of the union that carry the hod for a living exclusively and work on the buildings exclusively. As soon as they are out of work with a certain contractor they go around the city until they find work at the same calling. I have never earned a cent from 1883 up to 1896 outside of carrying the hod, and what applies to me applies to the big percentage of the membership of our union.

Q. Are there as many hod carriers in Chicago as there have been in former times?—A. There are as many building laborers, but not hod carriers, because it is not necessary now to be a hod carrier to work on the buildings. Machinery, as I said before, has supplanted the hod carrier, but the men that used to be hod carriers are still working at the building business.

Q. Do you know of any changes that should be made in our laws, either State or national, that you think would be beneficial to your class?—A. That is too deep for me; I have not studied enough, and I could not answer.

Q. Have you any fault to find with the police department or the administration of the law in the State or city?—A. I have none. I can say that of the city police; I could not say that of the special police.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) What is the prevailing rate of wages at your work?—A. The scale of wages prior to the 1st of March, 1900, was 25 cents an hour for building laborers and 30 cents an hour for hod carriers, plasterers' laborers. The new scale of wages is 5 cents increase, making it 30 and 35 cents.

Q. Is hoisting machinery required on account of the tall buildings that are now being built?—A. It makes the work cheaper; it raises it quicker than we could by human strength.

Q. Hoisting machinery is not used for low buildings, is it?—A. Used for buildings as low as three stories—on three-story tenements or residences. The only class of contractor that does not use the hoisting machine is the plastering contractor, because it compels him to move the machine. That is why the scale of wages is always 5 cents over the scale of wages of the building laborer; it requires more strength and more practice for the work.

Q. We shall be glad to hear any further statement that you may have to make.—A. I might speak a few words of the walking delegate. In my 4 years' experience I have had occasion to meet with upward of a hundred walking delegates, and I have the first word to hear that the walking delegate is not what he should be, as a member of society, as a member and citizen of this community. The statements made of them are generally false. There is not a thing said about a walking delegate that has ever been substantiated. Here is where the contractor finds his fault with the walking delegate: Because the walking delegate is the man with the backbone; because the contractor, if he has a grievance to settle, can not force a walking delegate. If a poor laborer goes and makes a protest because he has been maltreated by a contractor, or underpaid, or any other grievance that may spring up, he never receives a show; the wrong will never be rectified; the first thing is discharge; seek work somewhere else. That is why the members join the building laborers' union. The walking delegate has charge of all those cases; and if he finds that the contractors mistreat the members of his association he turns in his protest, and the straighter the walking delegate is the more kick from the contractor. That is why the walking delegate is receiving the brunt of the abuse, when it does not belong to him.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You have perfect confidence in the loyalty and integrity of the walking delegates of your union?—A. By a great percentage it has never been questioned; only by the contractors—by some contractors.

Q. How often are these walking delegates chosen?—A. They are chosen according to the different rules governing the different unions. In ours we elect every 6 months, and everybody has a chance at a ballot. We have a nomination to-night; there is a chance for 5,000 men on the list.

Q. Are the walking delegates authorized to order strikes?—A. No; not authorized to order strikes. There has never been a walking delegate that ever called a strike.

Q. Can they order any cessation of work by any member of the union without referring the question to the union?—A. The walking delegates have the right to exercise their discretion from meeting to meeting, provided that they govern themselves according to the rules laid down for them by the membership.

Q. Is there any referendum or postal-card system of taking the sense of the members of the union?—A. Do you mean partial strike or general strike?

Q. On any question whatever?—A. The members themselves do that work. If a member of our union has a grievance with a contractor, he sends to our headquarters; the business agent is sent to them, and the matter is arbitrated between the business agent and the contractor, either in the presence or the absence of the men, just as they see fit. If the two fail to agree, according to the rules the members are notified upon the work, and they know that while there is a grievance existing they can not work, and they generally quit of their own accord.

Q. Supposing the walking delegate wanted to call a strike, thought it was best to do so, would he have authority to do that?—A. No.

Q. Without getting it directly from the union?—A. Not for a moment; he has no right to call a strike anywhere; the walking delegate is not supposed to call strikes; he is supposed to evade strikes.

Q. Who does order a strike, the union?—A. The union, when there is a strike.

Q. Decided in open meeting?—A. The meetings are open so far as the membership of the hod carriers' union is concerned.

Q. Are those meetings usually well attended by the members?—A. Yes; whenever there is any question of any importance the advertising medium is used.

Q. In case of a very large union which could not conveniently meet in any one hall, would you favor the submission of any important question to the members by mail, receiving their answers by mail?—A. No.

Q. And treating those answers as votes?—A. No; that system has never been established.

Q. Do you think it would pay them to establish it?—A. On questions of importance—we have four locals, as I said before, 1, 2, 3, and 4; the questions are taken up by the membership, and delegates are sent to this executive body with instructions to recommend the passage of such and such a measure. We can condense the workings of the hod carriers' unions, though it is done right from the membership. We can condense it in 33 or 34 men. That is where the general orders are issued.

Q. Those 33 or 34 men represent how many?—A. Five thousand. On a question of vital importance, on questions that are without the rules, it is always left to a referendum vote, but at meetings, even though a special call would have to be issued through the medium of the press; but the mail system has never been established.

Q. Do you think of anything further you would like to submit?—A. The scale of wages of 30 and 35 cents an hour for a common laborer would seem to be extravagant, if the public or you did not know that in rainy weather, for example, there is no work for the laborer; in freezing weather there is no work for the laborer; and the laborer can not work without material, and is laid off quite frequently for that reason; if it is not brick we are missing it is lime; if it is not lime it is sand; if it is not sand it is scaffolding; if it is not scaffolding it is something else we are missing; so all in all we don't have more than an average of 4 days a week.

Q. Are you able to state about what the yearly earnings of the different members of your union are, when work is carried on generally here?—A. At the best of times it would be impossible for a man to work over 4½ days a week. Of course I am speaking of an average.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) That would be the year round?—A. That would be the year round, at the best of times; supposing there was work in plenty, that we could go from one job to another, keep on working, we could not make more than that, because there is rainy weather, freezing weather, and want of material. It is impossible to make any more, and the work must be very plentiful; we must be ready to go from one job to another, without any loss of time, seeking for a job after we lose work, to make it average that. Of course some are more fortunate than others. If I were working for Mr. Nicholson on these big

elevators or buildings, or on those big jobs down town, where rain does not affect you so much, because if there is no work with mortar there is work in the basement, raising lumber or something like that—you make more; but there is a counterbalance; another man working on a three-story building—I could illustrate to you in 2 seconds what it takes to put up a three-story building; it takes 5 days from the digging of trenches to basement high; it takes 5 days, providing the weather is suitable and we lose no time, providing the material comes as quick as we can use it. After that 5 days is done we lose 1 day at least on a three-story building, to set the basement joists. On the first floor we work 1 day to a day and a quarter, and if we work a day and a quarter it is worse for us than if we worked only 1 day, because we have to loaf the balance of that day and the succeeding day to put the joists in. The second story is a repetition of the first story. The third story is worse, because after the walls are up we have to delay a day or a day and a half for the ceiling joists; then we work two hours up to the roof joists, lay off another day, and work two hours more on the fire walls and chimney.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What you say now has reference to buildings that are built of brick and stone and wood?—A. Brick and stone and wood are exclusively used in tenement houses and residences in this city.

Q. It would not apply to steel-frame buildings, I suppose?—A. It would not apply to steel-frame buildings. The time made on those buildings is somewhat better than the time made by the men working on the small jobs.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 23, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. THOMAS B. JEFFERY.

Bicycle Manufacturer, Chicago, Ill.

The special subcommission met at 10.28 a. m., March 23, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At that time Mr. Thomas B. Jeffery was sworn as a witness and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. My name is Thomas B. Jeffery.

Q. Your post-office address.—A. No. 228 North Franklin street, Chicago.

Q. Your occupation?—A. Manufacturing bicycles.

Q. How long have you been engaged in that business in Chicago?—A. I have been engaged in that business 21 years.

Q. All the time in this city?—A. All the time in Chicago. I am the first manufacturer of bicycles west of Connecticut.

Q. Please go forward in your own way and state what you wish in connection with it, and the different members of the commission will ask questions that occur to them.—A. I was formerly a workman. I carried the dinner pail like the rest, a good many years ago, in Chicago, and about 21 years ago I commenced to make bicycles. Those were the early days. I worked up a large business, and treated all the men I had well. I began with 3 or 4, and about 1895 I had something like 800. I kept the men employed as much as possible all the year round, making it pleasant for them, and I think I kept men longer than most other manufacturers; that is to say, I think 50 per cent of my men have worked more than 5 years for me. About the fall of 1895, or the summer of that year, I found the prices of my goods were going down and the cost of selling them increasing, and I thought, in order to keep the business going, I should have to make the goods somewhat cheaper. I had polishers, machinists—a general line of men that worked on bicycles. Some belonged to unions and some did not, but I found that the polishers had a particularly strong union; they were employed in one department, one room divided off for them—between 40 and 50 men there. I found when I went to get a new piece of work done, something they had not made before, they always endeavored to get a very high price for the work of doing it, that is, a high piece-work price. If the men happened to be paid by the day they always insisted on getting \$2.75 a day, and did just as little as they could. So it was cheaper to have work done at a piece-work price, but when a new piece of work was given them they would each pretend it was a very hard piece of work to do and take a great deal of time. I knew it was not so. I knew they were deceiving me, but I could not help myself. I continued to submit to their figures. But

later, when competition got so very close and the price of goods went down, and the demand became greater on account of the diminished price, I looked about for some way of reducing the cost of the work in the polishing department. I found men that were making certain pieces, for instance, hubs—they were in a different building, a different side of the street from the polishers, and I spoke to the foreman who made the hubs, asking him if he could polish those hubs. He could, and he did, and he found the cost of polishing these hubs was about one-third what the metal polishers charged for it. I found that I was being fooled all the time, and after proving the things could be done cheaper, that hubs could be done cheaper, I saw that little screws and nuts could be done by women just about as well as by men, and I got some women working in another department to polish them. The polishers, of course, knew about that, and soon I was waited upon by a committee and told I must discharge those women, and discharge the men polishing hubs, or they would all go out in a body. I told them I would not discharge the women or the men. A week or two elapsed, when I was waited upon by two men who came from Toledo or Detroit, and they made a demand on me to discharge those people. I would not do it. Those men went out and made some signal to the men watching at a window; and all the men in the polishing department came out in a body—44 of them. Before leaving, they destroyed what they could easily while the foreman was not looking around. In the foreman's absence, they put acids into the tubs containing the nickel solution, and mixed the fine and coarse emery so that it was useless, and then endeavored to keep men from coming to my place to be engaged or to seek work. I was waited upon again by a committee of the strikers, and told that unless I took them back I should be boycotted. I did not understand just what boycott meant in the way they did, and I told them it made no difference. But I found it did make a difference. I soon after got in the mail a lot of cards. Now I have specimens of those cards. They published cards of that kind by the thousand. These cards were received by me from agents who sold my bicycles, from all over the United States. They were scattered in almost every city. (The cards above referred to bear on one side an illustration of a bicycle, and are worded as follows): "Don't buy these bicycles, the Victor, Victoria, Rambler, Ideal, and Crescent. They are polished by scabs."

(On the reverse side, appears the following): "The Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers' International Union of North America, request all their friends and sympathizers to boycott the following bicycles, as they are finished by scab labor: Victor and Victoria, manufactured by The Overman Wheel Company, Chicopee Falls, Mass.; Rambler and Ideal, manufactured by Gormully & Jeffery, Chicago, Ill.; Crescents, manufactured by The Western Wheel Company, Chicago, Ill."

I submit one letter, received from New Haven, Conn. (reading):

"GORMULLY & JEFFERY, Chicago:

"GENTLEMEN: Cards like the inclosed were frequently distributed through the streets of this place last night by parties to us unknown. You are probably familiar with this fact, but thinking that possibly you are not, we forward the card."

There is other matter in the letter, but it is hardly necessary to put it in.

Q. Have you read all that pertains to that?—A. Yes; I have read all that pertains to that feature.

I have another label, one that was distributed in Detroit, 200,000 being distributed on Woodward avenue, Detroit, near where the Gormully & Jeffery Manufacturing Company have a store; and I submit a specimen.

(The following is a copy of the label above referred to:)

"Rambler bicycle is made by scab labor."

I submit also a card received from an agent who sold Rambler bicycles in Waterford, N. Y. It is a specimen of card I received from a vast number of places in the United States.

(The following is a copy of the card above referred to:)

"Wheels given away!—Gormully & Jeffery will give away 'Rambler' and 'Ideal' wheels during the coming season. They can not sell them. They are made by inferior workmen."

I submit another handbill. It was received from the agent for Rambler bicycles at Marlboro, Mass., March, 1897—one of a large number distributed.

(The following is a copy of the circular referred to:)

THE GORMULLY-JEFFERY BICYCLE STRIKE:—JEFFERY. 121

[Metal Polishers' Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' Union of North America, affiliated with American Federation of Labor. Office of Secretary-Treasurer-Editor. Samuel G. Carter, Secretary-Treasurer-Editor, 620 Chamber of Commerce building.]

BOYCOTT.

A TEST CASE—DOES THE BOYCOTT HAVE EFFECT?—IN THIS CASE IT REMAINS WITH ORGANIZED LABOR AND ITS FRIENDS TO ANSWER. YES.

To organized labor and the public in general, greeting:

The Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, and Brass Workers' International Union having been compelled to place a boycott on Rambler wheels made by the Gormully & Jeffery Co., of Chicago, Ill., and Victor and Victoria made by Overman Wheel Co., of Chicopee Falls, Mass., for discriminating against organized labor, we respectfully request your union to assist us in pushing the boycott on these firms by appointing committees to wait on the different agencies in your city and request them not to handle these wheels.

Inclosed find sample of stickers, which we will forward on request, which can be stuck in conspicuous places. By so doing you will oblige us and aid organized labor in general.

Yours fraternally,

METAL POLISHERS, BUFFERS, PLATERS, AND BRASS WORKERS' UNION,
OF NORTH AMERICA.

Endorsed by the A. F. of L.

(The "sticker" referred to in the above circular is 2 by 4 inches in size, gummed on one side, the other side bearing the picture of a rider falling from a bicycle which has broken at the point where the forks of the front wheel join the frame. Opposite the picture appears the following: "He rides a Rambler bicycle. You see where it breaks.")

That circular was very largely distributed, and that particular sticker is a sample of one that was frequently stuck on the windows of the Gormully & Jeffery store in this city. They were stuck on other stores. One time the windows of the Gormully & Jeffery Co. were almost covered with those stickers. It happened on Sunday. They were placed there Sunday morning, or on a holiday morning, and the store being idle during the day, the stickers remained on the entire day.

Now I submit another handbill, which was, I think, distributed in Marlboro, Mass. I do not remember how I got this one.

(The handbill above referred to is as follows):

"To organized labor and to those who sympathize with the rights of labor:

"Your attention is again called to the following boycotts, which are still in force against the several makes of bicycles herein named, viz: The Rambler, Victor, Victoria, Derby, Seig & Walpole, and Overman bicycles; and as members of organized labor we don't patronize them.

"These boycotts were placed by the several local unions of those different places and manufactories, and have the indorsement of the American Federation of Labor.

"The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union in convention assembled indorsed the action of the A. F. of L.

"The manufacturers of all the above-named wheels have insultingly refused to treat with union help and, especially in the case of the Gormully & Jeffery Company, have hounded their employees on account of being connected with trades union.

"Mr. Jeffery wrote to the secretary of the union telling him to push the boycott, saying it was the best advertisement he had ever received.

"Don't believe any person who says there is no boycott on any of these bicycles. There is a boycott on all of them, and when the same is removed organized labor will be ready to publish the fact as it is to push the boycott.

"There are some of high-grade wheels, made under conditions acceptable to labor, which can be procured right here in Marlboro.

"No true union man will procure any article made in violation of the principles of organized labor.

"Persons desiring to post themselves as to the placing of boycotts and the progress or settlement of same, should procure the American Federationist, a monthly magazine published by the American Federation of Labor; 50 cents a year.

"Remember, we don't patronize the Rambler, Victor, Victoria, Seig & Walpole, Derby, Overman bicycles.

"By order of ORGANIZED LABOR, *Marlboro, Mass.*"

I submit also a printed circular, in the form of a typewritten letter, that was mailed to every bicycle club that could be reached. They came back to me from a vast number of places, and some came back from bicycle clubs that had gone out of existence. It indicated to me that the polishers' union had a directory of bicycle clubs, and mailed a letter to each. I submit a copy.

(Following is a copy of the letter above referred to:)

[Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers' Union of N. A., affiliated with the A. F. of L.]

HEADQUARTERS METAL POLISHERS' UNION No. 6, OF CHICAGO,
CHICAGO, April 8, 1896.

To the bicycle clubs:

GENTLEMEN: We desire to place before your members a few facts pertaining to the firm known as the Gormully & Jeffery Mfg. Co., manufacturers of the Rambler wheel. Some 6 months ago this firm began a system of despotic persecution against the union men in their employ, and against all members of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers' Union of North America, and persistently endeavored to disrupt such organizations as were then represented in their shops. To such an extent was this persecution carried that it resulted in the withdrawal by the union of all members of the Metal Polishers' Union, Local No. 6, of Chicago, in their works and the placing of a boycott on their products by the American Federation of Labor during the latter quarter of 1895. This firm began a system of persecution against the skilled and organized polishers and buffers by starting a new polishing room in a building opposite the old building; consequently when they began hiring men to go in the new room they would not hire anyone that was a member of this organization. The question would be asked, "Are you a member of the Metal Polishers' Union?" If the answer was yes, the applicant was turned away, if the answer was no, he was put to work. We have positive proof of this discrimination, and when a committee was appointed to wait upon this firm to protest against this persecution, Mr. Jeffery without any hesitation replied that it was true that nonunion men were what they wanted, because they were more pliable to their (the firms) will. In laying this matter before you, we ask you to consider that the Rambler is supposed to be a high-grade wheel, but now the nickel work on the Rambler is inferior to any low-grade wheel on the market. It is being done by cheap unskilled labor. In fact, they are running a polishing school on the same plan that the barbers' school is being run on at the present time. Everything has been done on our part to settle this trouble amicably, but all our efforts have failed. We now ask you, as no doubt the product of this firm is sold in your city, to wait upon the dealers and try and get them to refuse to handle the goods of this firm, and if not successful in this effort upon them, write the firm direct and ask them to try and settle the trouble existing between us. Thanking you in anticipation, and shall be glad to hear from you as to what action you take against this firm which has done its utmost to take away the prerogative of the common wage worker, that of intelligent and lawful cooperation, so vitally necessary for the mutual benefit for all.

Respectfully yours,

METAL POLISHERS, BUFFERS, AND PLATERS' UNION.

Indorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

I also submit a copy of another letter of similar character to the above, that was sent to the different bicycle agents with whom the Gormully & Jeffery Manufacturing Company did business.

(The following is a copy of the letter last referred to:)

[Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers' Union of N. A., affiliated with the A. F. of L.]

HEADQUARTERS METAL POLISHERS' UNION, No. 6, OF CHICAGO,
CHICAGO, April 26, 1896.

GENTLEMEN: We desire to place before your members a few facts pertaining to the firms known as Gormully & Jeffery, manufacturers of the Rambler wheel, and the Western Wheel Co., manufacturers of the Crescent wheel.

The above firms have for the past year or more persisted in discriminating against union men, and have endeavored to the best of their ability to disrupt such organizations as have in that time been represented in their shops.

These firms were waited upon a number of times by committees sent by the various local organizations and also by the central bodies with which such organizations were affiliated, but without avail. Mr. Jeffery's reply to such committees

was that they desired nonunion men because they were more pliable to their (the firms) will.

Our union and the council having exhausted every possible honorable means to adjust these grievances, had no alternative but to withdraw our men from the shops. Such was done. In laying this matter before you we ask you to remember that these wheels, viz, the Rambler and Crescent are supposed to be high-grade wheels, but the fact is they are being polished and plated by unskilled workmen and are inferior to many low-grade wheels on the market at the present time.

We ask your assistance in this matter; no doubt the products of these firms are sold in your town. We would ask you to visit the dealers who are handling these wheels and place these facts before them and, if possible, have them refuse to handle these goods, and if not successful in that direction write the firm direct and ask them to try and settle the trouble existing between us.

Thanking you in anticipation and hoping to hear from you as to what action you take against these firms who have at all times done their utmost to take away the prerogative of the common wage worker, that of intelligent and lawful cooperation so vitally necessary for the mutual benefit of all.

We remain, fraternally yours,

METAL POLISHERS, BUFFERS, AND PLATERS' UNION.

Indorsed by the American Federation of Labor and the Metal Trades Council.

I also submit a package of pamphlets, in its original shape, that was mailed to the Reliance Wheelmen, Oakland, Cal. It has on it a label stating it is from Samuel G. Carter, 520 Chamber of Commerce Building, Detroit, Mich., secretary-treasurer-editor Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, and Brass Workers' Union of North America, and contains a union label. This package is a sample of many hundreds that were obtained by men who sold the Rambler bicycle in different parts of the United States, and contains 20 or 30 little green-covered books, marked "A pointer to cyclists." It condemns the methods of the Gormully & Jeffery Manufacturing Company. I submit one entire package and an extra copy.

(The following is the reading matter set out in the above-described books:)

"In order for a new beginner to become a successful rider, the first thing that is necessary is to select a wheel with a reputation of being high grade in every construction, not in name only, but in all its different phases of construction and its workmanship and material used. We therefore will endeavor to give you a pointer on a wheel that is now being advertised throughout the United States and Canada as a high-grade wheel in every particular and selling at a high-grade figure, made by the Gormully & Jeffery Co. of Chicago, and known as the Rambler bicycle. This firm is rated to be worth upward of \$1,000,000, and therefore can and do spend lots of money in advertising their so-called high-grade Rambler; but we for the past year and six months have tried to enlighten the public who uphold and appreciate the pleasure of cycling by sending circulars to various bicycle clubs throughout the United States explaining to them the methods used by this firm in their endeavor to employ cheap and unskilled labor, and as cheap and unskilled labor is inferior to skilled and well-paid labor then it follows naturally that the construction of a bicycle made by unskilled labor must be inferior to one made by skilled labor.

"In the fall of 1895 this firm made an effort to rid themselves of all the men employed in the nickel department of their factory, for no other reason but one, and that was because the polishers, buffers, and platers employed by them were all skilled workmen and were receiving a fair day's pay. They were receiving a scale of wages paid by all large firms in the bicycle industry in the city of Chicago, and which is still being paid by firms of the "Live and let live" type. To rid themselves of these men this firm began to discriminate against these men, and use such contemptible methods that there was no other alternative but to quit, which was done. Immediately Gormully & Jeffery filled their places by any one that would work cheap. It did not make any difference whether they had ever seen a nickel room or not, or whether they were paper hangers, plasterers, laborers, sewer diggers, or what; their wheel was advertised and had a market; the workmanship cut no figure, and on account of their being an organization of metal polishers, buffers, and platers in every city in the Union, they had to take just such a crew, as it was impossible for them to import men from other cities on account of their belonging to these organizations; and it has proven a disastrous scheme for the laborers that they hired to fill the places of these mechanics as it was so much inferior to that employed by other firms in the bicycle trade that the public saw the difference in the finish of the Rambler and the finish of wheels made by fair-minded firms. Their sales, therefore, have fallen off more than one-half during the year 1896 to what they used to be; and through our efforts in

preventing the sale of the Rambler, by informing the public of its inferior qualities, and by keeping the public informed that the Rambler wheel is 'boycotted' and that the boycott is indorsed by the American Federation of Labor, we have now got the shoe on Gormully & Jeffery's foot and it has pinched them to such an extent that they entered the United States court whining like whipped curs and praying for an injunction to stop the International Union of Metal Polishers from further boycotting their scab wheel.

"Judge Grosscup, who was on the bench at the time, refused to grant their request, and as the labor employed by them after the strike is still in their employ, their 1897 wheel is as inferior as their 1896 wheel was, and the strike is still on. All reports to the contrary sent out by this firm is not to be believed and to deceive the public and cover the tracks of the laborers in their employ they have introduced a new scheme, a labor-saving device. As was stated before they can secure no men skilled in what is known as nickel-plating, or polishing steel for nickel-plating; the men they have are a failure. Now, to deceive the public, they have introduced this scheme; where formerly, and what is necessary in order to get a polish on steel to take nickel, and to have the nickel hold, it is necessary to run the steel through four operations, namely, a rough wheel, then a finer degree of emery, then to a finer degree, then to a color wheel. These men cannot get this particular part down; so now to cover up their lack of this knowledge, they run the work over a rough wheel, then put on a heavy coat of copper then nickel-plate it. This may appear all right to anyone not being posted on nickel-plating, but to those that are posted we know that the coat of copper-plate must be so heavy in order to cover the scratches made by the rough polishing wheel, that the least accident or a jar of any kind will cause it to peel. As soon as that happens your nickel part becomes rusty, and you will be put to the expense of getting your wheel renickeled; and if a firm should use such methods on one part of the construction of a bicycle, it is reasonable to suppose that they would try to deceive the public on the other parts of the construction of their wheels—on the material, on the workmanship. Shun the Rambler and Ideal; there are others.

"Thanking the public in general for their refusal to buy the Rambler and Ideal wheels, we remain,

"Yours sincerely,

"METAL POLISHERS, BUFFERS, PLATERS, AND
BRASS WORKERS' UNION, OF NORTH AMERICA."

I submit also a package of cards similar to the one first submitted. This package was found in the booths of the Gormully & Jeffery Manufacturing Company cycle exhibit in January, 1897. The cards read as follows (reading):

"Don't buy these bicycles—Victor, Victoria, Ideal, Rambler, and Crescent, or the bicycle saddles manufactured by Garford Mfg. Co. They are all polished by scabs."

"The Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, and Brass Workers' International Union of North America request all their friends and sympathizers to boycott the following bicycles and bicycle saddles, as they are finished by scab labor: Victor and Victoria, manufactured by the Overman Wheel Co., Chicopee Falls, Mass. Rambler and Ideal, manufactured by Gormully & Jeffery, Chicago, Ill.; Crescents, manufactured by the Western Wheel Co., Chicago, Ill. The saddles manufactured by the Garford Mfg. Co., Elyria, Ohio, are Wizard, Garford Ouida, Snell, Majestic, Waverly, Adlake, Falcon, Hickory, Sunol, Peerless Crawford Remington, Keating, Dorsett. Ben Hur."

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Where was this exhibit?—A. The booth was in the Tattersall Building, I think, in Chicago.

In addition to the annoyance and difficulties caused by the circulation of these papers, the agents of the Gormully and Jeffery Manufacturing Company have been waited on by committees from unions and told not to sell any Rambler bicycle on pain of forfeiting the custom or business of the unions and their friends. It resulted in the loss of quite a number of valuable agencies—people who sold in addition to bicycles belting and groceries or hardware—they gave up our business, whilst quite a number—I do not know how many, but I have a letter from a representative in Boston, who wrote me on October 14, 1896, and he gives a list of names and addresses of agents who at different times complained of this boycott. There are 13 names in the letter of agents in Massachusetts and Connecticut who complained. Some of these men gave up agencies; some did not." I submit the letter.

THE GORMULLY-JEFFERY BICYCLE STRIKE:—JEFFERY. 125

(The letter above referred to is as follows:)

NEW ENGLAND DEPOT,
GORMULLY & JEFFERY MANUFACTURING Co.,
174 Columbus avenue, Boston, Mass., October 14, 1896.
GORMULLY & JEFFERY MFG. Co.,
Chicago, Ills.

GENTLEMEN: Yours of the 12th by Mr. Jeffery, regarding polishers' union boycott matter, is received. We give below a list of names and addresses of agents who have at different times complained of this boycott. The list may not be complete, as it is culled from memory largely. You might write these people, if you like, and they can give you further information:

Bruce, Filley & Co., Hartford, Conn.
J. T. Prowitt Co., Norwalk, Conn.
Geo. F. Tenney, Brunswick, Me.
Baumgartner Bros., Waterbury, Conn.
S. W. Smith & Co., Ansonia, Conn.
Brewer & Coburn, Springfield, Mass.
Ford & Ross, Holyoke, Mass.
F. S. Dewey, jr., Marlboro, Mass.
Proudman Bros., Meriden, Conn.
Cadden Cycle Co., Norwich, Conn.
W. L. Van Dusen, Westfield, Conn.
C. F. Grout, Worcester, Mass.
E. H. Aldrich Hdw. Co., Fall River, Mass.

We are, yours, very truly,

GORMULLY & JEFFERY MFG. Co.,
A. E. SCHAAF.

Hand Mr. Jeffery.

I submit another letter from the same agent, together with a specimen of the cards referred to in the letter.

(The letter referred to follows:)

NEW ENGLAND DEPOT,
GORMULLY & JEFFERY MANUFACTURING Co.,
Boston, Mass., March 12, 1897.
GORMULLY & JEFFERY MFG. Co.,
Chicago, Ill.

GENTLEMEN: The inclosed card relates to this infernal boycott of which we have been writing you of late. Our Marlboro, Mass., agent reports that 8,000 of these things have been flooded around his town with the open intent of injuring his business. He furthermore says that inasmuch as Marlboro is a strong labor union town as well as a Rambler bicycle town, they are endeavoring to undermine us by making misstatements as to the true cause of this boycott, claiming at their labor meetings that the whole trouble has been caused by your making a 40 per cent cut in wages.

Of course neither we nor our agents believe any such ridiculous statement, but the public, whose sympathies have been aroused on one side, do not know the true facts. F. S. Dewey, jr., is our agent, and a very good one, selling a very large number of Ramblers in that place each year. We counseled him against getting into any controversy in the newspapers with these people, and to take as little notice as he could of them, for inasmuch as they are a "mouthy" class, they are bound to be in their element if they can get up a squabble through the daily press.

If you could write Mr. Dewey a letter denying emphatically about this cut in wages, and telling him as much as you care to about the true cause, we think he will not abuse it, but only use it where it will prevent him from making a sale. We remain,

Yours, truly,

GORMULLY & JEFFERY MFG. Co.,
A. E. SCHAAF.

They are bothering us considerably in Waterbury and Norwich, Conn., and Lynn and Danvers, Mass., also.

(The card referred to in the above letter is 2 by 4 inches in size, bears the picture of a bicycle on one side, together with these words: "Don't buy these bicycles: Rambler and Ideal, Victor and Victoria. They are polished by scabs." On the reverse side appears the following: "The Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, and Brass Workers' International Union of North America request all their friends and sympathizers to boycott the following bicycles, as they are finished by scab

labor: Rambler and Ideal, manufactured by Gormully & Jeffery, Chicago, Ill.; Victor and Victoria, manufactured by The Overman Wheel Co., Chicopee Falls, Mass.")

I submit two papers containing a list of boycotted concerns. One is the *Kenosha (Wis.) Labor Herald*, dated December 4, 1897; the other is the *American Federationist* for September, 1897; and in the lists of boycotted concerns in each of these papers appears the name of the Gormully & Jeffery Manufacturing Co.

I submit a copy of a paper called *The Journal*, published in the interests of the metal polishers, dated May, 1896, published in Toledo, Ohio, containing a list of boycotted concerns, among them being the Gormully & Jeffery Manufacturing Co.

I submit also a copy of the same paper. *The Journal*, published in Toledo, Ohio, February, 1896, containing a statement of the difficulty with the Gormully & Jeffery Manufacturing Co., in these words [reading]:

"The committee (meaning the executive committee of the International Union of Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers) decided to spend all the surplus of the International Union in the struggle to unionize the shops of the Overman Wheel Company, of Chicopee, Mass., and Gormully & Jeffery, of Chicago. There has been trouble with the shops for six weeks, owing to the introduction of nonunion men."

I submit a letter received from Buffalo, with the clipping to which the letter refers. The clipping is from a paper called *The People*, published January 23, at Erie, Pa.

(The following is a copy of the letter referred to:)

[Buffalo Branch Gormully & Jeffery Mfg. Co. of Chicago.]

BUFFALO, January 25, 1897.

GORMULLY & JEFFERY MFG. CO.

GENTLEMEN: Referring to yours of —, we inclose you herewith a clipping from the paper called "*The People*," published under date of January 23, at Erie, Pa. The writer has just returned from a two days' visit to that city and finds that this boycott, which originated with the polishers' union, makes it almost impossible to get satisfactory representation in that city. We did not mention our business to a single prospective customer but what the question of boycott was immediately brought up and practically prevented the consummation of any business. We have not given up the matter and propose to sell wheels in Erie even if our goods are boycotted; but if you know of any reason why the boycott should not be effective or has been removed by any recent action of the metal polishers' union, we would like to know it, so we can talk intelligently. We give you the information in regard to this clipping, thinking that you might desire to take some action against the paper publishing it.

Yours, very truly,

GORMULLY & JEFFERY MFG. CO.,
Per J. H. ISHAM, Manager.

(The following is a copy of the newspaper clipping referred to in the above letter:)

"If you are saving your money to buy a bicycle next season or know of any of your friends who are doing so, remember that the Victor, Victoria, and Rambler are 'scab' made and under the ban of organized labor."

I submit also a sticker sent to me from Kewanee, Ill., together with a letter from E. W. Smith, an agent selling the goods made by the Gormully & Jeffery Manufacturing Company.

(The letter referred to follows:)

[Elmer W. Smith, dealer in high-grade bicycles.]

KEWANEE, ILL., May 23, 1898.

GORMULLY & JEFFERY, Chicago.

DEAR SIRS: Inclosed find boycott stickers. These little articles are pasted all over the front of my store every morning. It is annoying to me and isn't any help to my business.

I know who sticks them up and where they are printed. Can it be stopped?

Yours, truly,

E. W. SMITH.

(The following is a copy of the sticker referred to in the above letter:)

"Boycott Buck's stoves and ranges; Rambler, Ideal, Victor, Victoria, Crescent, and Cleveland bicycles, and Christy bicycle saddles. Made by child and unfair labor."

The word "Cleveland" is erased on the sticker.

I submit also a letter in which was inclosed a leaf from a paper called the *Typographical Journal*, published in Indianapolis. This letter was mailed to me from Portland, Oreg. The letter reads as follows [reading]:

"We send you inclosed a page from the April 1 number of the '*Typographical Journal*,' published in Indianapolis.

"This 'marked copy' was sent to us by a member of the Oregon Typographical Union.

"Is there anything in this, or does it amount to anything?"

(The page of the *Typographical Journal* referred to contains a list of names, including that of the "Gormully & Jeffery Bicycle Co., Chicago, Ill." This list is headed as follows: "We Don't Patronize. Union workmen and workingwomen and sympathizers with labor have refused to purchase articles produced by the following firms:")

I submit still another sticker. It is about 3 inches square, yellow paper, and the following words are printed inside of a circle in large letters: "Don't buy the Rambler, Ideal, Victor, and Victoria bicycles. They are polished by scabs." This was received by me from Troy, N. Y., and was posted in that city.

I submit also a letter that was received by an agent selling Rambler bicycles at Grand Rapids, Mich. The letter is headed "Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers' Union of North America. Union No. 7. Grand Rapids, Mich., December 19, 1896." It requests the agent there to cease buying bicycles from the Gormully & Jeffery Co., and is signed by Richard Gill, secretary of the Metal Polishers' Union No. 5361, and has stamped thereon the seal of that organization. I understand it to be an official letter from the directors of that union.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) This appears now to be rather cumulative evidence. If you have many more, do you deem it necessary to submit them?—A. No; the others that I have would be almost a repetition, repeating the description of the difficulties which the Gormully & Jeffery Company have had, and would be of little value in this case. I might say that I have been waited on by the president of the international union, and he has admitted that his members made all those different cards and stickers. He said that he was powerless to prevent it, that he had nothing to do with it. He wanted me, however, to enter into an agreement with him, by which agreement, if made, the distributing of the stickers and letters and opposition made by that union would be withdrawn and stopped. In order to stop it I would have to enter into an unbusinesslike agreement.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Before Mr. Jeffery leaves this he might state in a general way the territory covered by these various letters in addition to those that he has read.—A. I will try to remember that. The agreement sought to be made contains, as article 1, a contract on my part that I would employ in my polishing, buffing, and plating room none but members of the Metal Polishers and Platers' International Union in good standing, who carry the regular working card of the organization. It contains in article third a contract that there should be a steward for each craft in each department of my factory where members of the union were employed, appointed by the organization, whose duties should be to see that all members lived up to the rules of the organization and factory, and had clear cards at the beginning of each month. Other articles are in the agreement that it is unnecessary to read, but it will be submitted to this commission. It was not signed by me, and no end to the difficulties was ever made. It continues up to the present time, but with less force than in the first 2 or 3 years, with less force than during 1896, 1897, and 1898, but no withdrawal that I know of has been made, and I still find the difficulty great; and even in the month of February last I found one of the little pink stickers showing a man falling from a broken bicycle with the words "He rides a Rambler; you see where it breaks." I have known of frequent attempts on the part of union organizers to organize the polishers employed in my factory, but the organizers had no success, the men appearing to be well satisfied with their employment and wages. But there is no let-up, no stop I should say, to the difficulty that exists. I get along the best I can. I have lost large sums of money on account of agents relinquishing the sale of the bicycle made by me, which sale they have continued for a number of years up to the time of the influence of the polishers' union; but I made no strong effort to suppress it, believing that the less stir made in the matter the better it would be; that is to say, there would be less annoyance, I thought, from it; but I did attempt to get an injunction against the polishers' union for some of these acts. I found it difficult to get service on the right men. I got service on a man who had been elected president for a term of six months, and after service was had he swore he resigned the day before service was had. I could not prove otherwise, and I lost the case. I think that is all that I can tell you commissioners that I remember now. Are there some questions that you desire to ask?

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Did you ever take any pains to detect anybody in placing these stickers on your windows?—A. I did, and without any satisfactory result. They were generally posted at night, and I met with no success.

Q. Did you ever bring suit against anybody for libel?—A. No; I did not. The work was done largely all over the United States, where it would be expensive to bring a suit and troublesome to contest it. There were various reasons for my not making an effort, and usually I did not want to stir up the matter any more than it was already stirred up.

Q. Was your business crippled by this boycott?—A. It was very much injured. It was not crippled, but they compelled the manufacturers of the Rambler bicycle to reduce the selling price by \$10 each, by one-fifth of the price. While that appeared to be an injury, it was not in fact, because the sales were largely increased at the expense of the business of other manufacturers. Therefore there was no direct loss through the reduction of price. But there was a great loss through the relinquishing of agencies whose proprietors were waited on and threatened and because other agents did lose a number of sales.

Q. Did you have to reduce the force in your office and in your shops?—A. I did not reduce the force. I increased the force, for when the price was reduced the demand became greater. The force was increased rather than diminished at my factory, but diminished probably in other factories.

Q. Did you extensively advertise your wheels and the reduction of price?—A. Yes; I did. In the year the price was reduced I paid as much as \$35,000 in advertising bills.

Q. Did you employ any union labor in your shops during this time?—A. I think I did; I have reason to believe that I did; but I never knew positively, because I never asked a man whether he belonged to a union or not. The shop was considered a nonunion shop, and no one there was likely to know what a man's affiliations were unless he spoke of it himself.

Q. Did you employ any children?—A. I employed no one under 16 years of age, but I did employ probably 3 per cent of the total number in boys between the ages of 16 and 18.

Q. Did they perform the work previously performed by men?—A. They did not. They were used for wrapping and counting and work that such boys could do, but never put to do work that men should do.

Q. Did the women perform the work previously performed by men?—A. They performed work that had been done by men, but they did not displace any men; they increased the number of employees without diminishing the number of polishers or any other men. They did little parts that polishers had previously been doing, but such polishers were given larger work to do, so that their number was not reduced. As the business at that time was growing, the number of polishers, as well as of all other employees, was continually being added to.

Q. Were the women found entirely competent to do the work that was assigned to them?—A. They were, and they are doing it now.

Q. Were they paid by the piece or by the day or week?—A. They were paid by the day at first, until they became competent; and afterwards, when they were skillful, they were paid by the piece.

Q. Were they allowed the same pay for piecework that had been allowed to the men doing the same class of work?—A. The price became gradually reduced as the appliances for doing the work were improved and better ways found, and the probabilities are that the goods polished by the women of the establishment, after they had been doing it for 12 months, cost, perhaps, less than half the price paid to the men for similar work—to the union men for similar work.

Q. What were the average earnings of these women per week?—A. About \$10 per week.

Q. And was the employment steady throughout the year?—A. It was. The women that commenced to work in 1895 are still employed doing the same work. They have not been idle 60 days in the interval between 1895 and the present day.

Q. Has there been a general growth of the bicycle industry during the years to which you have referred in your testimony?—A. There has been a general growth from a very small beginning up to a business of immense magnitude; with us the business is scattered all over the world.

Q. Are you able to give us any statistics of the volume of the business?—A. In a rough way, yes. I think the business in the manufacture of bicycles during the year 1899 aggregated \$20,000,000.

Q. In this country?—A. They were manufactured in this country, and between one and two million dollars' worth were exported to foreign countries.

Q. Is the foreign market for American bicycles increasing?—A. It is increasing in some countries and diminishing in others. It is increasing in all countries, I think, except Germany, France, and England.

Q. Is the foreign demand for your make increasing?—A. Yes; the demand in the last six months has been double what it was during the previous six months.

Q. Have you encountered any trade-union opposition in foreign countries?—A. No, I have not.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have you any industrial combination in the bicycle industry, Mr. Jeffery?—A. I do not understand the question.

Q. Have the bicycle manufacturers gone into a combination?—A. No, they have not; but the manufacturers of bicycles, finding competition very close, and many of them having been in it a number of years and being somewhat tired of the occupation, sold out their business to another company, the American Bicycle Company of New Jersey. I sold my business, among others, and the American Bicycle Company is now running that business?

Q. Running your business?—A. Running my business.

Q. You are an employee?—A. I am an employee of the American Bicycle Company.

Q. Are you doing as well as an employee as you did formerly as an independent manufacturer?—A. That I do not know. I have not run long enough to know just how I shall do.

Q. How do you enjoy the situation now of being an employee, as compared with being an employer yourself?—A. I should prefer to run my own business.

Q. You would prefer to run it?—A. Run my own business? Yes, I should.

Q. Are you tied up now so that you can not run your own business?—A. I am under a contract to be employed by the American Bicycle Company for one year; I shall be free after that time to do as I please. Is that an answer to the question?

Q. Yes. Do you think you will resume your independent position then?—A. I do not know, but I am inclined to think that I shall resume an independent position.

Q. Evidently, then, the combination has not had the advantages that you supposed it would have?—A. The American Bicycle Company has not done business long enough to determine their standing and what profit they will make. I have reason to believe that they will have a profitable business. If they do, by the time my term expires I shall perhaps go entirely out of business.

Q. Are you compelled, as an employee of theirs, to pursue business methods that are repugnant to you in any way?—A. I am not.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) When you reduced the price of your goods, did you keep up the quality?—A. I did.

Q. And you were able to make them at a reduction and have a profit?—A. I was able to do that. It took greater pains, greater time, took all my attention, but I did it—made special machines, special appliances, thought out different ways, and was able to do it; and notwithstanding the reduced price at which they were sold, the percentage of profit was the same as it was at the higher price.

Q. You were a competitor in different portions of the United States, as well as some portions of Europe, with other factories?—A. Yes; a strong competitor with other factories; a very strong competitor.

Q. The caricaturing of your wheel, as shown by one of your posters, was not then on account of the inferior quality of the wheel?—A. It was not.

Q. What was the object?—A. The object, I assume, was to deter buyers from purchasing the Rambler bicycle, and thus diminish the employment of men who did not belong to the polishers' union.

Q. Did it have that effect in fact?—A. It did not in fact; because during the period I sold more bicycles—less profit on each—but I sold more and kept more men working. This was at a loss to other factories, but not to the one I was managing.

Q. While you lost an agency in one place, you got other agents, did you, or increased your trade in another place?—A. We increased our trade in foreign countries largely, where we were not subject to that difficulty—made extra efforts to sell goods in foreign countries, and we made extra efforts in the United States, and thus sold more.

Q. I should like to inquire what was the volume of your business at the time when you went into the American Bicycle Company?—A. Over one million dollars per year; between one million and one million and a half dollars per year.

Q. This grew from substantially nothing?—A. Substantially so.

Q. I believe you stated that you never had permitted your works to become union works. Are they now, under the new arrangement?—A. No change has

been made under the new arrangement, so that it is considered a nonunion shop, although union men are still employed there, I think.

Q. Whether a man is a union man or a nonunion man is not a test when he comes to your shop to get work?—A. It is no test, and it is evidently a thing I can know nothing about, because the men might answer yes or no if the question was asked. I should never know whether he was a union man or otherwise, even if I asked him the question.

Q. If it develop that he is a union man, is he molested by you?—A. No; I have known of union men, and now I think that I know of union men who are still working in the polishing department who have never been molested—never been spoken to regarding their association.

Q. Has the pay per day been kept at a good standard all this time?—A. Just as high as it ever was, and a little higher. The polishers' union demanded that the members of the union should get \$18 a week, and they always arranged to get that, working by the piece or otherwise, and not more. If their members got more than \$18 a week they were censured. They always arranged it to keep their pay roll within 10 cents above or below \$18, no matter what the work was, and the price now paid to the men is fully as much as \$18 a week, notwithstanding the fact that they do not belong to the union.

Q. What was the chief reason why you were not willing to sign the agreement that was submitted to you?—A. The chief reason was that I should have been compelled to abandon the control of that department of the shop. That department would have been controlled by an outside body that had no regard for the welfare of the business and no regard for the welfare of the men; simply a regard for the salaries they would get out of it themselves—I mean by that the officers of the union. Therefore I declined.

Q. From your observation, does or does not the union furnish a better class of workmen?—A. From my observation, I say positively that it does not; that it furnishes an inferior class of workmen. I know that positively. Its rules are such that it will protect an inferior workman and permit him to demand as much as a skilled workman, and the skilled workman gets no more than the inferior workman. Therefore it is an inducement for inferior workmen to join the union, that they may get the price of a skilled workman's labor.

Q. Can you conceive of no conditions, both for the employee and the employer, that are benefited by the union?—A. I can conceive of none. It is against the interests of both the employer and employee. It makes enemies of the two lines of people, and it detracts from both. It is really like a man having a fight with his customers. It injures the business in every way, and injures the pleasant relation that ought to be between the employer and employee. I might state as an illustration of that, when those 44 men struck in 1895 there was one quite old man, whose name I have forgotten now, except that he was called Tom; he had worked there 5 or 6 years. I liked him; I regarded him almost as a pensioner. He was not earning as much as he was paid, but he was a man that had rheumatism and could not get along well, and I was keeping that man largely because he was rather old and had been a good workman; he was not then, but I intended to keep him indefinitely. That man left with the others; I do not know what became of him, but he has lost a good position that he can not regain.

Q. Has the union annoyed you by preventing or trying to prevent your men from continuing in your employ?—A. By preventing or trying to prevent?

Q. Trying to prevent your men from continuing in your employ?—A. Oh, they did very much; they would stay around and come around at noon and evenings when our men were leaving and endeavor to induce them to join the union and leave our factory—or at least join the union; later on the men would leave the factory. They had some success in doing it, but not much.

Q. Did they use violence at any time to persuade them?—A. They used very little violence, but they did scare the men at their homes; meeting them and tell them they would be liable to be injured if they continued to work for a firm that was under boycott.

Q. Would the union men associate with the men in your employ when they found they would not join the union?—A. Yes, I understand they associated about the same.

Q. The relations then were amicable?—A. As far as I could discover, they were until the union men in the polishing department outnumbered the non-union men and then the latter were intimidated and threatened with violence.

Q. You may state how general you found this effort to boycott your goods over the United States was. You read a number of letters; do you have many more of that character to supplement them?—A. I had a large number besides these. I only picked these out as specimens, but they came from almost every town of the

United States; not every town, but almost every town, so that I had reason to believe that they were scattered from one end to the other of the United States.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Mr. Jeffery, I should like to ask you a few more questions about this combination. Have you found any economies in the production of wheels as a result of that combination? Can you produce cheaper than formerly?—A. I see that it can be done. I have not in mind anything. It has not been running long enough to show the actual reduction, but it has run long enough to show that it will economize the production and enable the manufacturers to produce goods cheaper and better than before.

Q. The public then has received no benefit as a result of this combination?—A. You see this thing has not run one season yet, and we have had no experience, but the public will be benefited.

Q. Will be?—A. I think it will be later on.

Q. Do you think that this trust or combination will divide its increased profits with the public; that they will take an increased profit themselves and give the public wheels at a reduced price?—A. I do not. I think there will be less losses among the manufacturers. In the last few years and all the time during the last 15 years the competition has been so great that there were a large number of failures. There are now in existence only two that were in existence 10 years ago. The largest of the three big ones went through the close competition, and about all along every year there have been failures among the manufacturers of bicycles. Men who have invested large sums of money in making those goods found it unprofitable and failed. Now, this selling to the American Bicycle Company, if the company is managed properly, will enable the goods to be made cheaper and sold with less expense.

Q. And sold cheaper?—A. And its tendency will be to sell cheaper.

Q. And great profits to the manufacturers?—A. Less losses in the aggregate. Consequently with less losses there will be a greater profit, but the profit will not be anything very great.

Q. Who promoted this combination?—A. I do not understand who promoted the combination. I do not understand there is any combination.

Q. Did Mr. Spalding promote it?—A. Mr. Spalding was the first man that spoke to me about it, but I do not know that he promoted it. He told me there was a company organized to buy up bicycle factories, but I did not understand that it was promotion.

Q. Well, can you state the manner in which they purchased your business or secured control of it?—A. It perhaps would not be right for me to tell what I know unless there is some good reason for it. It may be interfering with business that I ought not to.

Q. The promoters of the great industrial combinations, the steel combination and others, have freely told the commission how those things were done.—A. I should refer you to the men whom I saw in the matter—mainly Mr. Spalding.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) What is his name?—A. A. G. Spalding, Seabright, N. J. He has an office in Chicago, one in New York, and in other cities.

Q. Your business, evidently, has not been sold outright to them; you say it will come back to you at the end of the year?—A. No; sold outright.

Q. The combination owns the business?—A. Everything, every nut and bolt, every brick and building, and the real estate; sold outright.

Q. Have you an interest in this combination?—A. I have some stock.

Q. You have stock?—A. I bought it.

Q. You bought the stock?—A. Yes.

Q. Did they give you stock for the business?—A. Well, I sold for a price and I bought for some of the purchase price some stock and some bonds.

Q. Is this combination placing any particular make of wheels?—A. It is not.

Q. You say that your business doubled within the last 6 months as compared with the previous 6 months?—A. The foreign business.

Q. The foreign business?—A. The foreign business only.

Q. Is that the result of an effort of the combination to force your particular make in Europe to the exclusion of other makes?—A. It is not. The American Bicycle Company had nothing to do with it, and had no agent in Europe, until within the last two months or three months they have put some agents there to endeavor to sell more goods; but the extra sale in Europe resulted probably from the lower price and the higher quality of the goods sold or made at the Rambler Bicycle factory.

Q. Can you state whether the combination is friendly or unfriendly to organized labor?—A. I can say positively that the American Bicycle Company knows nothing and does nothing—has no relation to organized labor.

Q. Has none?—A. No relation whatever; has done and said nothing for or

against. The managers of the different factories employ the men and manage the factories like independent places. I am stating now the conditions as manager of my own factory. There are other factories which use union labor in manufacturing bicycl —I think of one in Chicago that does have a large number of union men, and they are not interfered with and are not directed to do any particular thing.

Q. If it were their policy to employ union men and they directed you to do it, should you feel that you had to comply with that?—A. I do, yes, I do.

Q. You stated that there were still members of the polishers' union—is that the name of the union?—A. That is not the full name; it is the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers' Union.

Q. Employed in your establishment?—A. There are some to-day.

Q. Their union is boycotting your establishment?—A. They are.

Q. Have been for years?—A. Have been for years.

Q. Do you know whether those men are members in good standing in the metal polishers' union?—A. I do not know that. I know they are men that did strike.

Q. And came back?—A. And came back.

Q. You do not know whether those men are in good standing in the metal polishers' union?—A. I have had no means of knowing. I have had admissions from the president of the metal polishers' union that these men did belong. I have had admissions of the fact from them and their president. I do not know how it was, but he did not deny it, and I have reason for thinking that they still belong, but I have never fully investigated it.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Is there any monopoly in the bicycle manufacture in this country?—A. There is not.

Q. How many concerns are there outside of this American Bicycle Company?—A. I do not know. It is hard to say where the name of manufacturer begins. Some make 3 or 4 bicycles a year, and their number may be several hundred; some make a thousand a year, and their number may be 100; some make 10,000 a year, and their number may be about 20 or 30; there are 1 or 2 makers who make over 60,000 a year. It is absolutely independent.

Q. Is it a fact, then, that there are some concerns—

A. (Interrupting.) And selling; yes.

Q. Still making bicycles that have not sold out to the American Bicycle Company?—A. That have not sold out; yes.

Q. Has the American Bicycle Company any power to raise the prices in this country, do you think?—A. They do not have any power to raise prices. If they raise the prices at all they will lose business. There are so many outside that can compete and make the price for the American Bicycle Company.

Q. Is there any agreement or understanding between them and the independent makers in regard to prices?—A. There is not and never was; never was any between any bicycle manufacturers in the United States, although the public thought there was for years. The prices were about alike, but there never was an agreement. They all fought like cats and dogs for business and for each others' men.

Q. Has your labor difficulty at any time sustained any relations to other labor difficulties in Chicago?—A. No; it has not.

Q. Have you studied the industrial problem here generally so that you are able to express an opinion as to the importance and the prospects of Chicago as an industrial center?—A. Yes; I have.

Q. What do you think about it?—A. Well, I know that if the unions have control of matters in Chicago, business will decline and go to other places and there will be no manufacturing of any account in Chicago. There are illustrations of that in other towns where unions have got control. I know now of Toledo, Ohio, where business ran down on account of the unions; I know of Kenosha, Wis.; men had to leave those cities on account of difficulties encountered and caused by the union leaders—not by the men themselves but by the union leaders. I blame them. I do not blame the men at all, and Chicago will be in the same condition. The building business in Chicago is an illustration. There is no building being done now on account of the difficulties with the unions and the prices for work and the rules. I can illustrate it if you will give me permission. I started last fall to improve my own residence. Some of the work was brick and some was cut stone. It was given to different contractors. Along in the fall when the weather was getting cold, the bricklayers, who were union bricklayers, hurried up the contractor who was cutting the stone, a union contractor. Both were paid high prices for the work. The union contractor could not get stone out fast enough to suit the bricklayers, who wanted to get the brick laying done before the frost and very cold weather came. The stonecutter, in order to help himself and deliver a little more stone on a certain Monday morning when it was wanted,

ran a planing machine which he owned and which he had previously used for planing stone. He started up his engine—he was a practical man, he and his partner—started up the engine, ran his own planing machine, planed some stone and delivered it at my building. It was used in my building, and other work put on top of it by the union men who did the brick laying. The walking delegate discovered that there was some stone planed by the machine, and my contractor for stone found he had no men to go to work for him on a certain morning. He investigated and found that the union had withdrawn all his men. He found further that he could not get men until he paid \$250 as a fine for having planed some stone on my building. He tried in several ways to get around that and induce the union to let him have men. Plenty of men were to be had, because the building business was very slack then, but he could not do it until he paid \$250, which he did in cash, to the union manager to let men go to work for him again. When the money was paid he did get half a dozen men to work for him, but not his old men, not his reliable men: still union men, but not as reliable men. They could not go to work for him. Each of those men had to pay \$125 before he could work as a stonecutter for anyone in Chicago.

Q. (Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Why did they have to pay?—A. By the demand of the union.

Q. What had they done?—A. I do not know, it was not told to me, but I understand it was because they did not speak to the union of the fact that his employer used a planing machine.

Q. They put in the stone then without knowing it?—A. They worked in the shop; they did not put it in. They worked in the shop where it was done on a Sunday. They perhaps knew nothing about it, but the probabilities are that they did know and said nothing about it. They were subjected to a fine of \$125. Two of those men I was told are seeking work now. This happened last October. They have not paid their fine. They never could raise \$125, and they can not work until they get \$125; that is their condition now. But I have got the work in my building, in that part, and I have got the house roofed in, but it is 2 months since I have had anything done. I can not get it done. I suppose there would be ways of getting parts done by a good deal of effort, but I have done nothing. The studding is left there ready for laths. My architect tells me that if I put laths on—which I can get done by union or nonunion labor—if it should be done by nonunion labor the men who put on the cabinet work and the other finishing things will insist, because they are employed by a contractor who employs union men, on the plastering being removed and replaced by union plastering before they put on any trimmings. But my contract is let for trimmings to a man employing union men, so I can not put on any plaster unless it is done by the union men, and the contractor for the plaster does not want to do anything with union men until the grievance and difficulty now in the city is settled. In the meantime I am without a home. I have money waiting to pay for the work as it goes along.

Q. Who fixes this fine?—A. The members of the union; the officers of the union. They have power to do that, and their power is more supreme than the laws of the United States. It seems singular to make a statement of that kind, but their rules are stronger. Two of those men—I should not be under oath when I make this statement, because I did not see it done; but my understanding is that 2 of those men, who worked on the stone work and were fined \$125, went to lawyers to know what they could do; they wanted work. The lawyers said, "Yes, we can get an injunction against those men that prevent you from working." They thought they would do it, but they got other advice and it would be this way—they could get an injunction restraining any one from stopping their work, but no injunction would restrain other men who are working on the job from leaving it as soon as those condemned men should go to work. Now, they must therefore pay that fine before they can get a permit to work with other union men; and I say other union men because nearly all the building business is in the hands of union men.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) When you sold your business to the trust, did you sign an agreement which will prevent you from going into business again yourself as a manufacturer?—A. Of bicycles, I did.

Q. Of bicycles?—A. Of bicycles, I did.

Q. Then you are eliminated from the bicycle manufacturing business except as an employee of the trust?—A. Yes; I am.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) It went as a part of the good will?—A. It went as a part of the good will?

Q. Of the factory?—A. Yes.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you know anything except labor difficulties in the way of continued prosperity of industries in Chicago?—A. I do not think I quite catch the question.

Q. Do you know of anything except labor difficulties hindering the continuance of prosperity?—A. No; I do not. I think if the labor difficulties were settled there would be the greatest and most prosperous times that Chicago has had in many years. I know of a large number of people that want to build, but they will not do it under present conditions. I know in manufacturing in other lines that the prospects are very good; iron, metal, woodworking, and everything, show alike prosperous times; more money in circulation around the city, remittances are better from outside, everything tends to a better time.

Q. To solve and settle these labor difficulties do you deem it necessary that trades unionism should be crushed or only that certain of their rules should be modified or relaxed?—A. To answer that, I had better say that I think that the men ought to be enlightened, that the laborers and workmen should be taught something about the law of supply and demand, and that some information of that sort should be imparted to them. My idea is that circulars like those published during the last campaign in regard to the silver question should be given to men, so that they could see both sides of the matter. I do not think the trade unions should be crushed. I do not know that they are any great benefit, but I would not go so far as to say that they should be crushed. I think their laws and rules should be modified.

Q. Do you regard their rules as drastic?—A. I do.

Q. And unreasonable?—A. I do.

Q. And oppressive?—A. I do; not only to the employers, but to the members of the unions themselves.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Do you regard any of the rules of the trusts as unreasonable and drastic and think that they should be modified?—A. I do not. I do not know of any rule of a trust of any kind. Perhaps my observation has been limited—I do not know that any trust ever made any rule.

Q. I mean industrial combinations; we call them trusts, everybody calls them trusts; of course, that is not their proper name—industrial combinations.—A. I do not know of any unreasonable or drastic rule of any industrial combination. I think that the combination of capital is beneficial to the public—that is, the people who buy the goods and the people who make the goods. I am satisfied that it is of benefit.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you not think that combinations of working men into unions have in many ways benefited the members?—A. There are instances, I think, in which it has benefited the members, but still I do not think it has benefited the working men as a whole. It has benefited or increased the wages in particular trades, but it has not, I think, benefited as a whole.

Q. Do you not think the average of the wages is higher in most industries in this country as a result of the formation of workers into unions and their agitation for better conditions?—A. I do not think that the wages earned by a man during the entire year are as great as they would be if there were no unions, but I think it does increase the daily wages. It certainly diminishes the days which a man works during the year.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you know whether the building contractors in this city have an organization or not?—A. I do not know, but I think they do have some sort of an agreement to discontinue taking contracts until this strike has ended.

Q. Do you know anything about their rules and regulations?—A. I do not.

Q. Do you think of any further statement that you would like to make to the Commission?—A. No; I do not at this time.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have you stated all the objections you see to organized labor?—A. All that I remember at this time; yes.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) You say that competition was very close in the bicycle manufacturing business for some time before you sold out?—A. Sold the business.

Q. And you had some competition of that kind in this city and in other cities?—A. Yes.

Q. If trade unions should have a tendency to make uniform prices for labor, would it not be a benefit to the manufacturers who are in competition to know that their competitors are not getting an advantage over them in the way of a low price for labor?—A. No; I do not think it would have any effect in that way. One manufacturer with a certain number of men—say fifty men—can, by organizing things, helping them with the right material at the right time, with the right tools, and in other ways, get from that number of men better work and more of it, without any more effort on the part of the men. So that the manufacturer who works hard will do better than the manufacturer who does not, notwithstanding equality of price for wages.

Q. Is there not danger in close competition in manufacturing in order to increase, or rather, I might say, to continue, the manufacture, and find the market, in competing with other establishments, of sometimes asking a lower wage than would be asked if there were a steady wage all over the country?—A. I regard a steady wage as an impossibility from an economic standpoint. There are no two men that get out the same amount of work or work of the same quality. A man who is learning can not produce goods as well as the experienced man. There will always be men learning, and the men who are experienced, if they are thoughtful men, will step up higher, to be foremen or be proprietors. There is an incentive for a man to do better if he is allowed to ask or settle his wages himself. But demand and local conditions fix the price for labor. Therefore the danger, if any, from the cause mentioned is very slight and unobservable. (Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 23, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. CHARLES H. SIEG,

Bicycle dealer.

The special subcommission met at 10.28 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 12.30 p. m., Mr. Charles H. Sieg of Chicago, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your full name?—A. Charles H. Sieg.

Q. What is your post-office address?—A. At present, Chicago.

Q. Any particular street and number?—A. Yes; 293 Wabash avenue.

Q. And your occupation?—A. I am in the bicycle business.

Q. Manufacturing?—A. No; buying and selling at present and completing goods.

Q. How long have you been in that business?—A. Since January 1, this year.

Q. Were you formerly in the manufacture of bicycles?—A. For four years I manufactured wheels in Kenosha, Wis., turning out in that time about 90,000 machines.

Q. In the year?—A. No, in the four years.

Q. Did you sell your business to the American Bicycle Company? A. I did not; I abandoned the business practically on account of the cost of labor.

Q. Did you have any labor difficulties?—A. We had so much that we really could not run the business up there.

Q. Was it because the locality was unfavorable for getting enough good labor? A. That was one reason, I think. Of course we were limited there to the people of that city, a town of about 11,000. But we got along very nicely, paid good wages, until the union was formed; after that time our troubles commenced.

Q. What were the troubles?—A. The bicycle workers' union is a comparatively new union, and not like the bricklayers or the shipbuilders or the polishers, where a man has to be an apprentice for a certain length of time. If he is 18 years old and has the price of his dues, he becomes a union man without any apprentice ship; and the result was that we had our shop unionized by labor that was not skilled, except to a very small degree, and was paid very high prices.

Q. Was it not in your power to let those men go and employ skilled union hands?—A. We did that as much as we could, but the town was not large enough and they were too strong for us, and when we brought men there they had a very hard time to get along, and almost invariably went away.

Q. You brought nonunion men, I suppose?—A. We did not care whether they were union or nonunion. We never discriminated at all between them. But if we went on until we really had to abandon the business and leave there. We could not compete with manufacturers in Chicago. Many of our best workmen up there would call upon me personally and tell me how badly they felt at being restricted by the union as to the amount of work they could do, and I have known of many cases where they slyly helped out by doing more work because they felt as though they ought to.

Q. Do you think you could have continued the business, notwithstanding the local disadvantages, if it had not been for the formation of a union?—A. Yes; I do. I think if the men had worked for me on the same basis as they did for Chicago manufacturers at the same time I should have been all right. In fact, I made a complaint to Mr. O'Connell, president of the machinists' union, and Mr. Mulholland, president of the bicycle workers' union, during a period when we

were shut down for four weeks owing to a strike on his prices, and gave him a list of names of eight manufacturers in Toledo, Milwaukee and Chicago. I told him that they were competitors of mine, selling practically the same trade that I was, and that I would send a committee of four of my own workmen to all of these people to get their prices and would pay the same prices; but they would not agree to that at all. The result was that I had to cut my output in half, bringing it down from 28,000 wheels a year to about 12,000 last year, and that was not sufficient, so we gave it up. The result is the town is very badly demoralized. It has made it impossible for us to work. We have employed 500 men there.

Q. Any other bicycle factories there?—A. One more, the Sterling; that belongs to the American Bicycle Company now, and I am quite sure they are working it very lightly for that reason too; not employing very many hands up there.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Is there a labor union there?—A. I do not think that they discriminate either. Our whole trouble has been with the leaders, the local leaders up there, not with the men, although the men seem to be afraid to do the square thing. They would come over and see me at my house. In fact, I have had 20 men sneak through my stable, the back way, at night, so as not to be seen coming in there, and tell me how sorry they were that they could not take their coats off and go to work; that they knew they ought to do it, and they wanted to do it, but they could not do it. The assembling of a bicycle, that is, putting the completed parts together and making one bicycle out of it, is done by different gangs. One operation there, a man can complete eighty a day, and the union cut that rate down to forty; just half, you know. With eighty a day a man would make \$3.50 a day, very good pay, and be very well satisfied to do it; but they cut all through our shop at different times, different operations, so that when we got through we could not stand the strain; we simply had to let go of it.

Q. What was their object in doing that?—A. They thought we were doing too much work, and we ought to employ more men.

Q. Do you know anything about the present employment of those who worked for you before you gave up the business?—A. No; I think they have scattered all over the country; they have gone away.

Q. Any of them own homes in Kenosha?—A. Quite a few of them, and those are the ones that are more injured than the company by the trouble we had up there.

Q. Do you know whether they are employed there now or not?—A. Of course some of them are; I do not know how many of them are. A great many of them are not; a great many of them are not working. The plant up there is worth about \$200,000.

Q. The plant that you have abandoned?—A. The plant is worth about \$200,000. The principal reason for abandoning that is this, that the way things were going we felt as though we could not control our investment at all. We were obliged to discharge our superintendent to avert a strike, and some months before we were obliged to discharge our assistant superintendent because the men would not have him there. On another occasion a committee came in and stated that they wanted a certain piece of work taken off a machine and put on another machine, without giving any reason for it excepting that the men did not like the machine. I told them that the machine cost me \$805, and if they would give me the money for it I would ship it wherever they wanted it. This argument was about the only one that brought them to time; they let me use the machine after that; they saw how foolish it was to make such a request. At another time the committee told me that there was a man in our enamel room making \$1 a day, who should make \$1.50. We never had a man making less than that, and from that up to \$4. On looking it up I found that he was a boy who had just, within the last week, reached the age of 18 years, and had joined the union the night before. We had to discharge that fellow, because we could not pay that price for boy's work.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) It was boy's work he was doing, was it?—A. Yes; only he was unfortunate in being 18 years old and joining the union.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) I want to ask you are you selling the machines of the American Bicycle Company?—A. Very few of them, mostly the independent.

Q. Did you offer to sell your plant to the American Bicycle Company?—A. Yes.

Q. And they would not purchase it?—A. They did not purchase it, no.

Q. Would they be likely to purchase it if you should start up and run in opposition to their plant there?—A. My judgment is from the present indications that there are a good many more bicycle plants than we shall ever want again, and I should not be surprised if they had a few of them themselves.

Q. They can be choice about taking them in, then?—A. Yes, very choice, very choice.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) You have said your plant is idle now?—A. Yes.

Q. Can it be converted into some other kind of a machine shop?—A. An effort is now being made to change it into something else, where we will not have so much labor charges, and utilize it.

Testimony closed

Whereupon at 12.35 the subcommission took a recess until 2.30 p. m.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN TAGGART,

Representative in Chicago of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of North America.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 23, 1900.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m. March 23, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 2.30 p. m. Mr. John Taggart was sworn as a witness and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your post-office address?—A. No. 23 Troy street.

Q. And your occupation?—A. Journeyman tailor.

Q. Do you represent any association?—A. I represent the local number for the Journeymen Tailors' Union of North America.

Q. Has your union any labor difficulty at the present time?—A. Yes.

Q. Please go on in your own way and explain to the commission what you wish us to know about it.—A. Up to the present time we have about 295 men locked out for making a demand for a sanitary workshop in which to work. That is the only demand we have made. Up to a very short time ago there was not a first-class tailor in the city of Chicago who had a workshop for his employees. The work was simply cut in these first-class stores down town and given out to the journeymen to be made wherever they found it most convenient, which was usually in one of the living rooms, if it was a married man—fixed up one of his living rooms to work in; if a single man, some of them worked in a bed room, and some of them clubbed together and rented a cheap shop down town here. Sometimes one man would rent a shop and fit it up for a workshop, and rent out sitting room for so much. Under either of these systems, either working in the shops or at home, the tailors never could regulate their hours. The tailors simply worked when they had work. As a rule, they spent a good part of the daylight down town here waiting for the customers to try on, or waiting for the work to be cut, and if they wanted to make wages they had to work all the time. Sunday they work, as a rule, even though idle all the rest of the week. We have been trying by agitation to stop it for a number of years.

I have been working in Chicago for 16 years in September. I had never been accustomed to work that way before. I learned my trade over in the old country; learned my trade and worked at it in Glasgow, Scotland. They furnished us a shop there. In that way we could regulate our hours. The employers were responsible for the condition of the shop; consequently the wearers of the garments were protected from contagious diseases. We brought all those things to bear on the employers. Most of the journeymen tailors here were born in foreign countries where they were accustomed to working at home, any hours, and it has been a hard job to get them to change. I admit that—on account of our own members; but as they have come to view the question in a proper light, and have desired to become citizens of this country and to live up to American ideas, American standards of what a home should be, and regular working hours, etc., they have come to see that it is right to work in a shop and to stop the home-working system. There are a great many advantages to them to be gained by working together. In the first place we become better citizens by working together. If a man simply comes here and gets his work and takes it home, he never comes in contact with his fellows. Some of them may be here 40 years and never know much about the language and customs and institutions of this country. So we incorporated it in the constitution of our union, about 2 years ago—the demand for free workshops. But our employers, when we made the demand, always kept telling us that their men did not want shops. So we had meetings and had test votes. We would always carry it by a majority, but the last time we carried it by a two-thirds majority, and not only that, but that if they did not furnish us with shops, we should refuse to work for them any more. Two

years ago, when we were fixing up our bills of prices, we had that incorporated in our bills of prices—that they should furnish us shops. They said they would furnish them at their early convenience.

After working 2 years we found their early convenience would never come, and in order to push our ideas we notified them we would refuse to work after April 1, 1900, unless they furnished us with sanitary shops. We thought when the factory laws were put on the statute books that it would help us to abolish the home-working system. Of course, you can not go into a man's home and regulate it as long as he doesn't make a nuisance of himself—as long as it can not be proven that he has contagious diseases actually existing in the house; so the tailors are forced to take it into their own hands and regulate it themselves. The factory inspectors can come in if we hire outside help, but as long as we are hiring members of our own families to help us do the work at our own homes they can not prevent us. So that law even compels the wife to be the helper instead of an outsider; puts extra work on our wives. We know from personal experience that this having a wife helper is a bad institution in every way. Sometimes the housework and the children are neglected when the wife goes to helping the husband. The season is crowded into a few months or so, and then we have to do all the work possible; work nights and Sundays. In a shop, working with our fellows, we can help each other. There is where we can regulate that, and regulate the hours. At home the wife is improvised as a helper. "Help me out with this little work; I have got to get it out at 5 o'clock." And the next day it is the same thing, and by and by the housework is neglected all the time. He will tell her, "I will help you to do the housework after you get this work finished;" and, as a rule, the dishes are piled up and the housework neglected and the wife becomes a slave.

Another thing: The wife helping tends to reduce the wages. I can prove that the wife's help doesn't count; her work is simply thrown in. As soon as a man uses his wife and makes what is considered a fair week's wages, the boss then says, "You have made so much. We can afford to reduce you." On account of that the wages are reduced, and he gets down, with the wife's work, to making only what he could formerly make himself. The wife's help counts for nothing, and she becomes a slave. I know of several instances of that kind. A man and wife live right near me. I went there on Sunday night and found the two of them working in a little bit of a kitchen; working for one of the first-class stores on Michigan avenue. When a man goes and orders a suit of clothes, he would never think his clothes were made under such conditions. What can we do? We have to do it. If we don't do it somebody else will. We get into that position. I went to their place. They could only afford to raise one boy, and the wife could not even look after the one boy. I went in and saw the boy by himself; she left the boy out of her sight; chained him to the leg of a table so she could help the husband. I tried the home-working system myself, and know it is a perfect system of slavery. I was working that way, and got my wife to helping me a little, and I saw gradually she would be helping me all the time, and I thought I would get out of the home business. Another thing: I was earning very low wages at that time. It was 1894, 1895, and 1896—those 3 years were bad years; I could not afford to have an extra room for my workroom down town. While I was working at home my children took sick with a contagious disease. When children take sick they generally all take sick. I felt sure, then, that if the public knew under what conditions the clothes were made—I was making clothes then for what might be called the aristocracy of Chicago—I felt then if they only knew the conditions they would force the merchants to have workshops. My children had scarlatina, whooping cough, and measles. I remember one of the men I made a garment for at that time was superintendent of the county schools—O. T. Bright, I think his name was. I made a garment for him at the time my children were sick with contagious disease. And through that experience I got to thinking over the question and agitating it among my fellow-workmen. The only way to do that was to get them together in our union, because it is as much work to agitate my fellow-workmen up to that point for free workshops—to explain to them the benefits of it—as I should have with my employer.

I got out of the home-working system as soon as possible. At that time I spoke about, when I was working I was earning on an average about \$5 a week. I have three children. I got down town and paid a dollar a week for a sitting room so as to get away from home work. In fact, when a man is too much at home he loses the respect of his wife and family. The wife and family like to see you go out in the morning and come back again. Most families I have come across respect you better if you come back in the afternoon; they respect you more than if they saw you all the time. Another thing: You get implicated in the little

fighths about the children. It did not suit me. I am trying now to regulate our hours of labor.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Does the work of the journeymen tailors come from custom tailors, or is it from ready-made clothing manufacturers to some extent?—A. I do not know much about the ready-made manufacturers. Ours is what you might call the cream of the trade in Chicago; I could scarcely speak of what the milk would be like when the cream is so bad. The members of our union make the very highest grade of clothes made in Chicago.

Q. How many tailors are there in your union?—A. About 725.

Q. Does that embrace all in the city?—A. No; scattered all over; working here and there and everywhere; very hard work to keep track of them; in fact, the factory inspectors can hardly keep track of them because they go wild; and you can not go into a home; so the factory inspectors have recommended a law that the employers should be held responsible for these things; have recommended that addition to the factory laws.

Q. Do the merchant tailors, as a rule, have room enough in connection with their business to furnish a comfortable place?—A. Some of them, and some have not. Some of them have hired an extra room. I got down town after working that home experiment and I induced my employer to furnish a shop so that we could work regular hours, and it worked all right. On the table sitting beside me were two men who had been 10 years in the country, and had been forced to work at home in the kitchen; and they got down on the same table with me, but they could not speak one word of English. The first day or two they learned some English, passing the different tools to each other, and they gradually learned the names of the tools, and soon they are Americans. They had been working all through the day and night before, and the experiment proved that in working regular hours they did more work; and our employer was quite satisfied with it, too. I changed to a better class of trade employers about a year ago, and I got them to do the same thing. He has the reputation of being the best tailor in Chicago—one of the best tailors in Chicago; employs about 50 or 60 men. He got into my idea, and he was just of the same opinion as some of the other merchant tailors. I said, "Fit up a shop, and I know the tailors will come in." He fitted up a shop and came up a day or two afterwards and saw all his men working there, happy and contented; and it has been running since last September. We have never worked on Sundays; don't have to work on Sundays; have no occasion for it. These men were never out of a tailor shop a Sunday before until they came down there; never had been a Sunday out under the old system; but they came into the shop and found they could regulate the hours the same as other workmen always do it.

Some of the merchant tailors that did not have workshops, in negotiating with them and making contracts with them 2 years ago, we had put into their bills of prices and contracts a proviso that they should furnish a free shop at their earliest convenience. Now these men have locked their men out for demanding a free shop. We gave them notice right after New Year's (that was the time leases and everything were renewed) to have their shops ready by the 1st of April. Three months' time was sufficient. They claimed it was not. They locked their men out, and this is the fifth week. They are spending more money on the lockout than would have furnished the shops. It is calculated that it would only cost 25 cents a suit on the amount of business they do to grant the men what they wish. Here is one of the agreements we drew up. It is with Carver & MacKay. They have locked out 25 men (reading):

"Inasmuch as free workshops furnished by the employer are of the greatest benefit both to the employer and the tailors and the trade in general, be it understood that such free workshops be furnished to any and all tailors working for the store at its earliest convenience, and that after May 1, 1898, no tailor be permitted to work for this firm unless he is doing it in a shop furnished by them."

That is dated October 1, 1897. He has never furnished a shop. And now he has locked his men out for demanding a free shop. He is superintendent of a Sunday school, too.

Here is another one: Harry Berger made a contract. In the bill of prices at the end it reads thus:

"All tailors working for this firm to belong to the union, and free workshop to be furnished by the firm, which is connected with the store."

That runs to October, 1900. Yet he has locked his men out. Here is the way a circular to his customers reads:

"Every part of our tailoring is now accomplished in our own workrooms, and carried on under our personal supervision. This is done to show the nice attention to detail that has ever been the 'hall-mark' of our creations.—Harry Berger & Co."

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Is that true?—A. No.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Is work for his customers done under the sweating system?—A. Yes; under the sweating system. Men work in bedrooms and kitchens and all over the city. In these down-town rooms, where anybody can pay rent for seat room, they never close; they are open 7 days in the week. You can go up there Sunday night and find men working the same as in the morning; but the men you find Sunday night working won't be the same you find in the morning, the work is so badly arranged. That is how they can not help each other. When they are working for the same firm 3 or 4 can get together and get out a garment.

Q. Do you have a label in your trade?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you insist on the fair employers using that label?—A. They have that privilege. The first-class merchant tailors never have any call for it, as their customers are, as a rule, opposed to unionism, and the labor people can not afford to wear our product.

Q. I gather from your testimony that it is true that a great deal of the so-called fine tailoring in Chicago is done in tenement houses and under the sweat-shop system generally?—A. All done. There are only three shops. Up to six months ago there were none at all.

Q. They have fine plate-glass fronts, and fine exhibitions, and then send the goods out to be made in tenement houses and private families, where they may get the germs of disease on them, etc.?—A. Yes; coat may be made in Lakeview, vest on the West Side, and the trousers in South Chicago—scattered all over the city.

Q. Charge the same prices for them as though made under the best conditions?—A. I think they get the highest prices in Chicago, or all over the United States—\$75 cheviot suits. Up to last September there was only one tailor who had a shop for his employees. All the work was done under the system I have described.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) How much do the workmen get?—the journeymen tailors, I mean, for making a suit that the merchant tailor gets \$75 for?—A. That will depend a good deal. It would depend on the style of the coat and the amount of work on it. We have a bill of prices, and then all the extras are added. The coats will average about \$12 or \$14, the vests \$3 to \$4, and the trousers \$3 to \$4.

Q. That is what the journeyman tailor gets?—A. Yes, for making.

Q. Is there any quarrel between the journeymen tailors and the merchant tailors in regard to prices?—A. No; not at the present time. Our only demand is for a sanitary place to work—the most simple demand that was ever made by any organization. And for asking that they have locked their tailors out on the street and are now getting their work done God knows where. I find it all over the West Side, in places I should be afraid to go into.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Filthy places?—A. Filthy places. They had good tailors. We are all good mechanics; as good as can be found anywhere. As good tailors as will be found anywhere will be found in Chicago. Good tailoring is done, too. I have been around the world a good deal. The merchant tailors that have locked the tailors out have had a good reputation from getting good tailoring done. Of course they can fool their customers a little while. Coats we got \$12 for they can get done for \$4. It is done on the division of labor system.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) You say your State law is not sufficient to remedy this evil?—A. No; there are only about nine factory inspectors, and the number is wholly inadequate.

Q. Is it the fault of the force or the fault of the law? If the force were sufficient would the law be sufficient?—A. No; the factory inspectors themselves have recommended an addition to the factory laws.

Q. Have you made any efforts before the legislature to have the law amended and the number of inspectors increased?—A. No; we have never spent a cent on legislation.

Q. Have you ever called the attention of the legislature to the condition of the trade?—A. About seven years ago the State legislature appointed a committee of legislators to come here and investigate the sweating system, and it was through the evidence that they got that the legislature passed the present factory laws. One thing the State factory laws have remedied: They have stopped child labor to a certain extent, as far as they are able. They can not stop it all, because it is impossible to keep track of it. For instance, if I am at home I can have my own child working. The factory inspectors only come around about once a year. That is about as much as their time will allow; about once or twice a year. So you see there can be an awful lot of this work done that the factory inspectors could not keep track of.

Q. The factory inspectors, so far as they are able, are faithful, are they?—A. I believe they are conscientious to their duty.

Q. They make reports?—A. Yes, and publish reports too; they used to, but I don't think they have been able to in the last year.

Q. Those reports are submitted to the legislature, are they?—A. Yes; and recommendations are made by the State factory inspector for additions to those laws.

Q. If those recommendations were enacted into law, would that cure the evil to a great extent?—A. I think so. One of the things they recommend is that a tag be placed on all garments made in sweating shops—home work, and that the merchant tailor be held responsible for the work. As it is now they prosecute the poor tailor. The poor tailor they are prosecuting does not know what he is being prosecuted for. As a rule he does not know the language. They think they are being prosecuted for being industrious. They can see no harm in it. They have done it at home. They can see no harm in taking one of their living rooms and working there, and getting the little girls in the neighborhood, and making a few cents. If this new law were enacted they would prosecute the man that gives them work, the one that ought to be held.

Q. When was this recommendation made?—A. At the annual convention of the International Association of Inspectors, in Quebec, August 29.

Q. I thought it was made by the State factory inspector?—A. The last time the legislature met they had a sweat-shop bill, but it did not go through. They intended to introduce it at the next legislature. At the Federal legislature, I understand the Sulzer bill—the bill introduced some years ago by Congressman Sulzer, of New York—as far as I know about that bill, it would bring the tailoring trade under the Federal Government, something like the cigar factories and tobacco factories; bring them under the internal-revenue laws.

Q. So they could be inspected and looked after?—A. By the Federal Government. I have never seen the Sulzer bill, but I have heard a lot about it.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) The only way that could be done would be to put a tax on all garments; is not that so?—A. I suppose they would have to have a tax, so internal-revenue officers could take hold of it.

Q. The Federal Government could not invade State jurisdiction in any other way. Do you think that would be popular with the people?—A. I do not know of the Sulzer bill myself. I have only heard Mrs. Kelley speak of it, and a great many others who have given the matter some attention; that is what they say.

Q. Would that be popular?—A. I don't think it would be popular. If it would insure against the spread of contagious disease; if it was put in that form—some men are almost forced to keep themselves clean. It is not popular with some men, but I think the people would be in favor of any law that would prevent contagious disease—the spread of smallpox, scarlet fever, etc.

Q. Would you advocate the law if that were necessary to bring the garment work of a State under Federal jurisdiction—if it were necessary to tax every garment, would you advocate the law?—A. I think I would. I guess I have not given the subject much thought.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You think it is entirely feasible for the merchant tailors to comply with your request?—A. Certainly.

Q. And it would not impair the prosperity of their business?—A. No; not in least. In fact, it would enhance it; in fact, regulate it better. Those merchant tailors that have shops would not give them up if they could. The president of the Merchant Tailors' Exchange had a shop for two years. He met us before this lockout. He said he was forced to lock his men out in sympathy with the others, although he advocates the free shop. He says he is overruled in his organization.

Q. Is there a merchant tailors' association?—A. Yes, the Merchant Tailors' Exchange. He says he is quite well pleased with the shop he had. He told me he did not think it was any expense, because if the tailors were scattered over the city he would want so many more errand boys; whereas with a shop he can go upstairs and see all of his work there. If the customer wants his clothes at a certain hour, if the clothes are scattered all over the city he can not see how the work is getting along until it comes back.

Q. Do you think it feasible for the merchant tailors to jointly maintain a large workroom where the journeymen tailors could do the work?—A. It can be done all right, but there is too much competition for them to get together. I don't think they would be in favor of that themselves, because they all have their own ideas, and each one thinks his is the best, and they would be afraid of the others copying it. They are on the competitive system. They do not have any trust in tailoring. I think it would be a good thing if they did.

HEARINGS BEFORE THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) How many fair shops are there in Chicago?—A. There are only about 6 or 7 that have shops at the present time, and about 16 or 18, I think, have promised to have shops, and have agreements with us about prices; and about 15 shops have their men locked out. We had agreements in about 80 or 85 stores before this lockout.

Q. Do you publish a boycott list?—A. What do you mean?

Q. Of the unfair shops?—A. No, we have never published it.

Q. Do you publish a white list?—A. We do not, but the Consumers' League did.

Q. Has that done any good?—A. Well, it is too soon. It was only issued last week.

Q. Are you helping in the work of the Consumers' League?—A. To a certain extent we have got them to help us. They have indorsed our movement for free shops as a movement in the right direction.

Q. How extensive is the Consumers' League movement in Chicago?—A. It is only in its infancy, I might say; only got about 700 or 800 members. A few ladies have done quite a lot of agitating in the matter.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you think of any other point you would like to make?—A. I can not think of any just now.

In this demand we made on our employers about hours, etc., we told them we were willing to keep the shop open 13 hours and supply the machinery and part of the tools to work with; supply our sewing machines; considering that we should be gaining something if we could even have an hour set for our quitting time, which has never been done while I have been in Chicago. Think of it! We are willing to work 13 hours a day! This is to show you the small point we are advancing. In the busy season we are willing to work 13 hours and supply the machinery, and all we ask is that they supply a sanitary shop.

Another thing, we set no limit to the amount a man shall do in this 13 hours, as we work piecework.

Q. How much are the average yearly earnings of a journeyman tailor in Chicago?—A. Some men make pretty fair wages. That is according to strength and skill.

Q. What do you think are the maximum wages?—A. I believe if they lumped them all up it would not be more than \$500 for each. Some men are strong and can stand this hard work, working night and day, making brutes of themselves, and they will average high wages—and that is what our employers throw up to us when we go to arrange bills of prices.

Q. Furnish your own tools and machines?—A. Tools and machines, and willing to work 13 hours in busy season, with no limit to the amount of work a man may do in this 13 hours.

Q. Do you have to furnish your thread?—A. When we get in a shop they furnish the thread.

Q. When you do the work at home, who furnishes it?—A. Sometimes we have to furnish the machine thread ourselves—in most cases. The better stores are all supposed to furnish us with all the trimmings, but they never furnish us with the machine silk. The cheaper the work is, the more trimmings the workmen have to furnish.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 23, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. N. J. JUNGSTRAND,

Journeyman Tailor.

The special subcommission met at 2:30 p. m., pursuant to recess, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 8:05 p. m. Mr. N. J. Jungstrand, of Chicago, a journeyman tailor, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Your name, please?—A. N. J. Jungstrand.

Q. Post-office address?—A. Chicago, 371 Homer street.

Q. Occupation?—A. Tailor.

Q. Journeyman tailor?—A. Journeyman tailor.

Q. Now, we shall be glad to hear the point that you would like to make?—A. I have been engaged here in Chicago as a tailor for the last 27 years, and the biggest part of my time I have worked for the Edward Ely Company, as long as Mr. Ely lived. I am one of those men who have been locked out because of the

demand we have made continually from year to year on the bosses for a work-shop. They took advantage of that because we gave them about three months to change, not that I feel that it is a burden to furnish us the shop, but the object is for the organization, as it came out right after their convention to break the union here. They succeeded in New York, as I have heard from different parties, and the next plan is to get at Chicago and to get out the rest of them and to break our organization. That has appeared always to be their end, and in the house I worked for. I worked for Sam Eckstein when I was locked out. I was not even asked, but just simply told, we have no more work for you now. Because I was a union man I was left out, on account of the demand of the union for a shop. And the reason why we want a shop was stated here by Mr. Taggart, so I do not need to repeat that. The necessity of a shop, of course, is apparent to everybody. I have been working both down town and in shops here where I have had to pay a dollar a week for my seat. I have also worked at home, and I am saying how the circumstances are to work. The bosses, I believe, feel that if we got together, cultivated each other and were more intelligent, perhaps afterwards we would make a bigger demand for our services. That may be one of the causes; I do not know. I can not see why they object to it, because the cost of a shop in addition to the other expenses would be but very little. It is true that they can not furnish a shop where they have a short store, in some instances, but that is not always necessary. We are quite satisfied among ourselves that their only aim is to break up the organization.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have you a family of children?—A. I have a family; yes.

Q. Did you have children at any time when you were taking work home?—A. Yes, but I have not had for a number of years small children.

Q. Did you have children in years gone by when you took work home?—A. Oh, yes, I have.

Q. Did you have contagious diseases in the house when you were doing work under those conditions?—A. No, not to my knowledge.

Q. Did you know of other tailors who had?—A. I have known of such a thing. Of course, I can not here give a specific statement of the place and time, but I have known of such things; you know it happens quite often. I have really heard of a report that work was traced to a place within the last 2 weeks, or 3 weeks perhaps it is, over on the west side, where a placard was on the door with scarlet fever; but I could not give the name or the address of the place here. It was only so reported.

Q. It has often happened that there were contagious diseases in families where this work was being done?—A. Yes, it is generally when a man has sickness in his family that he needs money more badly, and that leads him to cover up the disease, knowing that if the disease was known and reported he would be out of work and have nothing to support his family; and therefore it is but natural that a man will keep quiet with a disease; he will even tell the doctor not to report it; such a thing is generally kept quiet under such circumstances.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you know of any instances where contagious diseases have been spread by clothing made in the homes of journeymen tailors?—A. I could not state any specifically.

Testimony closed.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 23, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. T. K. WEBSTER,

President of the Webster Manufacturing Company.

The special subcommission met, pursuant to recess, at 2.30 p. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 3.20 p. m. Mr. T. K. Webster, of Chicago, president of the Webster Manufacturing Company, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your name?—A. T. K. Webster.

Q. What is your post-office address?—A. 1075 West Fifteenth Street, Chicago.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am president of the Webster Manufacturing Company, manufacturers of machinery.

Q. Is it a corporation?—A. Yes.

Q. Organized under the Illinois laws?—A. Yes.

Q. Are you willing to state the capital and the volume of business and the number of hands employed?—A. Our capital is \$350,000. We employ from 350 to 400 men.

Q. Where do you sell your product mostly?—A. The larger part of it in the United States.

Q. You have some foreign market?—A. Yes.

Q. Is it increasing?—A. Yes.

Q. Are your works running now?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you any labor difficulty?—A. None except that we do not know when the men will be called out.

Q. Is your labor organized?—A. Our superintendent reports that about 90 per cent of these men are union men; that is, in the machine department.

Q. You have no labor difficulty in your own works?—A. Except this, that the machinists of Chicago are out, and we are liable to be called out, I suppose, any time; but at the present time they have not been called out in our factory.

Q. Has any demand been made upon you?—A. Yes.

Q. Which you have or have not acceded to?—A. Which we have not acceded to.

Q. What was that demand?—A. It is the demand that was presented to all the machine shops, containing, I suppose, eight or ten statements of what they wish. But, primarily, the demands are, first, a recognition of the union and that we would employ only union men; second, a 9-hour day; and third, a minimum wage of 28 cents an hour up to 32½ cents, I think.

Q. Have you answered the demand?—A. We are members of the National Metal Trades Association, and our answer was that we referred the matter to our association for reply.

Q. Do you know whether they have replied or not?—A. We had a meeting last Saturday at which their demand was refused; that is, we tried to get together, but up to the present time, as I understand it, have not come together.

Q. You consider the demands unreasonable, and that they would embarrass you in the conduct of your business?—A. I think the demands are not right altogether. I do not think that it is within the province of any association of men to hinder other men from employment. I think the workmen were entirely wrong and beyond their rights when they tried to make us, the employers, be a recruiting station for their organization. I think that was very far out of the right.

Q. Do you object to trade unionism?—A. Not if properly conducted.

Q. Do you ever object to employing union men?—A. No.

Q. You make no distinction between union and nonunion men?—A. No distinction.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) What do you mean when you say "if properly conducted"?—A. The union, I think, if properly conducted, could serve both the employer and the men. I think it has a distinct province, and, if properly conducted, would be a source of help to the men as well as to us.

Q. What is your idea of the proper conduct of such an organization?—A. I recognize the right of the men to organize; of course that is the basic principle. If they have not any right to organize, then the trade union is of no account whatever. But if you grant them the right to organize, then I think they have a perfect right, of course, collectively to make the demand. There are certain demands that a man has a perfect right to make. They have, I think, a perfect right to make a demand on the question of wages. My belief is that they also have a perfect right to make a demand as regards the hours. But when they ask you to turn away employees who have served you a long time, or when they say that only a man who is a member of their union shall work for you, they are getting away beyond anything that is right, either ethically or legally, I think.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You say that they also have the right to demand a sanitary shop?—A. Perfectly, yes; that is a very just demand.

Q. You think such a demand as that in the interest of public safety as well as the health and convenience of the operatives?—A. Yes.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Should you be willing at any time to confer with the representatives of the organized men in your employ on the matter of wages, hours, and sanitary conditions, and so on?—A. Perfectly, perfectly.

Q. Have you done so at times?—A. Yes; we keep in as close touch with our men as we can, as a matter of right, as a matter of policy.

Q. Have the men at any time made demands for an increase of wages which you have considered and granted?—A. Up to the present time in Chicago we have never had such a condition as we have now with the machinists; they have never been organized. Last year in the foundry the foundrymen came to us and made their demands—quite a number of demands—and we met them at once.

I was one of the committee that represented the employers in Chicago—I think there were 5 on each side—and we sat down and went over the matter with them for 2 days, at the end of which time we agreed on a line of policy that we thought was fair on both sides, and we avoided a strike; we had no strikes.

Q. Between the employees and yourselves?—A. Between the employers and the men. Their national representative was here and we went all over the ground, quietly and without any passion, and we accomplished what we wanted to accomplish.

Q. Is not that the way the employers and the employees should come together?—A. I think so, absolutely.

Q. Do you not believe that if employers in all instances would act in the same spirit a great many of these troubles would be averted?—A. My position on that is this: I believe that we have come to a time when we have got to have the two organizations well defined. In other words, that trouble will be avoided as soon as on one side is a national organization of employers and on the other side is a national organization of the employed. When we get up to that there ought to be no difficulty in getting together and on broad lines settling all these troubles. We have come rather slowly to that idea, but such experiences as we had last year with the foundry men have convinced us it is right. We carried that past the difficulty because we had our plans laid; that is, there was a national organization of foundrymen, and we got together at once and settled this question before the passions of men were aroused and before bad blood was stirred up on both sides. The men were really asking some things that were very reasonable and right, and they were asking some things that we thought were very unreasonable, and we sat down and fought it all out and settled on what we considered a fair basis. The National Stove Founders' Association was organized some 8 years ago on the same lines as our foundrymen's association. They were having great difficulties at that time; in fact several firms were thrown out of business; they were striking continually; and they got together with the idea that they would have to fight—in fact it was called the Defense Association—but as a matter of fact they have gone on about 8 years, and they have had no strikes because they have got together, the national societies, and settled these things; and we believe that unless there is a society of that sort for the employees, they would not have their rights. In other words, the greed of men would bring down the wages to the zero point if they could; and on the other hand if there was no organization of the employers, the men would become very arbitrary in their demands. In other words, in order to have a proper equipoise you have got to have the two associations, one to counterbalance the other.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you know of any purpose on the part of the manufacturers in Chicago, or of the national organization, to break down the unions of the employees?—A. Personally I think that we were quite in the wrong in the beginning. Mind you, I do not reflect the opinion of a great many of my colleagues. These men made their demands in January. We were not well organized, you understand, and the result was that no attention practically was paid by most of the manufacturers to the demands. It was waste-basket material, you know. We had never had a strike; we had never had these conditions among the machine shops; and I think probably most of us thought there would not be any trouble. You know if a man has never been sick he thinks he is never going to be. The employers, many of them, I think, had the idea that if you granted anything it is like opening the door, and all these other fellows will break in. I think they were very unwise in that, and that was where I differed with them. I said we ought to negotiate with these men, sit down with them, and see if they will not change their demands, because some of their demands were entirely out of order and should not have been complied with. But we did not take it in that way. That is, it went along several weeks until things had got pretty badly stirred up, and then it made it very much more difficult to conduct the negotiations. You see the foundation principle of our association and the foundrymen's, of which this National Metal Trades Association is composed, is that there can be no strike without first a conference; and that is a great safeguard. In other words, the men can not come in and say, "Now, you do so and so or we will walk out." If the men come in to an employer like that, he is bound to fight.

Q. Is there any inhibition of a lockout as well as of a strike?—A. Of course, when it comes to a fight that is one of the strongest weapons that the manufacturer has—to lockout. When you have really got to fight, then the best way, probably, is to lockout.

Q. Well, is it understood that there will be no lockout without a previous conference with the men?—A. Oh, yes; that is one of our foundation principles.

Q. Have you any provision for arbitration between the representatives of the two sides?—A. Oh, yes; that is the fundamental principle of the organization.

Q. When are the arbitrators chosen?—A. Do you mean—are you speaking now in reference to this specific condition in Chicago or in reference—

Q. (Interrupting.) I should like to know both the local arrangement and that by the national organization.—A. You see, the trouble is in Chicago that the men are out.

Q. They are out now?—A. Yes; most of them. You see, they got too fast for us, the way it would naturally work. Suppose, now, both organizations were in good shape and the men made a demand; it would be referred at once to the national association; that national association would, according to their constitution, take it up within two weeks. Then the arbitrators would be appointed and the thing would go through the regular channel, to be fixed up, if possible, by arbitration. But in the present condition in Chicago, you see, the employers were not organized, things were not in good shape, and it resulted that the machinists, not having their demands recognized, have had to take, perhaps, the only method they had. They had to strike, you see. Now, if we had been in good shape, as we were a year ago, with the foundrymen this would have been taken right up quickly, and there would not have been any strike.

Q. What is to hinder its being taken up now?—A. As I said, the bad blood has been stirred up. A good deal of bad blood has been engendered by this thing, and we have tried to take it up, you know; we met a week ago, and we wanted the men to go back, pending arbitration, but their president, Mr. O'Connell, claimed that on account of the bad way the men had been treated it was impossible for him to call them back until the thing had been arbitrated, which was, you see, quite a serious objection.

Q. What is to hinder the national organization of machinists?—A. It was brought up before the national organization in that way. They came on here from New York and all over and heard from both sides.

Q. What hindered them from arbitrating it right off?—A. The break was this: The metal men say, "The men have got to go back to work, then we might arbitrate."

Q. Do you think it was a reasonable demand?—A. I do not think I should like to answer that question. There are two sides to all those questions. I consider it exceedingly unfortunate here that we did not go right to work and negotiate from the start. Then I think we could have arranged matters; but we might not have, you know. Their first demand was a demand which was not proper at all for them to make.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) What are the points of difference now between the machinists and manufacturers?—A. The manufacturers demand that the men go back to work, and then that we arbitrate all our differences. The men demand that we arbitrate our differences and then they go back to work. That is the way I understand it. Mind you, I have been away; I just came back this morning.

Q. What are the men asking?—A. As I stated, they demand that the union be recognized and that we only employ union men; that they have 9 hours a day and a minimum rate of wages.

Q. The hours per day and the rate of wages, have they been settled?—A. Oh, nothing is settled.

Q. The whole question, then, is open?—A. We are willing to arbitrate everything. We have got down to that pass where we are willing to arbitrate—both sides, as I understand it; but we split on the question of the men going back to work; we want the men to go back to work.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your idea as to the length of time an arbitration would take?—A. I think the questions would be arbitrated and settled in a very few days. I do not think we are very far apart.

Q. That being the case, is it important that the men should go to work first?—

A. As I said, that is a question that appeals to men in different ways. There are many men in the association that would consider it of vital importance; and it is, if the conditions that arise here were not peculiar, you see. I believe the men endeavored to get a negotiation started, but failed because there was practically no one to negotiate with them. Then they struck. Usually, you see, the condition would be that that would be brought right up before the proper authorities and the negotiation would begin at once.

Q. If the manufacturers insist on the demand that the men shall return to work before arbitration is entered upon, and the men refuse to do it, what is likely to be the outcome?—A. What we have got now; the men are out.

Q. Is there an attempt on the part of the manufacturers to run their shops?—A. I do not know very much about that. I understand that they are pretty well stocked, but I do not know certainly; I can not answer that, really.

Q. Do you think they can get help enough to run their shops?—A. No.

Q. They really need to employ the men who are out?—A. Oh, yes; there is no question about that.

Q. The men are all desirous of remaining here and working in these shops?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you any suggestion to make as to how that problem should be solved?—A. It is a question in my mind, if these matters go on in this way, if there should not be a law making arbitration compulsory.

Q. Would it be arbitration then?—A. Why would it not be arbitration?

Q. Would it not be a judicial process then? Is it not the idea of arbitration that men get voluntarily together and settle their disputes?—A. But why would it not be arbitration just the same if wise men on both sides would come together and that decision would be final? I do not see why it would not be arbitration then just the same, if each side were represented.

Q. It would be legal compulsion.—A. In other words, it would compel men to adjust their difficulties when the public were suffering great losses, or to prevent the public from suffering great losses. We are doing it practically the same way in our association. When a man joins one of these associations on either side he is putting his case in the hands of his associates. He is bound to do what they say, and of course may suffer a little, suffer greatly. For instance, as a matter of fact, we would fix up with our employees right off. It so happened that our men are not out: I really do not know why, except, I suppose, as a matter of fact, the men recognize that we took a little different stand; we took the stand from the start that we thought we ought to get together and see whether we had to fight. Then, if we have got to fight, we should know what we are fighting about. We thought we ought to get together and go over this thing carefully, spend days if necessary, and find out what was the right to the case. The men, knowing our associates, know that that was our position. Although our men stay in, we have not given them any increase of wages; we have not given them any concessions as to hours. We are waiting to see what we will do; we are hoping that the national association will arbitrate and settle everything. Our men may go out at any time, and we are caught between the same millstones with all here, and fear an enormous loss.

Q. Can you not yet avert that?—A. No; I can not, because I am a member of the National Metal Trades Association and I can not fix up with my men.

Q. Could you meet the demands of the men and continue the business as formerly?—A. Oh, yes; the demands of the men are all right, except one or two. We are perfectly willing to agree to the demand as to the wages; it is entirely satisfactory; they ought to get that. As regards the 9-hour business, of course you will find that men differ. I believe personally that we have got to come down to less hours and that we ought to, in regard to all the economic conditions that surround us; but we can not do it all at once. Of course it would be a loss to us, or, in other words, it would mean to our people an expense of \$20,000 or \$30,000 in more machinery to get out the same amount of work.

Q. Do you know whether there was any suspicion on the part of the men, when the demand was made that they go back to work before arbitration was resorted to, that that was a ruse on the part of the employers to gain time to strengthen their organization and defeat them in the struggle?—A. It would be very strange if they were not suspicious; you know that is the great evil of the conditions that have existed. A man was not close to his employees, and there had never been any negotiations going on, and naturally they would be suspicious. The whole idea of negotiations and of having two societies meet together in this way is to breed confidence.

Q. You think that if the men had had entire confidence in the employers they would have gone to work and submitted to arbitration?—A. I do not know, I am sure; I can not answer that.

Q. Do you understand that their demand for 9 hours is a national demand or a local demand?—A. A national demand; we are dealing with the national society, the International Society of Machinists.

Q. Then if that demand were conceded you would not be placed at a disadvantage in comparison with your competitors in other States, would you?—A. I do not know how strong the international union is, but we should have to be very strong on our part to bring about this; that is, we, the employers, should have to have a national organization that would take in a majority of the machine shops. Then the 9-hour day would only hurt us in this way—that it would increase our fixed charges.

Q. Would it impair your ability to export to some extent?—A. Possibly, though I have great faith myself, upon certain knowledge that I have, of the ability of the

Americans to export. We have done quite a large amount of work off and on. We built in Manchester, England, 2 years ago, a large grain elevator, and, as a matter of fact, when we made our figures we figured 2 Englishmen would compete with 1 American, and when we got it up we found it took 8 Englishmen to compete with 1 American.

Q. In doing what?—A. In doing the whole job; it was handling wood and iron. But the American, the ordinary American, working in the methods we do, I believe can produce a very much larger amount of work than any of the foreigners can. That is my judgment, from what I have seen.

Q. Is that as true in the machinery manufacture as it is in the building trade?—A. We have no difficulty at all in selling our goods abroad, as regards prices and paying the freight charges.

Q. Do you think that one American machinist will do as much work as three English machinists will?—A. No, no; I do not believe that would be a fair statement.

Q. Do you think he will do as much as two would?—A. I think with our methods of work, yes. In the first place you will note this, that we are in advance of any nation regarding the improved machinery; and then we are in advance of any nation, so far as I know, in our methods of handling work, which gives us a very large advantage, and then of course we have the raw material right here,

Q. Are they coming to our methods?—A. Oh, I think so; they are copying our methods, especially the Germans.

Q. Have you made any study of Japanese mechanical development lately?—A. Not very much, except that I know, in a general way, that they are very ingenious in duplication and can produce extraordinarily cheap, though we are sending our goods there. I suppose they are going to copy; but in iron I think it will be a long time before they will be equal to us.

Q. The long and short of it is that you do not believe that a concession to the demands of the workmen would seriously impair the ability of the American machinists to hold their own market and continue to gain somewhat in foreign markets?—A. It depends on what their demands are. I think it would cripple us very largely and would be an outrage on the independence of the American citizen to say to me or to you, "Here, Mr. Jones has worked for you 20 years; now, you discharge him or else you make him come into the union." I think that is an outrage that ought to be resisted to the last.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Would not the 10 per cent in your employ who are not union men probably go into the union on that condition?—A. I think probably they would; if they do it willingly, it is all right. But to say that you should only hire the men, it would be like saying that you should only hire a man because he is a Presbyterian. There is a great principle involved there, which, as I understand it, is in direct opposition to the principles of American citizenship. The minute you step over that bound you have a power that is a tyranny of the worst kind.

Q. Are you familiar with the constitution and by-laws of this new organization to which you belong?—A. Of the National Metal Trades Association?

Q. Yes.—A. I am somewhat familiar with it; I have read it.

Q. You believe you could meet the demands of the machinists and continue business profitably?—A. No; I do not.

Q. That is what you did say; I asked the question and you said so; you said they were not unreasonable.—A. In regard to some of the demands; I did not mean to all of the demands.

Q. You said the wages and hours?—A. The hours, I think, we could perhaps come to; but the demand, mind you, that raised the greatest objection is the demand of the union that we employ only union men. I think that would be fatal; I think the minute that you grant that there will come in all these other evils that you fear so much; that is, we all fear that they will limit the capacity of your shop; when that is done we are gone.

Q. I want to ask you what would be the consequence of your meeting the demands of these men independently of this organization to which you belong, outside of loss of self-respect and violating your obligation to the association; would they follow you into any of your fields of business; could they do it to your injury?—A. I do not believe there is any disposition of that kind. Of course, if a man does not respect himself, he will not expect the others to respect him.

Q. But I say aside from that?—A. I do not think there is any of that spirit at all.

Q. If this were communicated to the producers of material in the sources of your supply, could they influence them to your detriment?—A. There is not in the constitution or by-laws of the National Metal Trades Association anything that has that spirit in it.

Q. Could they do it; do you suppose that they would attempt to do that?—A. I do not know; I have never thought of it in that way. Certainly the organization is not founded on any such idea. In other words, I believe that this great labor question is better for having a strong union on the one side, so that the men can deliver the goods. Supposing, now, a man in Cincinnati is paying his men 16 cents, and he is in the same line with me; that hurts me. I want him to pay the same price.

Q. You would like to know what he is paying?—A. The ordinary machinist under general conditions ought to earn about so much. If a man is greedy and mean and selfish, and wants to grind his men right down to the last point, and has got them where he can do it, it is a good thing for the union to compel him to pay a fair price. On our side our interests run in the same groove, you see, on those lines, if the unions are strong enough to deliver the goods to us. This year the wages shall be so and so, and the hours shall be so and so, and if we have any disagreements we will bring them up, and we will not fight. It is a distinct gain to the employer, is it not? On the other side, to us it is just as imperative that we have a strong national union in order to curb the demands which men would naturally make if they had the power. If they had the power to say, "You shall only hire such and such men," they would very soon say, "This man shall only do so much work;" and if the organization is strong on each side, so that it is a very dangerous thing to enter a big fight, then both organizations will be kept in line. The men on their side will not make demands that are wrong, because they know what it would mean. And on the other side, I believe that the employers would pay a better wage, a wage that probably they ought to pay, if the men are strong enough to demand it.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Has there been a steady growth of your business in Chicago?—A. Yes, yes.

Q. Do you know of any obstacles in the way of its continued development and prosperity aside from these labor difficulties?—A. No, no.

Q. Is the present a prosperous era in your line of business?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you know of any changes in State or Federal laws that you think would promote your business?—A. We get up against a question which we all differ very largely on, if you ask me a broad question like that. I think we should gradually open our markets to the world and allow us the trade which would, I believe, naturally flow out if we were in close friendly contact with other nations. I have such faith in the American manufacturer that I think he can compete with any nation in the world, practically, and that if we had better trade relations with other countries we could get our share. In fact, I believe that is the great future of ours, because we can manufacture here very much more than we can sell to our own people.

Q. Do you think you could export more if you imported more?—A. Yes; my own belief is that trade ought to take its natural channel; that there are a great many more things in America that we could ship abroad, if we had reciprocity between the nations, than they would ship us. I think that has only been a short time, comparatively, but I think we are changing our attitude, as a man sailing a boat ought to learn to tack to take advantage of the wind.

Q. Do you think all protective duties should be removed?—A. Oh, no; I think you could only do it gradually, and I think great wisdom ought to be exercised; but I think we ought to work toward it.

Q. Has there not been a steady enlargement of the free list in recent years?—A. I presume there has been, more or less. I presume that is the trend of things.

Q. Are you aware that more than 50 per cent of all our imports now come entirely free of duty?—A. I do not know that as a fact.

Q. Do you think that in order to maintain the superior condition of American labor some discriminatory duties are necessary?—A. Oh, I think some; yes. I have no doubt that is true.

Q. So it is only a question of wise adjustment of those duties?—A. Yes; that is right, and I think it is gradually looking toward the removal of duties more and more as we are able to compete with other nations.

Q. Do you think of any other advantages in national laws that would promote the prosperity of your business, and business generally, from your point of view?—A. No; I could not give you any information in regard to general conditions.

Q. Do you think that Chicago is well situated as an industrial center?—A. Yes; very well situated, indeed.

Q. And that it could continue to prosper?—A. Yes.

Q. If pleasant relations are maintained between employers and employed?—A. Yes; I think the conditions now are only conditions of war; that is, men ought not to work under police protection. It is a wrong condition entirely, unless

there is some vital thing at stake. If there is, then of course we all must have war; but it is very unfortunate that difficulties can not be settled by arbitration and conciliation. I think in many things the workmen have been very much misunderstood. It is very difficult when a man is in hot blood to understand; for instance, now in our trade the very name of a walking delegate is offensive. Really my relations with him have been of a most pleasant kind. It is understood that if he wants anything to do with the foundry he comes to the office and sees me, and if there is anything wrong we want to fix it. Of course, if he goes in there and orders your men or takes that attitude, it is very bad; but the walking delegate, if he performs a function that, as I understand it, he is supposed to perform, is a proper individual. If you grant a union you must grant officers who perform certain duties. The business of a walking delegate is very much better than to have your men coming in, because a man who comes in must be in a sense considered as an agitator; it hurts him; he does not want to give you all the facts that you could probably get from an outsider. Providing this man performs his functions in the right way, and if any evils do come up really wants to correct them, he does not need to be a disturbing element. Wherever he comes in and tries to reduce the product of a factory, that is a very serious condition, because that is our hope, that the American will produce a large amount of material in a short time. Better conditions, better food, better tools, and all those things make an American a very much more effective wage-earner than his competitor in other countries.

Q. Do the unions, so far as you know, attempt to fix any limit upon the production of a man?—A. I think that is a tendency; yes, a very decided tendency.

Q. You consider that objectionable?—A. Very objectionable, both to the man and to the employer. Of course it makes the man untrue. It is not right for a man to see how little he can do.

Q. If they have a feeling that a man is doing too much work for the good of his health, and you think otherwise, would that be a suitable subject for arbitration?—A. If you have a proper foreman, he can tell what is a fair day's work. If a man is unable to do a fair day's work, he should leave; that is, if he is incapacitated to do it he should do that or take another kind of a job.

Q. Do the unions permit discrimination in wages or earnings of men of different capacities for production?—A. Oh, yes. The unions, though, say this: That there shall be a minimum wage. For instance, the machinists say, in their demands on us, a man who has worked four years at his trade, who can work a machine and do any work on that machine; in other words, a skillful man—that man is worth 28 cents an hour. If he is slow, or if he is sick, or anything of that sort, you can let him go, but if you keep him you shall pay him 28 cents an hour. In my judgment, that is all right.

Q. Some witnesses have testified that they think the regulations of unions tend to lower the standard of efficiency in the shop. Do you agree to that?—A. My impression is that would be true; and I think that is a thing that must be guarded against very strongly. They will limit the production. I know that has been true in the foundry. That attitude, though, I don't think the union would back up; I don't think that; but there is no doubt but the men would be very glad to produce less with the idea of giving work to more men.

Q. You think that is their main object in making that demand?—A. No; I think the spirit of the union is this: That they want to give work to all their men that they can. Now, when I am speaking of unions I was speaking of the two classes. I know nothing outside of foundrymen and machinists. We have noticed the tendency in our foundry this year to try to limit the product. If a man, for instance, can put up 6 pieces a day, there has been a tendency to let that be 5 or perhaps 4.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Is there never a slave-driving tendency on the part of the employer to make a showing?—A. Yes, I think that is true in some shops; I think there is no doubt about that at all; I think that is the chief objection of unions to piecework. Piecework is really the ideal way to work, both for the employer and for the employed, except when you pass beyond the point of what is right to the point of greed and things that are absolutely unrighteous. Take a man, about the most expert man, for instance, on a piece work job; say you will find that man will put up 30 pieces with the conditions in his favor, the best that you could do, say, running a month. Now you have set that as a minimum; that a man must do that. Probably the average would be 22 or 23 and the man who sets that out—30—and says this is what a man must do does not do the fair thing. But, properly conducted, a man will earn more for himself and for his employer, if the employers are willing to be fair, on piecework. In other words, we find that if a man is putting up engines he will start and make at first, say, \$2 a day,

and might end by making \$3.50 a day—the same man—and do it easier. It is purely a matter of being expert; and every minute he makes counts, you see, when it is his own time and own scale.

Q. Do you think that the large range of work in the various kinds of manufactures will permit of piecework?—A. No; it depends entirely on a man's business. Some businesses are always run on a piecework plan and others only run by the day.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) I understand you to say that you believe in organization on both sides?—A. Yes.

Q. And when that organization is accomplished and differences occur, that they should be adjusted between the different organizations?—A. Yes; nationally.

Q. Why nationally?—A. The minute you do it locally you change conditions very largely. For instance, supposing a lodge here in Chicago become very strong, and they say, "Now, in Chicago we want 35 cents an hour for machinists." Say the lodge in Buffalo is weak, and they work for 25 cents; it is doing a great injustice to us.

Q. You could not compete?—A. It would be a great disadvantage to us. When it is made national they can consider certain conditions. For instance, there is no doubt but a machinist in a small interior town, like Bloomington or Kankakee, can work for a little less wages and make fully as much. Fortunately, what these men make by getting laborers for less they may lose in freights, so it evens up, you see, for the employer, and it is also fair for the workman. If you handle this nationally and give the national organization on both sides plenary powers, you are all right; you can settle what is a fair wage in all these places, and you can settle it so that the local lodge can not come in and make demands on you as they are doing here in Chicago.

Q. You hope to see the day when that condition of affairs will be brought about?—A. I think we are working toward it. We have now in the National Foundrymen's Association I think about 400 members, and as I say we avoided a strike last year and yet this is only 3 years old.

Q. You said a moment ago you thought that shorter hours would prevail?—A. Yes.

Q. Will the shorter hours bring greater efficiency for the number of hours?—A. I hardly think that.

Q. A man working 10 hours is just as efficient each hour as he would be working 8 hours?—A. I think so.

Q. You think his energy is not overtaxed by 10 hours' work?—A. No.

Q. Then why do you think the shorter workday will prevail?—A. I believe we have come to that point where we are going over the line in the idea that our increased wants will give increased work. I think the production of materials of all sorts by the improved methods outstrips our wants, and therefore that if you want to give men work, and of course men must have work, it is for the public good, probably, that a lesser number of hours be granted.

Q. Does the intelligence of the American workman count for something in making up his efficiency, compared with the foreign workman?—A. I believe so, yes, greatly; that and food differences and family conditions.

Q. If he has more hours for recreation and for reading and getting information, might not that increase his intelligence and thereby make him a little more efficient?—A. I would not say so, because we are running more and more, you will notice, in every department of labor, toward the machine plan. To compete we must confine ourselves to a very few things, and a man has to get down more and more into the condition of doing one thing exceedingly well, and he learns that. There are very few shops that are changing men around very much. If a man runs a planer—well, he runs a planer, and of course he very soon gets to be an expert at that machine. If a man comes into our shop now we do not ask him, "Are you a machinist?" We ask him, "What machine will you run?" So that the man learns to be expert. We have to do that. We are compelled by the shifting of conditions to produce all that is possible by one hand.

Q. You think, then, that organization will have a tendency to equalize the prices of labor and the cost of production, when it can be properly introduced all over this country, and make a better condition of affairs than if both sides were unorganized?—A. Yes; I believe so. In fact, I think it is the only solution of the difficulty. You see, here is the point: Supposing, now, we are unorganized in Chicago. We do not belong to anything. This is a strong organization of machinists. They can come to us any day and say so and so. Now, what are we going to do? We must either submit or stand a fight. A fight would cost any large shop all the way from \$2,000 to \$10,000 a month. You see, it is terribly expensive. You get all your machinery organized for work; then you stop,

but you can not stop your expenses. So, unless we are organized to resist demands, or organized in a way to negotiate and settle what is fair between us, we are in a terrible condition. On the other side, I believe equally that unless the men have an organization their wages are likely to be anything, merely what a man chooses to give. As a matter of fact, while the machinists in Chicago are paid as well as any other trade—because this is the going wages—their demands are very reasonable as regards price.

Q. Is agitation more liable to come in periods of prosperity, when the manufacturer is making large profits, than when there is little or no profit?—A. I should think agitation is more likely to come in times of prosperity, although I believe there is a good record on the other side.

Q. Why is that? Do men feel they are not getting their share of the production?—A. Possibly that, though I think the men know that when everybody is engaged an agitation of that kind is going to bring forth something; and when there is a surplus of labor it is almost useless to make demands. But when, as in the past year, everybody has had work, they say, "Here, they will give us what we want."

Q. There is a good deal of human nature in the laboring man as well as others?—A. Just the same?

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Don't they strike against reduction of wages in hard times and for an increase of wages in good times?—A. I presume that is true, though I have very little knowledge. We have never had a strike in our place.

Q. Therefore a strike is an indication of good times and an indication of bad times, too?—A. It might be.

Q. You said you did not believe a man could do as much in 8 hours as he would in 9?—A. I should say that.

Q. That he would not do as much in 9 hours as he would in 10?—A. I said I did not think a man would do as much in 9 hours as he would in 10. My statement was only in reference to this particular class of work in which I am personally engaged. A man runs a lathe. He puts in a piece and stands there and watches this tool cut it. For perhaps an hour he does nothing except to reverse his tool. It is fine work; the thing has to be turned to a sixteenth of an inch, say. The machine does it all. He stands there and tends it. It is not hard physical labor at all. It is skilled labor. Those conditions are quite different from what they may be in some other trades. That is the reason of my statement. In hard physical work I believe a man will accomplish as much in 9 hours as in 10.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) In performing mining or any other work done by a tool in the man's hands he can accelerate or diminish his speed, can he not?—A. Yes.

Q. But in running machinery it is usually speeded at a certain rate, is it not?—A. Yes.

Q. So that if a man is running machinery 10 hours at a given rate he would produce more work than he would in 9 hours, would he not?—A. Certainly.

Q. That is your idea?—A. Yes; the work is not physically exhausting.

Q. You have said something about the tendency of human nature to drive down wages unless there is some power of resistance. What do you think is the general purpose and desire of the manufacturers of Chicago, so far as you know, in regard to paying as good wages as the receipts from their products will permit them to pay?—A. I think the manufacturers in Chicago are fair. They are the same as in any other city. We are trying to build up our bank balances. We pay out very large sums for labor. If you increase it a small fraction, it counts up enormously in the pay roll. We are paying out in wages about \$325,000 or \$250,000 a year. You see a very small increase would make quite a large change. I think the tendency of Chicago manufacturers is to pay the market wage.

Q. If the manufacturers could increase wages 10 per cent without injuring their business in competition with others in the general market, do you think they would like to do it, or not like to do it?—A. I think there is just as much human nature in the manufacturers as there is in the men. [Laughter.]

Q. I do not quite understand the answer. [Laughter.] Do you mean some would like to do it and some would not?—A. Yes; I think that is about the size of it. In other words, I think there are some manufacturers who want the whole of it, and I think there are some that would a great deal rather see their 200 or 300 men happy and comfortable than have it all themselves.

Q. As an experienced manufacturer, what do you say of the comparative efficiency of men who are well paid and happy and contented in their employment, and of men who are underpaid and are therefore discontented?—A. I think there is every evidence to show that men who are working happily and contentedly will produce more. In other words, the man behind the tools is the same as the

going to try and make everything count. If the man behind the desk, or the man that sits in his office and notes the situation, feels that the men have got him by the hip and are going to do him up, he is going to wait his chance. That is what I think could all be avoided by this negotiation between the parties. We have committed our interests to these men, and they have committed their interests to these men. It is all in the interest of fairness. When you get a half dozen men who really in their hearts want to be fair, and feel the responsibilities of all those back of them, they are going to pretty near do the fair thing when they go up against each other.

Q. Is not this principle of fair dealing a mighty-dollar principle—enlightened selfishness, if you please—on the part of the manufacturers generally, so far as you know them?—A. I think we are growing, all of us, toward a more altruistic idea, and this very fact that we are willing to negotiate, and all that, proves that.

Q. You don't think, therefore, that there is any need of an irreconcilable war or frequently occurring conflicts and disputes and disagreements between labor and capital engaged in productive industries?—A. I think absolutely there is no need of it. I think that our interests are so mutual that, wisely thought out, we ought to fix up these things. It can be done. We think this very fact that you three men are here to-day is an indication of that spirit.

Q. You observe a national spirit of inquiry and study of these problems and the desire to solve them, do you not?—A. Yes; and a desire on the part of a vast number of men to have more interest in the common good. It may be out of the province of this inquiry, but I hold that the unit of value is changing somewhat; in other words, the unit of value we all recognize in business is the dollar. But now you change that unit of value and put it in a home. No one thinks of valuing his baby in the cradle at \$5,000. I do not suppose a man in Chicago, or at least I suppose a very small fraction of the men in Chicago, could love their wives any more if they had an earning capacity of \$1,000 or \$10,000 per year; or, in other words, the unit of value in the home is different from the unit of value in the business. In the business we see everything has got to come to this one idea of a dollar: "How much can I buy a man for in the market, and how much can I sell the product of a man for?" The altruistic idea has been very largely eliminated. But we do see another province where we don't consider that. Now that shows that it is best to have the two units. It is also possible, I suppose, to look for the time when a man would be disgraced in society if he was taking the blood out of men, sending men home from his factory every night with nothing. I did not suppose that that idea would develop in business at all until this last week. I was on my way to New York and I fell in with some Englishmen whom I had met abroad before, and we got to talking about these things. He said, "As a matter of fact [he was an owner of large estates in Gloucester] I pay 20 per cent more for commodities in Gloucester than I could get them for on the market; bring them up from Plymouth or Southampton." "Why do you do that?" "I should not consider myself a gentleman if I did not." In other words, he pays his tenants 20 per cent more for those commodities because they are his tenants. He says, "I owe them that duty." The result is, I suppose, at the end of the year he may be worth just as much money. He recognizes that unit of value. They do not make it all "the dollar." There may come a time when we shall change our unit of value somehow, and a man won't think the greatest thing in the world is to accumulate a vast sum of money. It will be the greatest thing in the world if he makes the vast number of people happy. Isn't that possible? I think we are gradually coming on that way.

Q. You think, then, a manufacturer who builds up a business or perhaps a town, and helps his employees to acquire homes and pay for them and support them in comfort and dignity, is illustrating your idea of the new unit of value?—

A. Yes. He does not make everything center on that one thing; he does recognize that there are great ethical principles that are more to be considered in the interest of making good men and a good society than simply the money value. Or, in other words, supposing that man dies with a half million dollars, and by crowding everybody to the wall he could have died worth a million. Has the man accomplished the most that dies with a million and has left that record behind, or the man who dies with a half million? I do not mean distribute it in charity—I do not mean anything of that sort—but giving a good, fair wage, makes money count in building up men instead of things. Is not that more than we are accomplishing, and is not the American public gradually coming up to that higher idea? When I sit down and talk with all classes of men I find that idea growing.

Q. You think you see a hopeful tendency in that direction?—A. Oh, yes; if men speak their hearts. But over against it, I do not suppose there is a man in this room, if he could have had a good big slice of the Standard Oil stock when that twenty million was divided—I suppose he would have been glad to get it.

I think I should, and I think if I had had a big slice of it I should have said, "I am a lucky dog." But over against that there is not a question in my mind but we are coming to right lines, and morally it will be quite as disgraceful for a man to do these things as to be a pirate and go out on the ocean and scuttle a ship. Of course commercial piracy is now recognized, and men are not thought of any the less for it.

Q. Do you think there is any organized or unorganized rapacious rebellion against capital or against the rich in this country?—A. I think there is an extraordinarily strong sentiment against the danger that is facing us in this vast accumulation of money in the hands of the few, and the methods of getting it. I think the alarm is almost national.

Q. Do you believe that it is the general idea that money is being concentrated more than it is being distributed?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you think that is a fact?—A. Yes; I think it is a fact, though I have no evidence except the atmosphere I breathe. It gradually comes around to you; after reading everything of all kinds and conditions you get to that idea.

Q. Are you not aware that the last census shows, whatever the next may show, that there has been a larger distribution of wealth among the people in this country than in any other, and larger during that census decade than there was in any previous decade?—A. What I think you should bring out by the census is the vast wealth of a few very rich men; say out of 100 per cent there would be 75 per cent of the wealth in the hands of a very few. I should suppose that the census would show that; that you could take a very small percentage and they would have the vast proportion of wealth. Is not that right?

MR. CLARKE. I am not desirous of testifying. It is hardly proper that I should. The WITNESS. I am not prepared to state what I think about that.

Q. (By MR. CLARKE.) It is an interesting question, you recognize, and one in which there ought to be exact knowledge? A. Yes; there is pretty exact knowledge on the subject, and more will be had, of course, when the new census comes out. Of course the tendency of wealth, when it is, say, three or four or five million, to dissipate is common. You recognize it at once. But when it comes to such fabulous amounts as several hundred millions, it is practically impossible to dissipate.

Q. You don't believe then, do you, that there is any menace to the prosperity of our country by a purpose which is shown among working people to cripple the industries or to embarrass the men who are carrying on those industries, except so far as they think they want to secure their proper share?—A. I speak only for the industry which I know something about. The conditions in Chicago in other industries, I think, are most lamentable. I think the demands of labor in some classes of manufacture are simply the most arbitrary and outrageous possible.

Q. Here in Chicago?—A. Yes. It must be resisted to the last. We, for instance, shall want to build, and we can not build. We want to build, but we dare not build; we do not know where we are at all.

Q. Do you think that is just a temporary condition?—A. I do not know. I think it must be throttled right off—this condition here in the building trades. I think it is just the condition that would arise in our trade if on the one side there had been no organization. The minute men are free, either employers or employed, and they organize; they can enforce almost any demand they want as against the individual.

Q. You say that ought to be throttled right off?—A. I think so. When any demands are against the whole of the principles of our institutions they ought to be stopped.

Q. Do you think it necessary to crush the unions which are making these unreasonable demands?—A. We do not need to crush them. We ought to bring them to a sense of the foolishness of making any such demands; make them realize that they never will be granted.

Q. Well, when the contending parties refuse to negotiate, or when one of them refuses to negotiate, what is that but an attempt to crush the union?—A. There are times when, if a union is so absolutely arbitrary in its demands, the only way is to fight. Of course that fight will be against the union, and it has got to be fought. It is war. That is what it is, and will have to be war until the demands have been changed.

Q. Supposing the union should modify their demands or submit every disputed point to arbitration?—A. That looks fair to me.

Q. You think that ought to be acceded to?—A. Yes; I should be in favor of a law making men arbitrate their difficulties, if they would not do so voluntarily, because out of arbitration it is quite sure that the fair ground will be reached.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 23, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. WILLIAM KLEIN,*President of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union of America.*

The special subcommission met at 2.30 p. m., pursuant to recess, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 4.45 p. m. Mr. William Klein, of New York City, president of the Bricklayers and Masons International Union of America, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Will you please give your full name?—A. William Klein.
Q. What is your post-office address?—A. 603 West One hundred and seventy-eighth street, New York City.

Q. What is your official relation?—A. I am president of the Bricklayers and Masons International Union of America.

Q. How long has that organization been in existence?—A. Going on 35 years.

Q. What is its membership?—A. Between 50,000 and 60,000 men.

Q. How many unions are constituents of it?—A. Three hundred and ninety-odd; close on to four hundred.

Q. That is in this country?—A. Taking in the United States, Canada, and British Columbia.

Q. What are the principal objects?—A. Mutual protection both for the employer and for ourselves.

Q. Have you any rule or regulation providing for the international organization assisting to settle labor difficulties?—A. Compulsory arbitration.

Q. That is, compulsory so far as the organization is concerned?—A. Yes.

Q. Is it your habit and desire to treat with similar organizations of the employers of labor in your line?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you had such conferences, and have they resulted in the settlement of labor disputes?—A. Very favorably wherever they have been put in operation.

Q. Have you become familiar with the situation here in Chicago and the pending troubles?—A. Yes; somewhat.

Q. Do you desire to make a statement to the commission of your views upon them?—A. Yes; I think it is very essential for me to do so. I think this is the proper place to do it.

Q. We should be happy to hear you if you will proceed in your own way.—A. I should like to state, Mr. Chairman, that I arrived here in the city from the Pacific coast Tuesday evening at half past 8, and I immediately, thinking it was a matter of business courtesy toward our subordinate organization here in the city to pay them a friendly visit, did so, and upon my arrival at their meeting that evening found that the question of the disagreement between the employers and their men was under debate. My arrival there was unexpected, but, of course, I was called into consultation at once. They informed me that they had applied for financial aid, which had been granted by the executive committee in my absence, I being away and not being able to make the arrangement. They made a long statement bearing on the facts of their connection with the building trades council here, their attempts at arbitration between the employers and themselves of 7 weeks' duration, and the results up to the present time. I must say, after hearing the statements which were made by the committee and their presiding officer, that I labored under the impression that they were misinformed to a certain extent, because I did not think really that a city of this kind could exist in a labor trouble for such a length of time if the proper system of arbitration had been appreciated. I appealed to them to give me a fair chance to appeal to the master masons of the city. At first they refused; they said, "We have told you the positive facts."

"Well," I said, "gentlemen, it is necessary for me as the head of the organization to know, if this financial aid is to be continued right along, whether you have lived up to the laws of our organization;" and they finally agreed. In conjunction with a committee of 4 or 5 we visited the master masons the following afternoon, and in the first conference we had there I realized that the statements offered by our subordinate union were positively the facts in reference to appealing, not only by letter, but even by telephone, so as to avoid the breaking of a compact that was in existence between the master masons. This was verified in their own assembly. I then made an open appeal directly to the master masons bearing on that fact, and they wanted to know how these people could arbitrate when they were members of the building trades council. I said, "Gentlemen, in answer to that I will say, how is it consistent on your part as employers; how can you arbitrate when you are members of another general

body, parent organization? It is as broad as it is long. You say we can not agree because we are members of the building trades council. We say, on the other hand, if you are fair-minded and broad-minded enough and willing to meet our people, then it becomes necessary to see whether we can arbitrate at all." What I meant by that, and what any man of business tact would understand, was that from our organization here the power had been taken away by my hand as to the question of trying to bring about a settlement, because they were subject to our general rules of arbitration. We adjourned to wait until the following day, and they said they would have a special meeting the following morning, which was yesterday, and they would then see if they could bring the matter up. I waited until yesterday afternoon at half past 4 and I came in contact with the president of the organization, and he told me that the whole matter had been referred to the council, which would meet to-day—being yesterday, another day—the contractors' council. I waited for the result of the interview this afternoon before coming here. After speaking for half an hour on the question I found out that the condition of affairs was such that it was really necessary for the public at large to know it.

The condition as it stands now, the ultimatum and mandate delivered to me this afternoon by that body, are, in my opinion, on oath, initiated in a rule-or-ruin system. It was a question whether the contractors' council should subsidize or whether the building trades council should. The question of arbitration is lost sight of entirely. They will not arbitrate; they will do nothing; they simply stand on their hind legs and say, "Well, you have got to beat us, or we are going to beat you." Now, there is not anything fair or rational in that in my opinion—for men of business tact to think of such a thing in a city of this kind. They have not any right, either the building trades council or the master masons and contractors, to fight to maintain the city in a position of that kind where the general public can not proceed with any building simply because they do not feel inclined to it. And that is just as I found it. I give you my word of honor; I have taken an oath; I am giving you the statement that the management of the contractors' council is rule or ruin. I made the statement that the policy of the council is rule or ruin, and the answer they gave me on that was, "We have already made a public statement or letter to the press, addressed to the mayor." I told them that was so long ago that this question was a different one altogether. When an association appeals to you people openly to make a settlement on a fair, liberal basis, or after you consult them all, giving them a chance to say whether their wishes are good, bad, or indifferent, you say you will not arbitrate, nor will you allow anybody to come in and arbitrate for you. But the question remains just so, that either the building trades council has got to go down or the contractors' council, and the rights of the public are not considered.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Do you believe if they did and they lost, could they survive any length of time?—A. Yes; I believe that in less than 48 hours we should have a settlement.

Q. Did you gain the impression that they would, perhaps, arbitrate with your organization, apart from the building trades council?—A. No; they told me emphatically they would not.

Q. They would not either arbitrate with the building trades council or with you?—A. They would arbitrate with nobody.

Q. With nobody?—A. There was no arbitration to be got at their hands at the present time or any future time. It is simply a question of which side can stand it the longest; a very deplorable condition of affairs, in my opinion, for a city of this kind.

Q. Is your organization perfectly willing to arbitrate?—A. Why, most assuredly; yes.

Q. Are all the organizations in the building trades council willing to arbitrate?—A. I could not answer that; I am not aware of that.

Q. You have not learned?—A. No; I am only speaking for our own individual organization at the present time. It is compulsory for me to make an attempt to bring about that settlement. The fundamental principle of our organization is arbitration.

Q. You say that is the fundamental principle of your organization. Can your organization arbitrate independently of the building trades council?—A. Yes; as an international body; yes, we can compel—the moment we furnish the sinews of war, if I am informed that they need the finances to carry out this strife or war, we have a perfect right, apart from all other bodies.

Q. Are they not bound up in the building trades council so they can not act independently in this matter?—A. They may possibly be, but still for all that they are subject to the rules of the parent organization.

- Q. Which they are members of?—A. Yes; certainly.
- Q. Their standing with the building trades council is a local matter. When it becomes international, as far as their support and assistance is concerned, they have to abide by the general rules?—A. Well—
- Q. (Interrupting.) Was it your idea to compel arbitration?—A. Yes.
- Q. Independently of the building trades council?—A. Yes.
- Q. And you have failed?—A. I have failed utterly; yes. I am sorry to admit it.
- Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Who in your organization decides the question of a local strike?—A. Each subordinate union. The general result from an appeal of grievance from a subordinate union is forwarded to the general secretary, and he in turn issues that in circular form to every subordinate union in the country, and they have 10 days' time to answer. The moment the results are known the money is furnished to the organization; although money is advanced on certain occasions if the union is in such condition that it requires money to give them prompt relief. Funds may then be advanced in some instances.
- Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Could you sustain your membership in this town on strike for a long period of time?—A. Well, I think we can; not too long, of course. We can not carry on a warfare for 2 or 3 years.
- Q. Have you a large fund for that purpose?—A. We have a strike reserve fund.
- Q. But in the United States you can assist the membership in all parts of North America?—A. Certainly; the assessment is levied immediately after the grievance is agreed upon, although the reserve strike fund is put in operation at once.
- Q. And it is coming now to the aid of the city of Chicago?—A. Yes.
- Q. To the bricklayers?—A. Yes.
- Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) In addition to that, if I understand you, the local unions contribute aid?—A. The locals?
- Q. Yes.—A. Well, each subordinate union of the organization.
- Q. All over the country?—A. Yes; the ratio of tax is levied on each member. I might state here that this is the first strike of our organization that we have had in 7 years.
- Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Can you tell us something about the Boston arrangement between the bricklayers and the master masons?—A. It is an annual agreement just the same as in my own city, the city of New York. We are just starting on the sixteenth year in New York City.
- Q. Why have you not had influence enough to have that Boston and New York arbitration scheme adopted in Chicago?—A. We can not consistently interfere in the local jurisdictions unless we are asked in the matter. We recommend it; our law and constitution calls for it.
- Q. You recommend it?—A. Yes; it is recommended yearly.
- Q. You think if the Chicago bricklayers had followed the example of New York and Boston— —A. They did for about 10 years in this city, so I have been informed.
- Q. They did have it?—A. Yes; their arbitration rulings bear on the fact. The bosses themselves were afraid, and persisted in forcing us into this building trades council. I have realized that since I have been here.
- Q. In Boston you are independent of the local body?—A. Yes.
- Q. Your agreement compels you— —A. (Interrupting.) To remain neutral.
- Q. So, in New York, too?—A. We have the same.
- Q. Many other cities have the same thing?—A. Oh, I suppose there are about 25. I can not think of them all.
- Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you see any obstacles in the way of the building trades council being governed by the same principle?—A. I do not, if the employers were at all liberal.
- Q. Would it not be a convenience to have a central body of the different trades entering into building operations, providing they would recognize arbitration, as the bricklayers and master masons do?—A. Yes; if it were recognized on both sides; but the test would be far more difficult than it would be exclusively with each trade, in my opinion.
- Q. The different building trades have to be carried on together, I suppose; do they not?—A. They do; yes. Some trades are engaged at one time on the construction of a building.
- Q. It often happens that the contractor for a building contracts for the mason work and the carpenter work and the plumbing?—A. Yes.
- Q. The glazing, painting, and everything, I suppose?—A. Well, as a rule, there is one general contractor, and he sublets different parts of it. That is the customary rule.
- Q. In view of the desirability of carrying on all of this work harmoniously and profitably together, if the building trades council were organized on the same

principle of arbitration that the masons and the master masons recognize, you think it would be a convenience, do you not?—A. Yes; I do.

Q. Are you able to quote substantially the language that was used by the people that you attempted to get a settlement with to-day and were refused?—A. The contractors' council? I can not repeat just exactly the words. It was that they could not do it, or that they could not arbitrate with anybody until such time as the building trades council was disrupted, or until such time as the contractors' council was disrupted. I put the question right to the gentleman who was speaking, "Then your doctrine is rule or ruin for either side," and he acquiesced in that.

Q. Did you understand by their opposition to the council that that meant equal opposition to the unions?—A. I should judge so. Then he made the assertion, "I think that to the victor will belong the spoils when completed."

Q. Who was this that said it?

A VOICE. Gindele.

The WITNESS. I will not be positive about the name; I do not know the gentlemen all.

Q. You got the idea, then, that their purpose was to defeat?—A. (Interrupting.) Yes; I think to break down the building trades council and the different unions entering into it.

Q. And the different unions entering into it?—A. Yes; I will not be so positive about the unions, but it seems to me that that would be the ultimate result; the demoralization of the building trades council would simply mean the demoralization of all the organizations.

Q. Might not your organization, which is well established and successful in other cities and nationally and internationally, continue to exist?—A. Well, we should. Of course, as I told those gentlemen to-day, the strife will reach out much farther than it has gone at the present time under such a condition of affairs. There are lots of construction companies and builders, not alone in Chicago, but in all other cities, constructing in different lines; and when the international organization takes up this matter, as they are compelled to now, under the failure to settle by arbitration, all the firms who are connected with the Chicago Master Masons' Association doing work outside of Chicago will be called unfair and their work will be stopped just the same. We can not help ourselves. We must do that, even though it may not look reasonable.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You think it will reach other cities, then?—A. Yes; it must do so whenever any firm is reaching other cities, is doing work; because we can not consistently work for any union firm in any other city while they are trying to injure our own organization here.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What assurance can you give that if arbitration were entered upon and a decision given that that decision would be abided by and carried out?—A. What assurance on our behalf?

Q. Yes.—A. The only assurance I could give is that we should be compelled as an international organization to live up to that agreement by every fair and honorable means; if necessary to furnish men. If the Chicago union failed to carry out the wishes of the organization, our own parent organization would have to take up the fight for the contractors.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You could give the assurance of the other cities, I suppose?—A. Yes; the work would proceed all over after that, I believe.

Q. Is it your belief and that of the members of the building trades council with whom you have come in contact here that the building trades council would abide faithfully by any decision of arbitrators if any were made?—A. I am sorry that I have not come in contact with anybody but bricklayers while I have been here; but I am under that impression from the people that tell me that the building trades council is favorable to arbitration.

Q. Do you expect to remain here some days?—A. No; I am going away this evening to St. Louis.

Q. Do you go to St. Louis in connection with this matter?—A. Partly so and partly other matters.

Q. You speak about this matter spreading. It could not spread into those cities where you have this arbitration agreement with the master bricklayers?—A. No.

Q. You would have to do work there for those firms that are doing business in Chicago?—A. We could not stop the work, but we could compel an arbitration for all the mitering, which we have in several cases.

Q. The following year?—A. The following May the year will commence. If any one of those firms were doing anything in any of those cities our men could not be stopped for the time being, but we would apply to our arbitration board

and try to get the master masons of our cities to appeal to the master masons in Chicago.

Q. Who is your arbitrator in Boston now?—A. I could not say.

Q. If the committee of the master bricklayers and the arbitrator should decide that it was not a good reason for the masons or the bricklayers of Boston going on a strike, you would then, of course, have to abide by it and would abide by it?—A. Most assuredly.

Q. As you always have by their decision?—A. Yes; we should have to comply with it.

Q. The only real danger of the spread of this strike is into those cities where the arbitration arrangement between the master bricklayers and the bricklayers does not exist?—A. Yes; but I do labor under the impression that in all such cases, by making our appeal appear just and correct, any of the employers would be fair and liberal enough to take up the fight of the Chicago people under the conditions as they are at this time. It is entirely unreasonable on the part of the master masons to sit back on their haunches and say that they will do nothing, good, bad, or indifferent, and have nothing except the demoralization of their city.

Q. You think, then, you could get the master masons to whom you have been acting loyally in the past to take up your fight with the contractors against whom you are fighting in Chicago?—A. I do honestly think so.

Q. And then it would be a war of many cities against Chicago.—A. I do, because it is consistent; I do say so. I think the master masons are very unreasonable in this transaction. I think manhood is entirely against the principles of a system of this kind. It will stagnate the whole building market for the whole season; there is nothing fair in that.

Q. You do not claim, I suppose, that all the right of this controversy is on the side of the workmen?—A. Oh, no; not by any means.

Q. If you did you would not think of such a thing as arbitration?—A. I would not think of it at all. I am satisfied that the laboring people as a class have erred to a certain extent in their judgment. I believe that; but still that should not hinder bringing about a general settlement. But when a body appeals for a settlement and they refuse it and tell you almost to go out and do the best you can, there is nothing left for the organization but to take up their appeal. As you know, we are entirely opposed—our general organization is opposed to strikes and has been for 7 years now, and everything that has come up for the last 7 years in any section of the country has been settled amicably by arbitration satisfactorily to both sides. This is the only case on record where nothing can be done. I might add that it is not really a strike in itself, but it is really a lockout. They came to the conclusion to lock out everybody. Of course that makes it a strike. A lockout is a strike of the employers, where men can not go to work and do anything possibly to make a settlement on any basis.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Then the name of nonemployment is the same?—A. I think so; in my opinion, yes.

(Testimony closed.)

Whereupon, at 5.15 p. m., the subcommission adjourned until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 24, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. GEORGE F. HARDING, SR.,

Real Estate Owner.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m., March 24, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. A. L. Harris presiding. At 2.30 p. m. Mr. George F. Harding was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) You may state your name and post-office address.—A. My name is George F. Harding; my post-office address in this city is 155 Washington street.

Q. You may state your occupation.—A. I am a retired lawyer, engaged in the care of my own property for some years; largely interested in real estate.

Q. In what way are you interested in real estate?—A. I am the owner of a large amount of real and personal property in this city, and am the agent for others here and in this State largely.

Q. Are you engaged in improving that property?—A. Entirely; in improving it, and in collecting rents, of course, as a landlord.

Q. To what extent are you improving your property?—A. In the last 5 years we have built about 70 buildings, which we retain and own, together with the parties interested with me.

Q. Are you building business houses or residences?—A. All kinds; chiefly, of course, I should say, flats and stores. It is hard to state with accuracy just how that would be divided.

Q. Is your building done by contractors?—A. No; we build ourselves; quite independent. There comes in the difficulty. We have our own shop, and we repair our own houses, and we build our own houses. Of course we give out contracts for specific things in the building of the houses—specific jobs in cases.

Q. How do you obtain your material?—A. We buy it in Chicago.

Q. How do you obtain your labor?—A. We keep a body of men at all times—carpenters, plumbers, painters—in our employ, and then we employ such other men as we require from time to time, according to the speed with which we want the work done. We should be called a scab shop; that is to say, our men as a rule are nonunion men. At any rate, we do not consent and agree to employ union labor exclusively.

Q. Do you have any difficulty in getting your work done?—A. I shall answer that yes and no. This morning, for example, we lose so many painters, so many carpenters. That is a difficulty; and at times our men have been assaulted, heads knocked in, buildings picketed; but through all we have gone without great loss or any great difficulty. The questions you are asking me could be answered in greater detail by my son, who is here, and who is the practical man, who does the work himself.

Q. Then you may make your own statement as fully as you desire to state it, without further interrogatories, and when your son comes upon the stand he can go into these further details.—A. If you will allow me, I think the situation may be diagnosed in about this way in this city, and I take it as typical of the whole country: We have a body of men on one side who are manufacturers, and on the other side we have a body of men who are laborers; both have their products to sell; they are both in a combine, and the combine of laborers is no more strict and hardly as powerful as that of the manufacturers, whom, I see by the papers, you have had before you. The manufacturers, the men from whom we buy material and with whom we deal, are nearly all within the last few years becoming trusts, and their prices have gone up so that it costs 100 per cent more to build to-day than it did a year ago. This is stated roughly. I could give details, and doubtless other witnesses will give details. It has become impossible for us to do anything else than deal with these gentlemen and pay these prices. We, like the rest of the public, are entirely powerless. It is only when there is a quarrel between the two great elements, the labor and the manufacturing elements, that it looks as if the public, in examining, in the interest of the public, these conditions, might look into the question and see whether back of all this apparent interest of the public there is not a greater interest; that is, some mode of checking the power of these great corporations, who are the real masters of us all, including the laboring men. I see that Mr. Gompers is of opinion that trusts are good things.

Mr. KENNEDY. Oh, no; Mr. Gompers— Go ahead; I must not interrupt you. You make your statement; I have no right to interrupt you.

The WITNESS. If he has not said it I shall be glad to know it.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Where did he make this statement?—A. I thought at the last general meeting of the labor men. Isn't he president—

Mr. KENNEDY (interrupting). He is president of the American Federation of Labor. If you desire I will tell you what his position is.

The WITNESS. I should like it.

Mr. KENNEDY. His position is this: That the labor unions may perhaps be able to control the trusts. He says they fear national legislation, because the national legislation which will affect the trusts may, in a greater degree, affect the labor unions; and he has not any faith in their control through national legislation. He would prefer, as far as the labor unions are concerned, to have them take their chances in a struggle with the trusts independently of Federal legislation. He says that the development has not gone along far enough to show whether they are or are not a good thing for the labor unions. That is Mr. Gompers's position, not exactly in his words, but that is the position he took in his journal, and before the trust conference here last summer, and before our commission in Washington.

The WITNESS. I am glad to know he did not take so broad a view, but he did take the view that it is uncertain whether the trusts are an injury, did he not?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes.

THE WITNESS. Very well. Now I can illustrate, it seems to me, how the trusts are the real masters, and Mr. Gompers will discover it. For example, here is a body of men in a trust, on any subject you please—steel. They have factories all over the country. They have one here, with their men in Chicago. They simply give notice to these men: "Gentlemen, we will cease to manufacture here in Chicago; we will manufacture hereafter in New York or Buffalo." How powerless are these labor unions against that combination! Is not it the real master? Can it not say whether they shall work or not in Chicago or Buffalo? This is not a theory; it is exactly what the trusts have done, to my certain knowledge—notified their men: "Gentlemen, work or not in this little town; but if you don't work we will do our manufacturing elsewhere." I recognize the man can say that to him; that he can do it 1,000 miles away or 500 miles away—simply a master. All the picketing ever heard of or combinations ever known would not affect that feudal lord at all. No, sir; I think we are getting back into the feudal system. Permit me to suggest here that the feudal system is said to have been destroyed because inventions put it out of the power of the feudal lord to control. But now the feudal lords own the inventions; they control them; they have the patents in all the different great industries, and how is that master to be displaced? How many millions will it take to put yourself in his position in this or that trust? Now, I think, if Mr. Gompers can not see that this man is a Nero, Tiberius, or a Kaiser—the real master to-day—he does not look very deeply into the matter. And if our friends the labor unions unite with the trusts, as they may, it will make, of course, the most striking combination known, and they will put the public at their feet everywhere.

Q. (By MR. KENNEDY.) Do you fear a combination between the trusts and the labor unions?—A. I can not say I fear anything, but I do think that is exactly what will come and has come. Just as the railroad men desire a complete solidarity with their employees, so the feudal lord will desire a complete solidarity with his slaves, or whatever you call a laborer under the present system; for if he does not work for him he can not work for anybody; does not need a blacklist at all; it is enough to know the master, the head of the trust, is a master; there are no other men engaged in the manufacture, practically; in some instances none others. I do not think the Standard is by any means the greatest monopoly. There are others quite as great, that absolutely leave nobody out, to employ or to manufacture a commodity that may be indispensable to your breakfast table or mine.

I do not know that I have any more to say than what is indicated by my suggestions. I think they are somewhat fruitful. I look upon the conditions existing here as a mere local quarrel between the combinations, just as powerful on one side as on the other. My sympathies are with the unions, I must say, because I think they are a very misguided lot of men, who are doing the very best they know in a struggle which they have in common with me and with you; and I wish them well, if I could wish anybody well who is a tyrant and who resorts to war and picketing, and all that. I can not blame him; I am sorry for him.

I wish I knew some better way, and I wish you gentlemen would point it out to the public when you get to Washington, or wherever you make your report; show them how a man can have the opportunities for a career for himself and children that he formerly had, and how many millions it would take to secure independence to a man in this or that business. You will have to measure the number of millions in the trust, the four or five hundred that we have. To me that is a very serious matter, and most difficult; it must be most difficult for a statesman to determine what to do. On the one hand, of course, there is the encouragement of property and capital, and on the other the question is, how far can you encourage a man to make these millions, safely and consistently with the interest of the public? I recognize the element of truth in the testimony given before you by some very distinguished men here in our city, who really represent trusts, talking about interests of property and the rights of property. There is a great deal of truth on both sides, but I don't see how, in the interests of man, we can encourage the acquisition of property to the extent that forbids nine-tenths of the men to put out their greatest efforts for the acquisition of property. I look upon the old illustration of the big ox that has the trough as a good illustration of the trusts. The statesman is bound, without knocking off the horns or killing the aforesaid ox, to get him back in some way or other. There are different modes; there are some very poor modes; doubtless those who hear me will think my modes are just as poor—but some very poor modes have been suggested of dealing with the problem; publicity, for example, which is a favorite mode. That is a kind of folly that reminds me of Webster's dealing with slavery—his 4th of March speech in 1850, you remember. He said slavery would abolish itself in 150 years. Yes;

with it, all the laws of life; yes; but we tabooed him, did we not? because we were not willing to live our lives in conflict with slavery. We struggled with it. Publicity will not stop a man from making a great fortune. The men who have been before you, some of them, made four or five millions of dollars in a short time from little beginnings. How can you expect such a man to believe otherwise than that he has made it rightfully? Much of it he has, no doubt; but what are we to do, and how much will be left for mankind, if our neighbors are going to be made immensely rich by interests in trusts, or if they can command labor, as Brother Gompers might, if he represented a mighty monopoly of labor, on the other side?

Q. You would hardly call that a monopoly, would you?—A. The very greatest I know. I sympathize with it; I can not help it, because I think it is a struggle with another monopoly, a series of monopolies; it is their labor and their bread.

Q. You knew, however, less than one-half of the workmen of the United States are in labor unions, did you not?—A. Yes; but the other half are being driven in with a gun.

Q. Hardly call it a monopoly?—A. I would call it a monopoly. If some man had half of the oil of the country I would say he had a monopoly, although the other amount might be divided, and making war on the other.

Q. The tendency might be toward monopoly.—A. Well, it truly is a monopoly here in Chicago. We can not get on with ease and comfort, you know, without constant troubles of that kind. You send a workman, as I sent him, to work on the north side, within a month—a man putting down floors. In comes another man, and he doesn't look up; he is knocked down; a superintendent is sent to the hospital because he is not a union man. He has been working for me for 5 years. Any remedy for it? I can not suggest any. Here was the work going on, houses being repaired; we were engaging 3 or 4 laborers in that house; that was an offense against the union. Now, they are blind. I can not blame them for nice distinctions; but I call that a terrible tyranny, do you not? And when you go to the police they have the same feeling that you and I have—that I have been telling you about. The mayor has the same. He comes out and says, be neutral between the two. Neutrality between the two is like neutrality between a man a foot high and a man 10 feet high. The poor nonunion man—what can he do? Neutrality arises, but it is for the union. They are all in place in this city. Yet I can not blame Mayor Harrison, good Democrat as he is, though I have always been a Republican—good Democrat as he is—I can not blame him. The sympathy of the police is all with the union man, you know. They are the guardians of our peace. They are practically all on the other side. Although they are neutral, and although they are preserving the peace, they do not get there in time; they are never there when there is a call. Any man who is acquainted with this city knows just how true that is. I have been to the police myself asking for protection in this very case. He says very promptly, we will give it. What kind of protection? Why, he will go to the house and take charge of the house. "My dear fellow, that man will be attacked on the street." "Well, we can not accompany men to and from labor." That is the condition in Chicago to-day. That will be the condition, if I understand it, as long as these great powers stand here organized. And I can not blame the poor laboring man. I can not. He is doing what you and I, as men, think he has the right to do—preserve his life and his family and his bread—and every trust law excepts him. Our Supreme Court of the United States, I know, just decided that the Texas trust law must be obeyed by the corporations, notwithstanding the exception.

Q. Would you like to see the labor unions included in the antitrust laws?—A. No; I would like to see somebody free. I would like somebody to fight the trusts a little. I do not want the trusts injured. I do not know what you are going to do or where you are going to come out if they are not checked. If Carnegie is to have 500,000,000, and Rockefeller several hundred, and Vanderbilt several hundred—and I regard this business as the same business that has been going on for many years—I think it is an issue of chromos and combination; the same thing in railroads as it is in other trusts, exactly. Our masters live in New York largely, you know; we are getting up a lot of masters here at home. I know we will work for them, and fight for them, or die for them. I am sure they are fighting for them pretty well down in South Africa, under the same conditions exactly. But why won't our men be reduced to be paupers here as they are quasi paupers abroad? I do not know why. They talked about our imitating the rest of the world; we are just going back where the rest of the world are. We are not going to be exempt from the conditions that prevail in Asia or Europe; not at all; we shall be subject to the same thing. I think the union men are right in that particular, but utterly wrong in this war, this picketing, fights, and all that; but how

otherwise are they to fight these men? You and I don't fight them; the public doesn't fight them; our Attorney-General doesn't fight them; our President recognizes the trust abuses, but doesn't do anything against them. He is a great executive officer, but he has not done anything, has he? I am his friend. I do not know that anybody has ever done anything against them, or ever will.

Q. What would you suggest should be done?—A. I should suggest that in granting them power to incorporate we limit the amount they shall make, their rates. What shall you have? What prices shall you name? I would do that, and I certainly would do the other thing—the fixing the amount of dividends they shall get. The English have such a law. Why can not we imitate it? We shall get our anti-trust law repealed here this winter, because why? Every man is either in the trust or seeking to get in, and looking with a kind of commiseration upon the men who are out; and he can not help it; money is a little god, that is all; we all seek it, and therefore when you get a trust in the presence of a judge, or in your presence or mine, we deal lightly with it, because we feel that the man had been in competition, lost great sums of money in times past, and here he is creeping out and making a little something, and we say, Now let him. That is what we say. But here he is a great master—with 500,000,000 in Carnegie's hands and several hundred millions in Rockefeller's—we are face to face with the serious side of that question, and I know of no way except to grapple with it. But the labor unions—Heaven knows that is precisely the same thing over again. They are imitating.

Q. Don't you think they are forced to do it?—A. Yes; indeed I do; indeed I think they are forced to do it; but it is exactly as it is done South, you know; the laws recognize black men and white men just alike, don't they? But the laws are not enforced. Up here the same way, there are laws against trusts, laws against violence, and all those laws are not enforced.

Q. Are not the trusts leaving your State because they say the laws are inimical to their interests?—A. I have heard that they said so, but I don't know where they can go and be more immune than they are here. They have never had a prosecution here. Why should they leave here? What I say is that they will repeal this law here this winter.

Q. This coming winter?—A. Yes. Then every doctrinaire, like Mr. Hadley, of Yale, and Mr. Roosevelt—all these men recommend publicity; which means wait, suffer, let it go till these men feel disgraced by the fortunes they are heaping up. They do not show any particular sign of it now, do they? There has been a great deal of publicity about the Standard Oil; but I never heard of Rockefeller feeling bad over it, or of any one blushing for his acquaintance. If the publicity would limit the rates and dividends of the trusts, or the prices, instead of allowing them to double and treble them, that would be a remedy. I remember very well Jere Black, the distinguished justice of the supreme court. I saw him just before his death here, and I sympathized with him in some struggles that took place then. His statement to me then was what I have repeated to you—that the remedy is to regulate the rate. I only extend it to the rate of the dividend. Massachusetts, you remember, tried that many years ago. I think she never abandoned it, but she sends her men out here and they build our roads and they charge us what they please.

Q. Are all building materials used in Chicago controlled by trusts?—A. That is a very broad question, and I should like to let it be answered, if you would, by some other witness.

Q. You said the cost of the building— A. (Interrupting.) Yes; it is true. I should say it is true that all, or nearly all, were so controlled; but as to the detail of it and just how they are controlled I should like to give it you by another witness, who is in the office and exactly familiar with the facts.

Q. You said the cost of building had increased— A. (Interrupting.) A hundred per cent in a year.

Q. Is that true; literally true?—A. Certainly 50 per cent. I have heard a great deal of discussion about it, and I should say 100 per cent. Yes; I think it is literally true. And then you would not like to build in the face of this labor trouble.

Q. Have the wages of the mechanics in the building trades been increased 100 per cent?—A. No.

Q. Fifty per cent?—A. I could not give you details. No; I don't think so.

Q. Nor 25 per cent?—A. I don't pretend to know with accuracy things that ought to be stated with precision like that.

Q. Has there been practically any increase in the wages of mechanics in the building trades?—A. There has been some increase.

Q. Rather small, though?—A. Yes; I should say so.

Q. If the cost of building has increased 100 per cent without the wages of the workmen having made an appreciable increase, would you blame the workmen for making demands for higher wages?—A. Certainly not; only, you see, it cuts us in two, men who are building, to be called upon to pay these two prices for materials, and then when we are asked to pay two prices for labor we do not look upon that with equanimity. Our rents have been such that they are scarcely equal to the outgo. Many owners of real estate have been ruined. Real estate in Chicago is more depressed than in New York, and I think more than in most places, from my information.

Q. Is the tendency of the rents upward now?—A. The tendency of the rents has not, in the face even of these strikes, which have cut off building, been perceptibly upward, so far as I know; they have not been raised by us, and we have, as you see, large holdings.

Q. Have you heard of any tendency to increase?—A. I have heard of the story in the paper, and of course there must be a strengthening of office rents; but I don't believe they can raise them appreciably; the town is overbuilt.

Q. Do you think the people who have these properties to rent look with much alarm on the strike that is now in existence?—A. I am pleased with it; that is, as a landlord; as a man, no. It is a great injury to the city. I have an interest both ways—for myself as the owner of property, I could not be more benefited than by having people stop building, could I? On the other hand, I could not be much more harmed than by having people unable to pay their rent, as the strikers will become, and as the people will become. So a man, if he is not very narrow, should do all he can for peace, and I should do all I can for peace.

Q. You are not a member, I judge, of the Building Contractors' Council?—A. No; nor any other combine.

Q. Have they sought to get you into membership in that organization?—A. Certainly not me, personally. I am not aware of their making any offers elsewhere. They may have done it to some of my managers or those associated with me.

Q. Do you presume it is a matter of indifference to them whether you are associated with them or not?—A. Perfectly; I think.

Q. Would others, through their combination and through the dealings with the trusts controlling these building materials, have the power to visit displeasure on you in any way?—A. No more than they do, I think. You know we can not really buy directly.

Q. Directly from the trusts?—A. No; the details of that I brought a witness with me to tell you exactly. You ought to know, to see how they are. The combination is here. A trust is actually established here. I do not speak of this with the accuracy and precision that a man would who knew every fact in detail himself; but I will give you my impression touching it, and as I am advised. A trust is established in sash and blinds, on the theory that you can not bring any sash and blinds from outside of the city. So stable is the position of the trust and so thorough is the combination that we can rely on that fact. But I suppose this state of affairs existing here exists in other great cities; whether to the same extent or not, I do not know.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) What is the title of your firm?—A. I have no firm; my name is George F. Harding.

Q. You conduct it as an individual?—A. Yes.

Q. I understood you to say that you thought that the labor organizations were the only force capable of opposing and maintaining themselves with these trusts?—A. I think you state that a little wide; but I am very glad to say they undertake it, and they are the only men that I know of that at the present time—

Q. (Interrupting.) You rather approve their attitude, in opposition to the trusts?—A. If I lived in France, and there was a struggle between the nobles, I should be pleased if the man on top had to struggle with the man below; in that sense, yes.

Q. You deprecate the attempt of labor unions to coerce nonunion men?—A. Oh, yes; because that strikes at the very basis of our institutions, doesn't it?

Q. Can the labor unions successfully compete with these great organizations of capital if they can be successfully attacked from the other side by their own friends, or by the workmen? In other words, unless they can make their union effective, can they successfully oppose the organization of capital?—A. No; I think they are doing as well as they know, if you are going to do it that way.

Q. Is there any other way?—A. I have pointed out the way, I think.

Q. As conditions now exist?—A. I do not know why, under our laws, it is not possible to fix the dividend that shall be paid by a corporation, or the amount of money that shall be charged by it.

Q. Do you think that can be done under the Constitution?—A. I know it can be done under our constitution.

Q. I am speaking of the United States.—A. Well, that is a question; you know, as a lawyer, that is a very intricate and difficult one. Brother Griggs, I think, says no; Attorney-General says no, it can not be done; but I think very much more can be done, if you ask me; and I don't think we are in the hands of our friends at that point at all. I do not know where to look for our friends; I do not look to either Democrats or Republicans.

Q. Are you opposed to labor organizations?—A. No.

Q. You don't employ union labor?—A. No.

Q. Why?—A. Can do better.

Q. Get it cheaper?—A. Yes; cheaper and better, because they impose upon you what they please, you know. They make you employ a poor man; that is the practical effect of what they do.

Q. You are not opposed to labor organizations, but you only employ nonunion labor?—A. Oh, I will employ union labor if they will consent to be employed. I think you misunderstand me. I spoke too widely, if I said that. We have had union men in our employ within a month.

Q. There is really no other way in which labor can protect itself except by organization, is there?—A. No; unless labor, not following the doctrine of Ireland, will join the public in real and effective defense; if they get the public to join them in a real and effective defense against their real enemies.

Q. But the public, like you, are engaged in getting labor as cheaply as they can.—A. There are no members of the public who are quixotic enough to pay more than a thing is offered to them for.

Q. That is the natural inclination?—A. Yes.

Q. And as the capital of labor is its labor, naturally it is interested in maintaining that at the highest price?—A. I think the labor unions are good things; I like to see them thinking the questions over. I like to see them with their rules, if they could get straightforward and sound rules. There are some very absurd rules that limit the amount a man shall do. That is a terrible thing.

Q. Wouldn't it be better, from the employers' standpoint, to encourage organized labor, and thus try to introduce a worthy, reasonable sentiment among them, than to rouse their opposition by employing others?—A. I think it would be advantageous to employ men without reference to it; at the same time I have no objection to employing union men, such as that of men I have heard saying they would not employ them.

Q. Do you think labor unions have bettered the conditions surrounding labor men?—A. Undoubtedly.

Q. Increased wages?—A. Undoubtedly.

Q. Given them a better living?—A. Undoubtedly.

Q. Then it ought to be encouraged on reasonable lines?—A. Yes.

Q. What you object to are the coercive methods of unions?—A. I encourage them against this other vast body of men, but I think I should be allowed to employ the best man and at the best rate I can get.

Q. Does not that same reasoning of yours apply to these trusts? Are not your arguments formed on it?—A. I am not acute enough to see how that could be.

Q. To get all they can for the least money?—A. That is a fundamental principle, away down at the bottom; you might say everybody did, and the trust like the rest.

Q. Where you, as an individual, are doing it, they are doing it as an aggregation, are they not?—A. Oh, no; very far from it, if you please. A trust is unlike me and unlike you, and unlike anybody else; how? It is a combination of men that control, for example, material. You must pay their prices.

Q. They control because of their aggregation?—A. You must buy at their price. I must buy of the Standard Oil Company at their price. For example, nails, you know steel men have put nails up from a dollar to three or four, haven't they? That is only an example. Lumber is higher than it ever was. Nobody building here, but higher than it ever was; curious state of affairs.

Q. Is that condition wholly due to the promotion of combinations, or is it due in some measure to the general addition that has gone on along the line owing to the improved condition in the country?—A. Undoubtedly due to improved conditions; but it is not all owing to that. It started earlier, without any reference to this improved condition; went by leaps and bounds, such as the improved conditions did not warrant at all. Paint for several years was 62 or 65 cents per hundred, and as soon as the trust was formed they bought everything there was of the kind for sale at the different factories which they combined. The price went up to about \$3, and has since been maintained at something like \$2 and \$3. That

had nothing to do with the improvement. That is one of these trusts formed within 2 or 3 years past, and long before we dreamed that there would be this improvement of which you speak; this prosperity that is in sight had nothing to do with that.

Q. Were there not trusts in existence 4 or 5 years ago when everything was depressed and prices were lower than they had ever been, at least for many years?—A. There were not many trusts existing 4 or 5 years ago, were there?

Q. That was the question I asked you.—A. The Standard Oil was the head trust, and the tobacco trust and a few of those great trusts.

Q. Prices were very low in everything then, were they not?—A. Oh, yes. Trusts are not always maintained in the heart of a panic. With business prosperity all gained—prosperity for themselves.

Q. In your opinion, have trusts as a rule enhanced the price of their products?—A. Undoubtedly, three or four fold in many instances.

Q. To your knowledge, have they ever reduced the price of a commodity which they furnished?—A. My attention has never been called to it if they have. They may have done so. They may find it to their interest to do so. Why should a man, when he is master, and when he can put his hand in your pocket and take out what he pleases—can he be trusted to take out just as much as he should?

Q. In your judgment would the world or would this country be better off without labor unions and corporations and trusts, with each man working upon his individual option and according to his merit and with all the independence that he could ask?—A. There is a large question there that I can not answer. I am not wise enough to know whether we could discard all forms we have, but I should think that if a man was encouraged to accumulate property only to the extent that he could safely accumulate it, consistently with the interests of the public, we should be a better world, and, without socialism, we should be a better country. There would not be any socialism in that. I think there is the fundamental difficulty right here, if you please. You have studied deeply as a lawyer the ground on which property is based. The right of property is based, is it not, upon the presumption that we are interested, the State is interested, the public are interested, in encouraging industry. That acquisition is sought to be promoted. When you go and give a man one million or a hundred million I think you give him too much.

Q. More than he ought to have now?—A. I think that everyone is putting down his values.

Q. You think our country now should limit the amount of wealth a man should have?—A. Yes, in some form or other; by an income tax or in some other way.

Q. My question was simply this: I understood you to say that trusts and combinations have destroyed individual enterprise and independence and liberty of action, and you have been talking very interestingly, and I just simply wanted your opinion as to whether that condition of things would be better than the condition in which we now find ourselves—whether such a condition is really possible in this day and age of the world.—A. I should have to answer that with great care in this way, if I answer it a little bit more fully than I have heretofore on the point, that trusts have these very bad influences which I speak of, destroying opportunities to raise our children, and seizing the money of the country in great masses. It is apparent, is it not, this influence? That is, your children can not walk out and go into a new business unless they have fifteen or twenty million dollars; or they can not go into it unless they have an abundance, and they can not go into it then unless they have the skilled labor, can they? That being the answer, they have very great and serious drawbacks. And when I find, on the other hand, that a body of men have these chromos, and they sell them for ten millions, a hundred millions—twenty millions, not less than that, twenty or forty—and these chromos are sold in New York, why I find a very serious question comes up as to what will happen to you and me by virtue of the accumulation of money by the men who seize the arteries of commerce and of our life. Now, then, could we do without this? That is the question you propound. There are 400 or 500 trusts that have just sprung into life, and I think we ought to do without them. If you ask me that question, I think they ought to have been stopped long ago. I think they ought to have been prosecuted. I should be very sorry now that we have allowed them, you know, to go on and to embrace so much of the interests of the country—that is, I am answering, you see, the other side—I should be very sorry to see them rudely struck down, because these chromos have gone into the hands of our people, children and widows, and taken in societies, and all that.

Q. Has not that always been true of enterprises of one kind and another?—A. Oh, that is undoubtedly true.

Q. That is, that fictitious values have been created?—A. Oh, no; not to such an extent, excepting the railroads. Outside of them I have known nothing of it, nor have you.

Q. Have there not been hundreds and thousands of people injured in the depression in value of railroad securities?—A. Oh, yes, indeed. There is another example of the same state of things that we are now having, the chromo system by which Vanderbilt and Gould made their great systems. We are just following it up now. I see no distinction.

Q. Are not the opportunities for men as great to-day as they have been in the past?—A. No; there are no opportunities left in particular interests.

Q. Are we lied honestly?—A. That is a very witty thing, to say that, but I venture to say the other.

Q. Are not the masses of the people better off to-day than they ever have been; they enjoy more of the necessities and luxuries of life than they ever did before?—A. I can not answer that question; I should be inclined to think that the public were happy.

Q. And wages are better, are they not?—A. Wages are better.

Q. Intelligence more generally diffused?—A. Yes, but you must remember—

Q. (Interrupting.) Conditions of living generally better?—A. You must remember now that we are in a corresponding period now with 1879—20 years—1899. We have got up to a point where we must rally if we ever rally, and we must advance if we ever advance. The greatest advance ever known up to this time was in 1879, and after the panic these higher laws prevailed so that this panic of 1893 to 1899 was exactly like 1873 to 1879, almost a picture year by year, going down and coming up. That is the point I come to, that the position to-day is the position of 1879 and 1880 just over again. And you ask me if we throw a pebble into the stream—no pebble has been thrown in lately that I know of, nor anybody else, that could lead to these results. I think they are due to causes many years back that you and I are not big enough to understand. I do not think the trusts can damn us quite, but I think we have improved in spite of them. I think it is a very serious thing that feudal days are coming back again; and it can not be well to have you say to me what I shall eat and drink or what I shall pay for it. That is exactly the position we are in with 400 different trusts; that can not be well, can it? It is useless to theorize about that.

Q. Your remedy is to regulate corporations by Federal laws?—A. Oh, I have thought a great deal about it; whether by Federal laws I can not say.

Q. Federal and State laws?—A. If I had the power you asked me—

Q. (Interrupting.) To limit the amount of capitalization and the amount of earnings that shall be paid upon it?—A. That is the best thing that has occurred to me. I am not saying that I have solved the question.

Q. We are trying to get the information.—A. I am trying to answer you because you have put into my mouth that that was my theory. Yes, that is my theory, but I do not know whether that will solve this problem or not.

Q. What suggestion would you make for controlling the labor organizations?—A. I think they would let us alone if they were fairly prosperous. I think it is because of the fact that we are settling down toward pauperism that the labor organizations are getting stronger. I think we ought to equalize with them. I think this, gentlemen: I am pleased to have them use their organizations if they can keep out of poverty and pauperism. I think they are getting down toward it. I think it is inevitable. I think we have got to stop it if we can, but that a great step has been taken against us in this trust work. I do not think the ordinary man, as he goes, is more prosperous—no. I think he is enjoying that period that I spoke of—you understand—where there has been a natural reaction in the way of prosperity, but I do not think he can be said to be on the high road to prosperity. I do not know where he is going to end. It is a good deal like those Indians that can count three but can not count six. I think he is going to get to a point where he can not count any more, and I think he will find that the tendency is the other way.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 24, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. GEORGE F. HARDING, JR.,

Real Estate Agent.

The subcommission met at 3.10 p. m., pursuant to recess, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 3.10 p. m. Mr. George F. Harding, jr., of Chicago, a real estate agent, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Mr. Harding, state your name, please, your business, and your residence.—A. George F. Harding, jr.; real estate business; residence 8321 Vernon avenue, Chicago.

Q. You say real estate; is that real estate and building?—A. We build the buildings and collect the rents from them.

Q. You put up buildings and rent them?—A. And rent them; yes.

Q. We should like to have you state to the commission in your own way what you know about the trusts and combinations here in the city which deal in building material, and how extensive they are and to what extent they control?—A. We are engaged in the real estate business and build for ourselves only; we do not sell. We have to buy our material, and there is a good deal of it that we can not buy here. We can not buy any plumbing material. They have an association here, and they agree—I suppose they agree, because, although we buy for cash, nothing else, they charge us so much that we have to buy from out of town. Brick they sell to their associations and master masons for \$8 a thousand, with a rebate of \$1. They will not sell to us except for \$8 and no rebate. That makes it so that we have to let our masons' contract; we can not do our own brickwork. That is on the one side. On the other side, when it comes to plumbers, the plumbers agree to work for no one but a master plumber, and as we are not members of the Master Plumbers' Association we have to hire a non-union plumber; he may have been a union plumber when we hire him, but he immediately leaves the union and stays with us.

Q. How many of these trusts are there dealing in building materials?—A. I can not tell you; there is a great number. I do not know whether you would call them absolute trusts; I think they are just associations.

Q. They are combines that control the price?—A. Yes; the price for materials,

Q. Then we understand that you, as an independent builder, are completely at the mercy of the people who sell the materials?—A. To a limited extent.

Q. To a limited extent?—A. We can import from out of town, but that is at an increased rate, and makes it more expensive for us to build.

Q. Then, we understand that these concerns, these dealers in building materials, will not sell to an independent builder at the same price that they sell to the organization of builders and contractors.—A. No; they sell at a prohibitive price; such a price that you had much better let the contract than do it yourself; and that is their idea.

Q. And the result of their attitude is to compel you either to pay a higher price to ship your material from some other point or to deal through the builders' organization?—A. That is it.

Q. Are there many independent builders situated as you are?—A. They are mostly very small; there must be very few of them.

Q. Most of the building is done by the organization of builders and contractors?—A. Yes; and there were more on the outside, but they have gradually driven them in.

Q. You have enumerated the brick dealers and the plumbers as having these combinations here; what others are there?—A. There is lime and pipe. Well, of course, you can not buy a nail except from the nail trust. You can not buy a nail anywhere; the price of nails has gone up. I bought them a year ago last January, or December, anyway, at \$1.15, and now they are \$3.80, or in that neighborhood; 800 per cent.

Q. How much has brick gone up, within the same period?—A. I do not know exactly when that association was formed, but brick, before the association, was selling for \$4.75; anybody could buy it.

Q. When was that association formed?—A. I could not tell you the exact date; I think 2 years ago or so.

Q. And they are now \$8?—A. Now \$8.

Q. Has lime gone up in the same proportion?—A. Just about the same proportion.

Q. That is about double?—A. About double.

Q. And pipe?—A. Pipe has more than doubled, I think; I know it has.

Q. Plumbing material?—A. Plumbing material has more than doubled; that is, much of it; some, of course, has not, like tubs.

Q. And is there only one concern in the city of Chicago from which you can buy brick?—A. No; there is a great number, but they are all in this association.

Q. They all have the same price?—A. All have the same price and are in this association.

Q. And that is true of the dealers in all other materials?—A. Yes.

Q. Many of them, but prices are all the same?—A. Prices are all the same. In brick they are absolutely the same; in plumbing they are a little bit different; I do not know what makes them vary a few cents; but it is so prohibitive that you can not buy it.

Q. Take the brick dealers, for instance; do they exist as separate concerns now,

or are they under one organization, in one company or trust?—A. My understanding is that they exist in separate concerns, but are under one organization.

Q. You do not know that that is true?—A. I have bought brick of them in small quantities, and you can buy from separate ones, but there is just one price, and you get your rebate back if you buy through a contractor. I have arranged to buy through a contractor, giving him half the money.

Q. They are not the same name then, but different firms?—A. No; different firms.

Q. You believe that they are all in a combine together?—A. I know they are.

Q. What is the name of the combine?—A. I do not know the name of that.

Q. What I am trying to get at more especially is this: is there a brick trust in the same way as there is a sugar trust?—A. No; there is a brick trust in this way: as if we here were all brick manufacturers, and we agree to pool the brick that we manufacture, and each one could manufacture only so many brick and sell them at such a price and give a rebate to this association—that is, the master masons' association—of \$1 a thousand.

Q. That is true of the plumbers and of the lime dealers and all the rest, is it?—A. No.

Q. They are not in one great trust, like the sugar trust or the steel trust?—A. No. For instance, the brick trust is connected with the master masons, the plumbers with the master plumbers. The master plumbers and the master masons and the master carpenters are all in one association. You see there are three associations; many associations, in one.

Q. Then these combines that you speak of here in Chicago, which deal in building material, are not combinations in the sense of a trust, such as the sugar trust?—A. No.

Q. They are simply separate individual concerns held together in a mutual agreement to charge the same price for the material?—A. Yes; and agreeing to sell lower to a certain class of men.

Q. With an agreement applying to all of them, which is a mutual agreement?—A. Yes.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Are you eligible to membership in the master masons' association?—A. I do not know what their rules and regulations are.

Q. Well, as a builder?—A. I do not know whether I am eligible or not; I have never been asked to join.

Q. Are you eligible to membership in the building contractors' association?—A. I do not know that, either.

Q. My idea is this: If there are such great advantages to members of that organization, why are you not a member of it?—A. I should have to be a member of so many different organizations that I could not make anything by it. For instance, the master plumbers charge a hundred and some odd dollars a year, I believe. Each one has a different fee. As we do all the work, we should have to belong to all these associations.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) You are very much in the position, with respect to these organizations, that a nonunion workman is in with respect to a labor union—you have got no protection?—A. We get no protection, no. We hire all kinds of labor, union and nonunion, but we have to work them separately.

Q. Have to work them separately?—A. Yes; they will not work together.

Q. Do you discriminate against nonunion men?—A. No; not at all.

Q. Do you ask the question of a man when you employ him whether he is a union man and belongs to a union or not?—A. I do not think we have ever asked the question of one, except in advertising.

Q. Have you had strikes on your hands in your work?—A. Yes; we have had strikes.

Q. What was it due to?—A. Trying to work the union and nonunion men together.

Q. Well, then, your position simply is this: that as an independent individual builder you are subject to great annoyance and loss in conducting your business because of the combinations formed among the manufacturers of building materials in Chicago?—A. Yes.

Q. On the one hand, and I understand that you are subject to loss and annoyance by the labor unions, upon the other, because you do not always employ union labor?—A. That is so.

Q. Your objection lies, therefore, against both organizations?—A. Yes; but more against the trusts, because these labor unions break up every year, but the trust, it never breaks up. They get hard up, the men do, and their association breaks up every year.

Q. Because they get hard up?—A. Well, because they get beaten in a strike; but the other men do not seem to ever get beaten.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Have you ever resorted to the courts to get relief against this trust that you describe as among the building-material men?—A. No; we never have.

Q. Have you ever taken any counsel in that direction?—A. We have talked it over, my father and his attorneys. We have our own attorneys that work for us by the year; they have discussed it a great deal.

Q. Is there no law, either written or unwritten, that would give a remedy for the kind of a trust that you describe?—A. We think there is.

Q. Is it not law older than either you or I that any combination to stifle competition is unlawful?—A. The common law; yes, I should say it was.

Q. The common law; and that has never been resorted to to break up these trusts that you describe?—A. Not by us.

Q. Has any suit been brought that you know of?—A. I have heard of suits in other cities.

Q. What was the result?—A. I believe that the persons that brought the suit were successful in the only one that I heard of.

Q. Then, really, we have a law upon the statute books now, have we not, that would break them up if enforced?—A. If the attorney-general would proceed, yes.

Q. Does it require the attorney-general?—A. No; but they would make it so expensive that a person of moderate means would not stand any show at all, and the other persons, I suppose, would not want to spend the money.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) You mean the attorney-general of the State or the United States?—A. Either the county attorney or the State's attorney. Either one of them could go ahead and wind them up. But he seems to find it more to his interest not to. I do not suppose he would be reelected if he filed a good many suits.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Every individual builder labors under the same conditions that you labor under in building?—A. Every outside builder, you mean?

Q. Every outside builder who is trying to build for himself and not through a contractor?—A. Yes; but there are very few of them.

Q. They generally let their work to a contractor, do they?—A. I think they find it more profitable to do that.

Q. Are the rules and regulations beneficial, then, to the contractor and against the individual?—A. Yes; of course they make them as much so as possible so as to fix it so that you will have to contract with them. Now we have to contract our brickwork; we never can do any brickwork.

Q. Why?—A. Because we can not do it at a profit. We have tried to do it, but we can contract it cheaper than we can do it ourselves.

Q. How is it with the entire building?—A. We generally contract our plumbing on account of this trust or combination; but we can buy our lumber. We always do our carpenter work, and we always do our painting, papering, and decorating.

Q. This large increase in price is in the brick and hardware and plumbing line?—A. Yes; and they have a restriction in plumbing. The plumbers have a rule that a man shall not put up more than one fixture a day. In a bathroom there are three fixtures, closet, washstand, and tub. Any good plumber, after all the work is done underneath, you know, can connect them all three in a day; but they have a rule by which he must not connect more than one a day.

Q. Why is that rule?—A. I suppose they made that rule because they want to give as much work as they can.

Q. Are there more plumbers in the city than there is work?—A. I am not a very good judge of that. I should think—

Q. (Interrupting.) Are plumbers behind in their work even with that rule?—A. I do not know how that would be.

Q. But it makes an increased cost, in your judgment?—A. Oh, naturally; makes it cost three times as much for that particular work. Any plumber can set three fixtures a day, and a very good plumber can set four.

Q. That does not obtain on account of any statute law?—A. It is just a rule of the plumbers themselves. They fine a man if he sets more than one fixture a day, and their delegates come around and watch the building and see that he only sets one fixture a day.

Q. If he should set two, what would be the result?—A. He would be fined \$25 if he is caught at it.

Q. Are the mechanics that are organized all under similar rules?—A. No; just

some of them. I believe the plasterers have some rules as to the amount of plaster they shall put on, and the lathers, too, but I do not know of any others.

Q. What effect has this condition that you have described upon the building and improvement of the city of Chicago?—A. It makes it very dangerous to build. If you should build a house now, and it should cost twice as much as it ordinarily would, and the next year this thing should go to pieces and the plumber should set three fixtures a day, the man that built next year would have an advantage, because he could rent his building for less. He has not got as much money in it I should think it would work that way.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Are those rules respecting the amount of work a man shall do a day rules formulated by the contractors, or by the organization of plumbers, the workmen?—A. By the workmen.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 26, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. MICHAEL HAVEY,

Nonunion Gas Fitter.

The special subcommission met in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, at 10 a. m., March 26, 1900, Mr. Clark presiding. At 11.03 a. m. Mr. Michael Havey was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARK.) Please give your name.—A. Michael Havey.

Q. Your post-office address.—A. Glencoe, Ill.

Q. And your occupation.—A. Gas fitter.

Q. Are you engaged in business for yourself or somebody else?—A. I am working at the present time for Hulbert & Dorsey, 175 West Monroe street.

Q. How long have you been at work at your trade in Chicago and vicinity?—A. For the past 20 years.

Q. Do you belong to a union?—A. Not at the present time.

Q. Have you ever belonged to one?—A. Yes; I joined the gas fitters' union, because I believed at the time that it would benefit the cause of labor; and I got out because I am satisfied now that it is causing more tramps and sending more boys and men to the penitentiary than all other causes combined.

Q. Are you familiar with the condition of labor and with labor difficulties in Chicago?—A. I have always made a study of it, to the best of my ability.

Q. You may go on in your own way to state your observations and experiences and conclusions concerning these matters.—A. In the first place, I consider that the one-wage system is not right. I will tell you why I do so: In every profession that we have in this country at the present time three classes of men are recognized—the first, second, and third classes; but in the labor world there is but one class recognized, and that is the first class of men.

Q. When you speak of those classes do you mean in regard to efficiency?—A. Yes. Now, at the present time our wages are \$4 a day. If one is going to employ a man, as long as he has to pay that \$4 a day he is going to employ only first-class men. The consequence is that the labor market has always been, you might say, oversupplied. This second and third class of men begin to go round from shop to shop asking for a job. After the boss tries them he finds out they are not first-class men and he lays them off. They go from shop to shop and they can not get anything to do, and find out they can not make a living in that town, and they start to the next town and find that the same conditions await them there. Of course, a great many men turn to drink; I have not, although I have been just as bad at times as the rest of them—a great many men, when they get discouraged going from shop to shop, at once begin to drink; and, of course, any man can see what comes after that. If a man is starving and is drunk, you can not blame him if he steals; nobody can. That is what I consider makes the Coxey army of to-day, and all these other armies. These men really do not know what is the matter with them; but that is what is the matter with them, this one-wage system.

Now, as to the question of boys learning the trade. Someone's father gave me the right to learn a trade. I do not see what right I have to deny another boy the right to learn a trade. The labor market is always going to be oversupplied, so that we can not expect any improvement in the condition of these boys. The boys of to-day do not like to stand before a machine all day and shove a stick into it. They would like to have the same chance as we had to learn a trade, but

they can not. I am only speaking now of a few trades in the building line; but give any of these unions that power and they will create the same conditions.

Now, I am going to show, or try to show, that these men that belong to a union to-day are really a curse to their own children, because their own children will not be able to learn a trade when that day comes. For instance, if you are running a shop and you have a boy, you naturally want that boy to follow you in the same business that you have been in. You want him to become an expert in the trade, so that when you die you can leave the boy the business. You start in to teach him a trade. The union says no, you can not; that boy can not learn a trade. Now, that is all there is to it. There is no way of getting around that. If you are running a shop to-day, you can not teach your own boy a trade.

I should be the last man in the world to take the place of a striker, providing that I thought that they were benefitting the laboring class; but, as I say, unless this thing is stopped tramps are going to overrun the country, and these boys are going to overrun the penitentiary. If a case comes up where there is trouble, anarchy of any kind, these men and boys, not knowing really what is the trouble with them, will be into any mischief that comes on.

The way I look at the matter is this: If they want to have a union, make three classes—the first, second, and third class. Allow every boy the right to learn a trade that wants to. Allow every man to work that wants to work.

Now, I am going to show you in another way how this hurt us during the World's Fair. Anyone that was here at the time and employed as a laborer or mechanic of any kind knows that what I say is so. There were fully twenty buildings going on then to one that is going on now. During that time the plumbers used to put in what they called three fixtures. They were getting either \$3.50 or \$4 a day—I forget; but we will say \$4. These men to-day are putting in but one fixture. In reality they are getting \$12 a day; but they knew at the time that if they asked for \$12 a day, not only the bosses, but the press and the whole country would cry "shame." They did not dare to do it, but they simply said: "We will only do one-third of a day's work."

Now, I am going to try to show you how that is going to hurt the building of to-day. No man builds for the pleasure of it. He builds to make money, and he figures the matter over in this way: If his material and labor are going to cost him more than the income is going to be, he is not going to build. So that even in that way they do not help to benefit this unemployed class, because there is less and less work every day. There may be manufacturers that will start up without closing their factories for a long time and have plenty of work, but what I mean is that in the building line there is less and less work every day.

Mr. Chalmers when he was here said the labor unions were trusts. I will go a little further than that: I will say I consider the labor unions the father of all trusts; and I will try to show you how I make it out. The labor unions, through class legislation, created laws for their own benefit, and the intelligent promoter came right along and saw this; and, really, I think if you go back you will find out that he has adopted the same laws that the labor leaders have passed.

At the present time they are taking photographs of nonunion men and sending them to every union in the country. During the railroad strike, when the men went back to go to work, they found out they were blacklisted. Blacklisting and taking a photograph of a nonunion man are one and the same thing. If a nonunion man's photograph is in the different unions in the entire country, and he goes to any of these different cities, his picture is there and he can not get work. It is six of one and a half dozen of the other.

If these unions keep on as they have kept on for the past ten or fifteen years, passing the rules they have been passing, and gaining strength as they have been gaining, you are going to have two classes, and eventually the strongest class will eat the weakest class. I should like to see the time come that we used to have, when every man that wanted work could get it. I would rather see the time come when each and every one of us would only get 10 cents a day than the time when some men get 4, or 5, or 6 dollars a day and the great majority get nothing.

Now, this man right here [referring to Mr. Tony Konemerge, mentioned in the testimony of Mr. John A. Long] has come upstairs with me. I admit myself I am not very strong, but that man there is a good strong man, willing to work hard for the benefit of society. They fined him. Whether they were right in fining him, I have no way of knowing; but he told me he had a job to go to, and I know it to be a fact, because I went through pretty near the same experience myself. The man that wanted to build a house told him he could go ahead with the job. At the time he had nothing to eat in the house. He went to Johnnie Long, business agent for the gas fitters' union, and asked him for a permit to go to

work; that he would pay \$5 Saturday night when he caught up. Johnnie Long says, "No, you can not go to work until you put up your \$5." This man went back and told his wife. They had nothing to eat in the house, practically, and he was a good, strong man, and was able to work, and wanted to work. So he and his wife went down to Johnnie Long, and she got on her bended knees and asked for this permit; but he said "no." Now, that is the way it stands to-day. No matter how honest you are, every man may be wrong. He may think he is right, but he may be wrong; but if a man thinks he is right, you can not blame him for standing up for those principles. Now, I think I am right, and I will not go into that union thinking that way, because I think it hurts the cause of labor; and still, at the same time, I am anxious to work; I am anxious to support my family, but I can not; they say "no."

I gave my post-office address, Glencoe, Ill. I was really forced out of this city; either that or go back to the union again, and that I refused to do. I went out, and I have been working at about anything I could catch hold of, and I would die to-day rather than go back to the union, believing as I do.

Now, I see there have been some nonunion men up here, and that they had fear of expressing what they thought; but I want to tell you, gentlemen, that I came in here a coward, but I am going out fearing neither God, man, nor the devil.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Wait a while; I should like to ask you a few questions. Did anyone urge you to come before the Industrial Commission and give testimony?—A. No. I wrote a letter to the Chicago Master Plumbers, giving my views on the question, thinking they would publish it, and I kept away; but seeing that they did not publish it, I came down here.

Q. How did you come to sever your relations with the Gas Fitters' Union?—A. I started a shop right after the World's Fair. Work ended in 1893. I forgot to take a withdrawal card from the union, and when I failed in 1898 I went back to the union, thinking I could go to work by simply paying up my dues that were behind. I found out that they had fined me \$10 for each parade day I did not turn out—Labor Day. I think they fined me also for each meeting I did not attend during that time. I never could get a clear statement as to what I did owe, but it was somewhere in the neighborhood of a hundred dollars. Before I found out it was somewhere in that neighborhood I thought I should get in by paying the dues—twenty-five or thirty dollars; something like that. I did not consider my dues anything above that, and I went to work for Mr. Baggot. I believe I worked two weeks, when he told me it was pretty near \$100, and I quit. Then I began to study the labor question thoroughly, to the best of my ability.

Q. You say that unionism makes more criminals than all other causes combined. Do you consider that a temperate statement?—A. Yes; I do.

Q. Have you any statistics on the subject?—A. I could not prove that to you, but unless I am greatly mistaken it is true. That is really what you are here for; I believe it is your place to go back twenty years or thirty years, before there were any unions. I may be mistaken, but that was the impression I was under, that you were making a full study of this question, and I think if you go back that far you will find there were very few tramps in those days. The second and third class men must live, and if they can not get any work what eventually must become of them? There is no other place for them to go; they must either become tramps or go to the penitentiary.

Q. You believe the unions are the father of trusts?—A. Yes, I do believe the unions are the father of the trusts. A trust, in my estimation, is nothing more nor less than a union. On the other hand, the union is nothing more nor less than a trust. There is a body of men got together in a union to protect their interests; never mind the interests of others; that cuts no figure. That is identically the same case with the trusts.

Q. Do you think the trust promoters adopt the methods of the unions and copy them and favor all these great organizations?—A. Yes; and you can not knock one out until you knock the other out.

Q. Have you any idea that there is any understanding or combination between the labor unions and the great trusts?—A. Oh, no; not a bit; not a particle. I do not look at it in that light. I simply look at it in this light, that the men who formed them thought they were for the benefit of labor. That I am perfectly satisfied of. But at the present time we see that while they think they are for the benefit of labor they are really made to crush labor.

Q. Are you opposed to labor unions as a matter of principle?—A. I am not opposed to labor unions if they will let every man work. If they can not see it in this light, to give a man what he is worth, then make three classes of wages, or five classes. I do not care how many classes you make, but give each man a chance to work. That is my view of labor unions.

Q. You are opposed to them as a matter of principle, as you see them to-day?
A. Yes; I am.

Q. When you went into business you were a member of the union?—A. Yes; I was.

Q. When you failed in business you sought entrance into the union again, and found these dues piled up against you, and could not go in on that account?—A. Yes.

Q. It was not a matter of principle, then, was it? Simply could not get in on account of your inability to pay the dues?—A. Oh, no. I could pay the dues. It was principle, yes. I refused to go in because I considered they could hold me responsible for the dues. It would be a different thing if they had ever had any charges against me, but as long as I was in the union there was never a single this labor question. At that time I believed in the union as well as the men charge of any kind preferred against me. It was after this that I really studied who are out to-day.

Q. Do you know what percentage of the workmen of the United States are in labor unions?—A. No; I do not. I really have never looked up that question, but I think you will find that while there may be 80 per cent that are in favor of unions I don't believe you will find 10 per cent in favor of creating the conditions that they have created to-day.

Q. Do you know, as a matter of fact, that less than 10 per cent of the workmen in the United States are in labor unions?—A. No; I do not know that.

Q. If you did know that to be a fact would you consider or not that the non-union man was more powerful than the union man?—A. I should hardly like to consider which is the most powerful; I would rather consider which is right.

Q. If 90 per cent of the workmen of the United States are unorganized, and they have right on their side, the right will prevail, will it not?—A. It will naturally prevail, because we must go as the majority goes, whether we believe in it or not. If we left it to the majority we should have to take the consequences.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you believe that the fines imposed by labor unions are excessive and unreasonable?—A. I will try and give you an illustration in the case of this man here being fined [referring to Mr. Tony Konemerge, mentioned in the testimony of Mr. John A. Long]. He was really fined for licking the business agent, nearly killing him. He was fined a thousand dollars. Suppose, now, for instance, that this business agent and I went to school together, and we had our fights in those days, and we left the school as kind of enemies. He got to be business agent of this union, and I, as a gas fitter, would like to join the union. It lies in his power to prevent me from getting into that union. In regard to fining him \$1,000—he speaks very broken English, and he is afraid you would not understand him, or he would come up here and speak for himself—I should judge they might just as well fine him a million dollars, because he can never pay it.

Q. What, then, do you think is the object of their imposing a fine that the man can not pay?—A. I do not believe they really have an object; I do not believe they really know what they are doing. In that case, of course, it was different. There he made an enemy of the business agent. But in the cases of fining men generally, if they like a man he gets off with a small fine, even though he commits a great offense. On the other hand, if they dislike him and he commits a very little offense or disobeys the rules in any way he is fined with a big fine.

Q. Is there a rule in the gas fitters' union that all its members must parade on Labor Day?—A. I believe there is; yes.

Q. And is the penalty for nonattendance and nonparticipation in the parade \$10?—A. I believe that is there. I believe that in that way they might have been justified in fining me. I do not say they were not, but I simply say at the time I would not agree to it.

Q. Do you regard that fine as excessive?—A. I regard it as beyond reason, because it was simply a case of forgetfulness on my part. I forgot to take a withdrawal card, and I do not see where the justice was in fining me simply on account of my forgetting something. It would have been a different thing if they had ordered me off a building or if they had told me not to do a certain kind of work. That would have been an entirely different thing; but it was simply because I forgot to take out this withdrawal card.

Q. Do you recognize that it is a proper rule for a union to have that there must be a withdrawal card taken out by its members when they leave?—A. I admit that; I also know that to be a fact. It was just as I say—simply a case of forgetfulness.

Q. You recognize it is important to the very existence of a union that it have some method of discipline and punishment, do you not?—A. I understand that thoroughly. I am not excusing myself in that way—in any shape or form. I am simply saying I did not at the time consider it right, and when I left the

union I commenced to study this labor question. I am not trying to excuse myself for being fined at that time at all because I was one of the members maybe that created those rules, so I had no right to complain and I am not complaining.

Q. Why are you not able, as a competent and experienced gas fitter, to get work?—A. Simply because I will not belong to the union. For instance, if you go into a building and go to measuring up your job, the first thing a carpenter comes in and says, "Have you got a card?" You say "no;" you can not work; that is all there is to it. They will quit the building, and of course an owner can not stand by and see his building stopped simply for the sake of one man; so you have got to quit.

Q. So your idea is that there is no practical possibility of a nonunion man getting work in this city?—A. Not one chance in a million.

Q. Have you any idea how many men in your trade are nonunion men in this city?—A. I can not really tell you that, but I will try and tell you what I know of it. The Times-Herald, and I believe all the papers at the same time, brought out a statement at the time this lockout was first started that there were 600 members belonging to the Gas Fitters' Association, and out of this 600 members there were only about 150 working. Now, I believe that statement is just about right. I worked for the gas company after I quit the union, and at that time I believe they had to work for them about 60 gas fitters; these were all nonunion men. So that I should judge that at the present time, that is, with the members in good standing in the union, there are just about half and half—half belonging to the union and half out of it.

Q. Then it appears that at times large numbers of those who do belong to the unions are unable to get work?—A. Oh, there is no question about that. It is the second and third class workmen that are always doing the walking from shop to shop.

Q. Do you make the point that trade unionism tends to degrade the best workmen to the level of the poorest?—A. No; I consider that trade unionism protects the strongest and does not care a continental for the weakest. I look at it in this light: if a first-class mechanic is employed steadily the year round, if you go to him and tell him there are a great number of idle workmen, he will tell you they are tramps; that they would not work even if they could get work. He will tell you he never knew better times, and he is telling you the truth.

Q. You feel that nonunion workmen are in physical danger in this city when they undertake to pursue their callings?—A. I do, at the present time. Before I came in here I felt this way: that if by any chance any of these men should come up and slug me, as they call it, or shoot and kill me, I should not like it, but now that I have stated my reasons why I am a nonunion man, that fear has left me; I have no fear now, because I know, at least I feel, that I am in the right. While I do not say I am in the right, I feel that way.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) How long have you been a nonunion man?—A. Since 1898.

Q. Two years?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever been assaulted or slugged in that time?—A. No; I have not. I have always minded my own business and, as a general thing, if a man minds his own business he keeps out of trouble, but at the same time if they know where I am working—they will know it perhaps now—the chances are they will slug me, but I can stand it.

Q. Do you think there is any real danger of that whatever?—A. I look at it in this light: These men are fighting for what they think is right. They think I am wrong, and they will use any means in their power, even to murdering—not me especially, because they may not give a continental for me, but they will take any means in their power to win, even to killing a man.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What reason have you to suppose that a nonunion man is in danger of being slugged by union men any more than that the union men are in danger of being slugged by nonunion men?—A. That, of course, may be right, too; but I will tell you, as a general thing the nonunion man walks alone, and really I do not see what object he has to pick a fight, while on the other hand these other men, of course, have every object. There is one thing I wish to say about them—that these men who are really doing this slugging—I would rather at any time, if it came to that point that I had to have as a bedfellow either that man or the man who goes to the boss and tells him he does not believe in this and at the same time upholds it. I would rather take the man that would come to slug me.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Did you ever witness any cases of slugging while you were a member of the union?—A. I did not.

Q. Have you any personal knowledge of such cases that you could name?—A. No; I could not.

Q. You have named an instance where a nonunion man slugged a union man almost to death, have you not?—A. I said where a nonunion man came near killing the business agent.

Q. He slugged him, did he?—A. He slugged him in good shape.

Q. So the slugging is on both sides, is it not?—A. I guess it is in that case.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What reason have you to think that trade unionism promotes slugging and other breaches of the peace?—A. I will tell you the reason: it is this: These men that belong to these unions consider themselves right in this matter, and they consider a nonunion man as a scab. What the meaning of that word is I do not know—really do not care. They consider that they are working for the benefit of the labor cause, and that the nonunion man is trying to kill that labor cause; so that in that sense, believing as they do, they naturally hate and despise that man, and will at the slightest provocation kill him; and I do not see why they should not, believing as they do.

Q. Do you recognize that they have any right to assault a man and disturb the public peace?—A. I know that I should not do it; but at the same time, if you put me in that position, where I believe a man is taking my place, and I have a wife and family dependent upon me—believing as they do, I might myself do it.

Q. You think, then, it is rather a natural consequence of organization?—A. That, of course, is the whole thing. It is the way they are organized. If there were work enough for everybody there would not be any need of them; but there is not work for everybody, and I do not suppose the time will ever come when there will be work enough for everybody.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Would there not be work enough for everybody in Chicago at the present time if all these labor troubles were ended?—A. No—I do not know; but every man would stand an equal show. Some men would not be earning \$4 a day the year round and other men earning nothing the year round. We could all have a chance to live.

Q. Can you not rely upon the police department of Chicago for protection against these nonunion men or the union men?—A. I have never asked for any police protection, and I hope I never shall ask for it. I do not like that idea at all.

Q. Do you not feel confident that you will be safe through the protection of the police?—A. Well, I do not like that idea. I do not like to go along with a policeman on each side of me. I had rather take my chances the other way. I believe the police in the city are doing really the best they can. I believe that they are affected in the same way that we are affected. They have their beliefs just the same as we have, and if they believe in unionism as it is carried on to-day they are naturally going to stay in with the union men, no matter who is at the head of them.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You think, then, as matters are now organized in society, that it is an absolute necessity for workmen to belong to a union to have an assurance of getting work?—A. Yes.

Q. Then instead of opposing unions as such would it not be better to attempt to reform them, correct such abuses as you think they are guilty of, and work harmoniously with them?—A. I believe so; I believe that it is really the right way to go about it. When I failed in business the only thing that I could do was simply to seek work at my trade, and while I have really never attended any of the meetings much, the only reason was that I lived outside of the city. You see, at that time Fortieth street was the limit, and members that lived outside of the city were excused from attending the meetings; so in that way I can not say that I ever attended the meetings as I should have. But at the same time I will say that even though I had, I do not suppose that I should have made any better rules or conditions than there are to-day. At that time I was young and really did not have the experience; and I believe that a man has really got to go through that amount of experience before he understands just what is the trouble.

Q. Do not all the members of the union have an equal and fair chance in controlling the policy of the union?—A. Yes; they do.

Q. Do you know whether it is a settled rule here that employers of labor in your line object to unions; or are they willing to favor them or work with them?—A. The employers at the present time have also a union. They call it the Master Plumbers' Association, but it is a union just the same. Of course they have a great many laws that are not right any more than the union's are.

Q. Are you familiar enough with them to specify any of them that you think are not right?—A. They are really got together under the same conditions that the union men or the labor men have got together for. They have got together

to benefit themselves, and not to consider those outside of their organization. The supply men belong to an association or a union. You may start to build a house, and you think you will hire the plumbers yourself. You go over to the supply house to buy your material, and the chances are that you would be refused. They would not sell it to you, and they would tell you that you would have to get a master plumber to put in the work. They, of course, say it is all right, but I should consider it wrong. As to the master plumbers and the men, they simply say, "You have gone too far." They do not object to the union, as I understand it; they simply object to the building trades council. The building trades council has got power that the union would not have. For instance, now, I am a gas fitter. I go into a building, and if the building trades council did not exist I should go to work, and the chances are that I should finish that building before anyone would ask me whether I had a card or not. But if you are a member of the building trades council, as they are at the present time, you have got to show a card before you can pick up your tools and go to work. So that really they want to smash the building trades council, they say; but I do not believe that they even want to do that; they simply want to allow every man a chance to go to work. I believe their object is really to smash unions of every description.

Q. You think, then, that the building trades council has practical control over the employment of labor in constructing the buildings in this city?—A. Yes; I do.

Q. You think that that control practically takes away from a man who seeks work his individuality?—A. There is no question of that at all; it does.

Q. You think the fact that there are master plumbers' unions and supply unions takes away the personal liberty of the man who wants to build a house to build it in his own way?—A. Exactly.

Q. Well, now, do you regard those things as necessary to the existence and prosperity of unions?—A. I do not consider that the prosperity of this country is going to be benefited by any such conditions at all. I believe—in fact I know—that before the unions came on there was not anything known of these organizations. They did not exist; in fact; they simply followed the unions, and they really had to follow the unions in order to protect themselves from them.

Q. Well, now, do you know whether these unions of master plumbers and the unions of plumbers' supplies concerns have resulted in increasing the prices of the materials for plumbing?—A. In an indirect way they may, but I do not really think they do, because they have not got to the point of forming that solid trust. At the present time they are sort of disorganized; but if the time comes that they all get together and form that trust, then they will.

Q. You think, then, that the master plumbers have a variety of houses from which they can purchase, and indirectly they get the benefit of competition?—A. Yes; that is it exactly.

Q. You think, then, that they are more thoroughly organized than the supply houses are?—A. Yes; they are more thoroughly organized than the supply houses.

Q. Suppose the supply houses become as thoroughly organized as they, so that they have a practical monopoly of the business, and there is no opportunity for competition; the master plumbers will then have to pay the prices that those supply houses exact, will they not?—A. Yes, because then they will have a successful union, as they understand it.

Q. You think the tendency of all these unions is to raise prices and make building expensive?—A. Of that there is no question.

Q. Do you think that labor gets its just share, or any more than its just share, of this advance of price?—A. The first-class man gets all the benefit, but the second and third class man gets no benefit, because as these prices of material and labor go up men will refuse to build, because it will not pay them. Rents are coming down; labor and material are going up. What is the consequence? A man is not going to put his money into a sand bank.

Q. Well, then, is not the tendency of the union to encourage all to become first-class men?—A. That may be. It may be the same tendency as among lawyers and every other profession; but that time will never come. There will always be first, second, and third class men; there always have been and there always will be.

(Testimony closed.)

Whereupon, at 11.55, the subcommission took a recess until 2 p. m.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 26, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. STUART REID,*National organizer of the International Association of Machinists.*

The special subcommission met, pursuant to recess, at 2.05 p. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At that time Mr. Stuart Reid, of Washington, D. C., national organizer of the International Association of Machinists, was introduced as a witness and, being duly affirmed, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name, post-office address, and occupation.—A. Stuart Reid; room 85 Corcoran Building, Washington, D. C.; national organizer of the International Association of Machinists and member of the general board of directors, the board that governs our international organization. It is an international board composed of five men, who govern the whole organization.

Q. If you will go on in your own way to present your points to the commission we shall be glad to hear you.—A. I have prepared a statement which I am positive contains facts and nothing but facts, and I wish to give you the conditions leading up to the strike of the machinists of Chicago and the conditions existing since the inauguration of said strike. In January, 1900, to the best of my knowledge, a circular letter in the shape of an invitation was issued by District Lodge No. 8, International Association of Machinists, to the machinery manufacturers of Chicago, inviting them at a given date to meet the chosen representatives of the organized machinists of Chicago, for the purpose of discussing a contract which said International Association of Machinists proposed to place before them on or before the 1st of March, 1900. On the date arranged for said conference only very few of the manufacturers appeared, and the efforts of the machinists to bring about a peaceable settlement of what they considered just grievance was frustrated by the introduction of what many of the machinists considered the contempt of their employers. On or before the 1st of March, 1900, a written copy of contract drawn up by District Lodge No. 8, International Association of Machinists, was presented to the various machinery manufacturers of Chicago with a courteous request that said contract be considered and signed. The original contract asked for complete recognition of the International Association of Machinists and a minimum rate of wages of 28 cents an hour for machinists and 32½ cents an hour for die and tool makers. Now, gentlemen, I wish to explain this minimum, so it will be thoroughly understood.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Are you departing from your paper now?—A. I am just carrying that on. By a minimum we do not propose to say what he shall pay his men; he can pay his men as much as he pleases; but we say that a competent machinist shall not work for less than 28 cents per hour, and a competent tool maker shall not work for less than 32½ cents per hour. If a manufacturer think a man is worth more he is perfectly at liberty to pay him what he pleases; but under no consideration can he pay less than 28 cents for a machinist and 32½ cent for a tool maker and die maker; time and one half for all overtime up to mid night, and double time after midnight and on Sundays and all legal holidays; the employment of apprentices in accordance with the constitution of the International Association of Machinists, said constitution calling for a 4 years' apprenticeship, allowing 1 apprentice to each shop, regardless of the number of journeymen employed—that is, should an employer only have 1 journeyman he is entitled to apprentice—and in addition to same 1 apprentice for each 5 machinists, die or tool makers employed; a 9-hour day. Said contract also provided that when a reduction of the force should become necessary the employees laid off on account of slackness of work should have preference and first opportunity of reemployment, seniority and proficiency to govern. In case of grievances arising, said contract asked that the company receive a committee of their own employees to investigate and, if possible adjust the same. If no adjustment could be reached said contract provided that the case should be referred to the employers and the executive board of District Lodge No. 8, International Association of Machinists providing that when an agreement could not be reached by said parties the said grievance should be submitted to a board of arbitration composed of 2 members of the firm where the grievance existed and 2 members of District Lodge No. 8 International Association of Machinists, the 4 to choose a fifth arbitrator, the decision of this board to be binding on both parties to the contract.

The above contract was presented to the various manufacturers in Chicago on or before the 1st of March, 1900, and was rejected by a vast majority of said

machinery manufacturers. As a consequence, thousands of machinists in Chicago laid down their tools and ceased work.

Gentlemen, with your permission I will present to you the reasons which prompted the machinists of Chicago to present to the machinery manufacturers said contract. Clause 1, providing that on and after March 1 the manufacturers of machinery in the city of Chicago agree to employ only members of the International Association of Machinists in good standing on machinists' work and die and tool work, was presented, first, because petitioners believed that harmony is a necessary accompaniment to success in all things, and that a shop whose employees were composed of members of the trade organization, the teachings of which prompt its members to be diligent in order that their employers may ever be ready to apply for employees from its ranks—and I want to say, gentlemen, that this is a part of the exhortation given to every man on entering our organization—would naturally be conducted successfully, inasmuch as employees, members of the organization, are bound by fraternal ties and must assist each other as much as possible, thereby promoting the interests of the manufacturer. Secondly, because petitioners believed that employees, members of said organization, should be controlled by said organization, and frivolous grievances tending to irritate employers be suppressed, while grievances of a serious nature should be adjusted by arbitration. Under such conditions only could arbitration be successfully conducted, inasmuch as employees would be governed by a responsible organization, and employers, as honorable men, would hold to the agreement reached by said arbitration.

The clause referring to a minimum rate of wages was inserted because petitioners believed that tradesmen requiring the great skill necessary for the machinists' craft should receive a reasonable compensation. I beg you to pardon me for occupying your valuable time in placing before you a statement of the skill required of the machinists, but in order that our true position may be made very plain I believe it is absolutely necessary that I should do so. In the first place, in order to become a skilled machinist, it is necessary for any aspirant to proficiency in the trade to place himself under instruction for a period of years. The wages paid to apprentices or beginners are very small, and one must apply himself to mechanical studies to become proficient. So exacting is the nature of the higher class of work that men must be able to work to the thousandth part of an inch, and sometimes work is spoiled and rejected by reason of being a thousandth of an inch or less out of the way. Not only is skill of hand required, but the brain must be continually in operation. Considering the great skill necessary, the petitioners believe that 28 cents an hour for the men constructing great triumphs of engineering was not an extortionate demand, and 32½ cents an hour not any too much for tradesmen whose touch requires a development equal to supplying measurements much finer than human hair. Gentlemen, I ask you to compare the rate of wages asked for in the contract with wages paid tradesmen who require much less skill, and I am confident that you will consider the demands of the machinists exceedingly modest.

The request for overtime rates was advanced, not because the machinists wished to be extortionate, but because they considered overtime not conducive to health, and wished to discourage it. Also, because by reason of overtime many were kept from employment and their families and dependents subjected to expense by reason of the enforced idleness of the principals.

The petitioners presented the apprentice plan on what they considered to be a liberal basis, because they realized that an overproduction of machinists was not conducive to their welfare, and, furthermore, realizing that inasmuch as the success of a boy depended upon the instruction given him by journeymen, they were doing their employers no injury in asking to be allowed to govern the apprenticeship system.

The 9-hour day was asked because the machinists of Chicago realized the necessity for shorter hours. One of the gentlemen of our opposition, who appeared before you honorable commission, complained bitterly about this request, and gave as a reason for so objecting the statement that cutting 1 hour off the day would rob them of the product of one-tenth of the millions they have invested. Gentlemen, I maintain that the assertion made by this gentleman was incorrect, and I have no hesitation in saying that under a 9-hour day the physical condition of the men will become so much improved that the output will be as large, if not larger, than that secured by the 10-hour day. Again, the gentleman who made this assertion forgot to state that by the use of improved machinery the output had been increased fourfold. The gentleman might truthfully reply to this assertion that the modern machinery was theirs, and that they had paid for it, but he

must not forget that while he paid for it the brain of the machinist had to conceive it and his skillful hand constructed it.

Machinery was intended to lighten labor, and might be made a blessing to the masses of labor, but the inordinate greed of many of the employing class has made it a curse.

Another gentleman from our opposition flatly stated that the work of the machinists was light in comparison to that of other trades. I boldly assert that he was mistaken. In a modern machine shop exacting methods are in operation—methods that make the work of machinists very exhausting. A man who works on a bench, on a floor, wields a hammer or pushes a file from morning to night, every muscle of the body is continually in operation. The work of the machine operator is almost as exhausting. While hardly as much muscular exertion is necessary, yet the machines are speeded up to their utmost capacity, and, as I have already said, one thousandth part of an inch or less will in many cases spoil a piece of work. The close nature of the work makes it necessary for the operator to pay rigid attention to his work continually. While I freely admit that the scientific nature of the machinist's work makes it interesting, yet a thinker must admit that the very forces that make it interesting also contribute to its exacting and exhausting nature. The claim of the Chicago manufacturers that their competitors in other parts of the country work 10 hours, and that in consequence the 9-hour day would give their competitors in such cities an advantage over them, is not strictly correct. In Pittsburg a majority of machine shops are operated on the 9-hour plan. In support of my claim that as much can be accomplished in 9 hours as in 10, the case of a prominent foundry and machine company in Pittsburg, Pa., may be cited. In 1898 this firm, which previous to that time had operated their plant on the 9-hour plan, decided to return to the 10-hour basis. After an experiment lasting about 4 or 5 months, this firm returned to the 9-hour basis, giving out as the reason for so doing that much better results had been achieved while operating their plant under the 9-hour day. In Greater New York the vast majority of machine shops are operated under the 9-hour day. Another reason why the 9-hour day should be granted is this: In a city of the dimensions of Chicago workmen are invariably compelled to travel long distances to and from work. This makes it necessary for them to leave their homes at a very early hour in the morning, and it makes it impossible for them to reach home early in the evening. Men with families find this condition very unpleasant; in fact, in many cases where their children are young they hardly have an opportunity to become acquainted with them, inasmuch as the children are in bed when they leave their homes in the morning and are again in bed when they return in the evening. Gentlemen, with astonishment and indignation I read a statement made to your commission by one of the gentlemen of our opposition that were a 9-hour day to be granted to the machinists they would devote the extra hour at their disposal to the saloon and the grogshop. Very indignantly in behalf of my colleagues in Chicago I resent such ungentlemanly treatment from any of our employers, and say that the gentleman making such statements could not have received his impressions of the habits of machinists from a very reliable source. Five thousand machinists have been on strike in Chicago for over 4 weeks, and in that time not a single case of drunkenness on their part has come to the notice of the court. We want the extra hour so that our physical condition may be improved. We want it so that our young men may have an opportunity to take advantage of the educational facilities offered them and secure the technical education absolutely necessary in the successful operation of their craft. We want the 9-hour day in order that our older members may have more opportunities to become acquainted with their families and enjoy more of the comforts of home. We want the 9-hour day because we have been taught bitter lessons in the past by reason of seeing thousands of our fellow-craftsmen out of work and suffering, their families lacking the bare necessities of life. We want the 9-hour day because we believe that we who construct machinery that makes burdens light and the output great should enjoy some of the advantages of modern inventions.

The gentlemen of the opposition gave as their chief objection to the 9-hour day what they are pleased to say will be the loss of one-tenth of their product, and consequently a loss on the millions invested. We do not propose to allow any such selfish proposition to impair our physical conditions or rob us of legitimate comforts.

In the contract presented by our association we provided an arbitration clause, believing arbitration to be the most expeditious and just method of settling grievances. As I have already said, our contract was ignored by the manufacturers, and 5,000 machinists ceased work for the express purpose of compelling respect and just consideration at the hands of their employers. On the 1st day

of March the international president, Mr. O'Connell, and myself, at the solicitation of our members in Chicago, journeyed to this city and attempted to gain a conference with the manufacturers' association. Through the disinterested efforts of one of the manufacturers, whom we have since all learned to esteem, we succeeded in meeting them. Our conference was, however, a dismal failure, inasmuch as the manufacturers positively refused even to discuss the first clause in the contract. Another conference was secured some time later, but the manufacturers were defiant, and presented to the committee a resolution calling upon us, as we considered it, to surrender unconditionally. We refused to entertain their proposition. On Saturday, March 17, our general board of trustees, from different parts of the United States, gathered in Chicago to meet representatives of the National Metal Trades' Association, a national organization of manufacturers. Our international board of trustees waited patiently in the Italian room of the Grand Pacific Hotel from 10 a. m. to 11 p. m. At that hour a committee of the National Metal Trades' Association presented a resolution providing for so-called arbitration on all future grievances, but added a clause demanding that all strikes should be immediately declared off. We amended that resolution, asking that all strikes now on be immediately arbitrated, but the manufacturers' committee informed us that they had no power to do anything. Further argument brought out the fact that the committee of the national manufacturers had no power vested in them at all; that they had simply presented a committee with a resolution that they had no power to enact into an agreement; further, that their proposition had not been adopted by their organization, but was simply a suggestion of their own that would be placed before their membership at large. We were willing to agree even to this proposition, amended to read that such proposition be placed before the members of the National Metal Trades, the result of the vote to be placed before us on or before March 26. Every amendment we presented to the committee of the National Metal Trades' Association was rejected; they simply denied us all rights and demanded an unconditional surrender.

Gentlemen, in order that you may fully understand the liberal position taken by our organization, it will be necessary for me to give a statement regarding the extent of the International Association of Machinists in the city of Chicago and that of the National Metal Trades' Association. Our organization, the International Association of Machinists, controls nine-tenths of the machinists of Chicago, and the National Metal Trades at that time only 18 firms, while a rough and very low estimate places the number of firms in Chicago at over 200. The local manufacturers only control or did control at that time 69 firms out of 200 in Chicago. The National Metal Trades' Association could only arbitrate for 18 firms in Chicago, while the vast majority of firms would not have had to abide by their decision. We were, however, perfectly willing to arbitrate the whole matter immediately with the National Metal Trades' Council; but they stated plainly that they had no power to do anything—in other words, to do anything but request us to surrender unconditionally.

Finding it impossible to get justice at their hands, we retired and all negotiations were broken off. I want to state in an informal manner that had the National Metal Trades entered into an agreement with us to arbitrate, not only the strike in Chicago but every strike now in operation in the country would have been settled, and all grievances in the future would have been arbitrated by our organization and that body. We say that to-day we are still willing to offer this same proposition to enter into an agreement with the National Metal Trades' Association, but before doing so we wish all present difficulties to be arbitrated.

I wish to reply to some of the statements made by a gentleman of our opposition, Mr. Chalmers. Mr. Chalmers has made the statement that only with the destruction of unions can the interests of Chicago be preserved. Mr. Chalmers is a member of a union organization. We grant him freely the right to be so; we are even in favor of his being a member of a union, because we realize that the only solution of present difficulties will be the complete organization of the manufacturers with complete organization of the tradesmen, the two to form a board of arbitration to settle all grievances.

Some of our opposition also complained bitterly of the part the trade unions were taking in politics. Gentlemen, if we are trade unionists we are American citizens, and we claim that no man has the right to interfere with us in the exercise of our political rights. As to our organization engaging in politics, I want to draw the attention of the gentleman to a pamphlet issued by the organization of manufacturers called the Illinois Manufacturers' Association. This pamphlet shows clearly that while condemning the trade unions for the active part they are taking in politics and blaming the so-called politicians for favoring trade unionists,

the manufacturers of Illinois are at the present time upholding a lobby, upholding a lobby to frustrate the passing of any law that may be brought forward in the interest of labor. This pamphlet I hold is issued by this organization; it is their work, and a clear record of the laws they have been fighting is here; also they express their delight at being able to frustrate the passing of such laws. Some of the laws which they considered to be bad laws were laws of this nature: A bill relating to bakers and confectioners, providing that no employee shall be permitted to work more than 60 hours a week. The gentlemen that think that we are taking too much interest in politics and are using undue influence to gain our ends are actually boasting of killing a bill that said that workingmen should not work in ovens more than 10 hours a day. Another bill which they boast of defeating is a bill concerning the reporting of accidents, injuries, and deaths in, around, and connected with iron, steel, wire, and other mills, a bill that was very obnoxious, a bill that provided for the safety of unfortunate workmen. Another bill they glory in defeating, a bill relating to injuries and deaths resulting from negligence of employers—gentlemen, notice it, a bill relating to injuries and deaths resulting from negligence of employers to safely guard dangers in his place, and giving a right of action therefor. That was unequally fair. Mr. Plamondon, one of the gentlemen who opposed it so very bitterly, is an officer of this organization.

Mr. Chalmers also makes a very fierce attack on business agents. He does not specify whose business agents he attacks, but we presume, as we are engaged in a struggle with him, that our business agents are included. I want to say to you, gentlemen, that the business agent of the machinists is not a dictator; the business agent of the machinists is not even a leader. The duties of the business agent of the International Association of Machinists are almost purely clerical. His business is to collect dues, attend to office work, correspondence, etc., and when time is at his disposal, to organize. The business agent of the machinists never forces himself into a factory. If the employer is pleased to allow him to do so, he may attempt to adjust difficulties, he may go into a factory at the pleasure of the foreman to collect dues, etc.; but never has our organization insisted that the manufacturers recognize our business agent, not even in the carrying out of the contracts which were presented to them. It is true that the business agent went to some places where no nonunion men were and asked the manufacturers in a courteous manner to sign the contract, but in places where members of our organization were employed, if the business agent did go, on every occasion, to the best of my knowledge, he was accompanied by the shop committee or a committee of the employees of that shop. I want to say, further, in regard to the business agent that he does not rule, but all work is laid out by the district lodge that employs him, and he must adhere strictly to the routine of work laid out for him. You have noticed since you have been in Chicago, I have no doubt, that many of the manufacturers denied that they knew what we went on strike for. When Mr. Chalmers appeared before your honorable commission, he owned without hesitation that he and his associates did not heed the circular sent out by the machinists, proving conclusively that Mr. Chalmers and his associates were thoroughly acquainted with the demands of the machinists weeks before the machinists attempted to put them into operation. I want to say, further, that some of the gentlemen who appeared before this committee and tried to tarnish the reputation of our organization have been prominent in the past for the arrogance with which they have treated their employees, union or nonunion. If a committee of men, skilled machinists, dared to appear in the office of some of those manufacturers, they would immediately be discharged; and we are in a position at any time to bring proof on this subject.

Mr. Chalmers also placed very great stress on the Link Bolt riot. Gentlemen, this matter was fought out in the courts during 2 days of trial, in which legal assistance of the very first water conducted the case of the employers. The evidence showed clearly that the machinists were not rioters, but the admission of the superintendent of this factory himself proved clearly that had it not been for the union pickets he himself would have suffered bodily injury and that the union pickets saved him and took him out of danger. This was proved in a court after 2 days' trial.

Members of the society that is opposing us to-day complain bitterly that the members of our organization are using force. I want to draw your attention to the fact that not a single prosecution has succeeded against one of our members during this strike. On the other hand, I want to draw your attention to the fact that it has been necessary for the machinists to swear out warrants and have special policemen arrested for arrogance, assault and battery.

Mr. Chalmers also attributes to our national president the assertion that the move in Chicago was brought on with the understanding that if the strike in

Chicago should be won the fight would be carried to all parts of the country. I want to say that Mr. Chalmers either willfully or unwillingly has misrepresented the idea presented by our international president. The assertion made by our international president, to the best of my knowledge, was that if the machinists should succeed in winning in Chicago the respect of the manufacturers of the country would be gained to such an extent that all future grievances would be brought up for arbitration.

Now, gentlemen, I have tried to place the position before you as plainly as I possibly can. The statements I have made, I repeat, are to my best knowledge absolutely true. I want to say that so far as the international officers of the machinists are concerned, we are taking no part in encouraging those men to violence. On the other hand, at all times our advice has been and will be to the men that they observe the law, assuring them that their skill is quite sufficient to gain for them reasonable returns.

Another thing that has been brought prominently before your honorable commission is the assertion by the manufacturers that organizations limit the amount of work a man shall do. I want to say to you, gentlemen, that that statement is absolutely incorrect. I have here a contract signed by one of the largest machinery manufacturers in Chicago, and right in this contract there is a clause which reads, "Nothing in said agreement is to be interpreted as limiting the amount of work a man must do."

I want to say that this has been the policy of our organization right along; and I want to say to the manufacturers who insist that our organization is to run on this basis that we have no objection to inserting this clause in every contract we make, and, furthermore, will not only support the manufacturers in the matter, but will go further and ask that men who are not doing their best shall be discharged, and, if necessary, will place men in their places that will act honestly toward their employers.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Would you mind stating whom that contract is made with?—A. Siemens & Halske.

Q. And the date of it?—A. Saturday, the 24th of March.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Are the other conditions and terms of the settlement just made with Siemens & Halske substantially the terms laid down by you in the fore part of your statement?—A. No. I am glad you mention it, because it is an important matter. In starting I told you that the manufacturers absolutely refused even to discuss the first clause of the contract. We asked that machinists should be exclusively members of our organization. We were perfectly willing to amend that, and did amend it, but by reason of the manufacturers breaking off all negotiations with us we were only able to present it to the individual manufacturers. That we have been doing. I want to state that there is only this difference. I have not one of the original contracts here, but the original contract simply says that all men must be members of the International Association of Machinists. This contract says "That on and after March 26, 1900, the Siemens & Halske Electric Company agree that should they require the services of a general machinist, a competent floor hand, a vise hand, a shaper hand, a lathe hand, milling-machine hand, slotting-machine hand, tool maker, diesinker, or boring-mill hand (?), that we will give this shop committee forty-eight hours in which to furnish us with a competent man; but should the shop committee fail to procure such a man in the stipulated time, then the Siemens & Halske Company reserve the right to hire a man, be he union or nonunion, and refuse to discharge him should he prefer to remain nonunion."

I want to say that from the first our organization has been ready to make this provision with the manufacturers, but on account of the stubbornness of the manufacturers' association we have not been able to present it to them collectively, and, as I have already said, have been compelled to approach the individual manufacturers in the manner we have done.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You will leave with us these contracts of yours?—A. This is the original. If it should please you I will have a copy made and send it to you. Mr. CLARKE. Thank you; we should like it.

The WITNESS. I also wish to state, gentlemen, that if a man is not a competent man, if he is not worth 28 cents an hour, even if he is a member of our organization, our organization will not insist on his being retained. The judge of a man's ability is in all cases to be the employer. Grievances that might require a meeting of the employer and his employees might consist, in a word, of reduction of wages, increase in the hours of labor, unbearable conditions in the shop, or the discharge of a committeeman whom the men might believe was discriminated against on account of the committee work he had taken part in very shortly before he was discharged. A case like that might be referred to the manufacturers.

But for drunkenness, inability, neglect of duty, or any other cause of that nature, the employer has the right at any moment to discharge a man, and our organization will support him in such action.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) And your organization reserves the right to itself to determine, does it not, whether there have been sufficient grounds for the discharge of an employee?—A. If a man gets drunk our organization reserves no right to say to an employer that he shall keep a drunken man. If a man, in the opinion of the employer, is not worth 28 cents per hour our organization allows the employer to be the judge. If a man neglects his work the employer is the judge.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) A witness has testified that the refusals of the unions to recognize varying capacities of men and divide them into classes has a tendency to exclude ordinary and sometimes, perhaps, only fairly efficient workmen from employment and makes types of them. What do you say to that?—A. I want to read this agreement made between the machinists and Siemens & Halske, which will prove that that statement is incorrect. In the shops in Chicago there is a class of men who have been in those shops for years, termed handy men. They are not competent machinists; the machinists do not control them; the machinists do not ask a minimum of 28 cents for those men. The machinists furthermore agree with Siemens & Halske that the men working on switches and lamps, not being full-fledged machinists, are not covered by this agreement; and in another clause, "Nothing is to be considered in the clause relating to vise hands and milling-machine hands"—that is, as to those men such as you mention—"to interfere with the conditions existing in the shops prior to February 22, 1900;" that is, when the shops were in full operation before the strike. Our organization does not seek that the employer discharge men such as are known as handy men.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Does your association issue certificates of competency or proficiency to its members?—A. Our association issues a due book when a man goes traveling, and on his book the nature of the work in which he is engaged is written. The trade of the machinist is divided into many branches, as you will see by the contract and the distinction of the different branches I have read to you. If a man is a general workman, that is to say, is competent to do piece-work and do all machine work—his book, and when he travels, his traveling card, will characterize him as a general workman; if a lathe hand, as a lathe hand; if any other sort of a hand, whatever branch of the industry he has experience at. The book I hold in my hand is a book issued to Brother George Miller, and shows that he is experienced in general work and is entitled to the rights and privileges of membership as long as the book is stamped in accordance with the constitution.

Q. The fact of membership in the organization gives a certificate as to the qualification of the man holding it, according to the particular thing for which it is indorsed?—A. We believe so. Of course men get into all societies that probably should not, and as our organization is not any more perfect than others, there are times when an incompetent man might get into it; but we do hope that a book or a card of the International Association of Machinists is a recommendation to any employer if he wishes a skilled man.

Q. In this contract are the causes for which a man may be discharged without question by the union set down?—A. There is no question of discharge in it. We do not attempt to curtail the right of an employer to discharge anybody. The subject is not mentioned; it is simply one not mentioned there, and I will read it to you.

Q. If a man should be discharged and the employer should give one reason and the members of the union should believe that he was discharged for some other cause, they then would take that up under this agreement?—A. As I have already said, if suspicious circumstances were attached to it, if a man had been engaged in committee work prior to that, or something of that nature, it would be considered a grievance; not otherwise. Our organization seeks to protect its members so far as not to allow them to be discriminated against because they are members of the organization; outside of that we simply seek to have decent wages, not extortionate wages—and I believe every man in the city of Chicago believes that the demand of the machinists is not extortionate—to improve the conditions as well as we can, and to make the hours of labor reasonable, not unreasonable. Nine hours are more than other trades are working which receive a great deal more wages for 8 than the machinists, who are much more skilled, are asking for 9. The machinist, with 9 hours, is asking for a minimum of 28 cents an hour. There are other trades working 9 hours and getting \$4 per day that do not require the skill of a machinist, and there is no controversy over giving it to them at all.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Is your organization perfectly willing to extend substantially the same terms to all manufacturers having labor difficulties as you have extended to Siemens & Halske?—A. Perfectly willing.

Q. Willing to vary them somewhat according to varying circumstances?—A. We are willing to present them with this contract. If there are features in it that are not the main features, that are very objectionable—some of them have objected to the arbitration clause. If employers are so narrow that they can not see the necessity of that, we can not insist upon it. The arbitration clause is for their protection more than it is for ours.

I wish to read the arbitration contract. (Reading:) "In case of a grievance arising, the Siemens & Halske Electric Company agree to receive a committee of their employees"—understand, a committee of their own employees—"to investigate, and, if possible, adjust the same. If no adjustment is reached, the case shall be referred to the Siemens & Halske Electric Company and the executive board, District Lodge No. 8, International Association of Machinists. If no satisfactory settlement is agreed on, the whole subject-matter shall be referred to a board of arbitration of 5 persons, 2 to be selected by the Siemens & Halske Electric Company and 2 by District Lodge No. 8, International Association of Machinists, and the 4 to select a fifth arbitrator. The decision reached by this board to be binding on both parties to this agreement."

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) In the agreement the business agent has nothing whatever to do with it?—A. Is not mentioned.

Q. Nothing whatever to do about bringing about an arbitration?—A. Let me read the beginning of the agreement and you will understand how it is. "Agreement made this 24th day of March, A. D. 1900, by and between the Siemens & Halske Electric Company of Chicago, Ill., and _____, _____, _____, their successors, administrators, and assigns." Three of their employees and the business agent.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Who selects those employees named in the contract?—A. The men working in the shop.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) The objection therefore that some manufacturers make to the interference of walking delegates, business agents, and outside parties is eliminated as far as that contract is concerned?—A. It never has existed in our organization. As I have said, the greater part of the duties of the business agent of the machinists is clerical. Sometimes he is used as an organizer. We do not have a walking delegate. The man is a business agent; just such a man as might be employed by any company to look after its interests. Most companies have attorneys. We choose one of our own members as a clerk to look after the interests of our association, do corresponding, as I told you before, and other such like duties.

Q. In what light do you regard strikes and lockouts?—A. I regard strikes and lockouts as a curse to the country, something that must be eliminated, and our organization has fought to bring that about. If the manufacturers of Chicago had shown any disposition to be fair, the strike in Chicago to-day never would have existed.

Q. It would please you then to enter into something in the nature of a permanent agreement for avoiding strikes and lockouts, would it not?—A. It would, it would. As I have already said, my opinion is that the manufacturers of this country must organize, labor must organize, and then, and not until then, will it be possible to avoid strikes; because by the complete organization of both sides grievances of either organization can be arbitrated.

Q. Some of the manufacturers have testified that as they have to sell their goods in the general market, subject to competition of a large number of places, it will be better to have difficulties arbitrated or arranged by a national or international committee rather than by local committees. What do you say to that?—A. Gentlemen, I stated in my report that we met the national representatives of the National Metal Trades' Association, the association that these gentlemen speak of. They presented a resolution to us along those lines. We were perfectly willing to accept it, but they added, as I said, a condition that we must immediately declare off all strikes. Later on they showed conclusively that they had no power to sign such an agreement with us. We had the power; we were here and had the power; they did not have the power, had no power whatever. We, realizing that, asked that they immediately send out this agreement that they had placed before us to the members of their organization throughout the country, and let us know before the 26th of March. They refused positively. They wanted us to declare the strike off and submit to an arbitration that might come at their pleasure. It might come in a week, it might come in a month, it might come in a year, and it might come in 5 years, and it might not come at all.

That was the proposition we were offered, gentlemen. We stand willing to-day, gentlemen, to enter into this proposition with the manufacturers, but while we respect the rights of the manufacturers and intend to respect the rights of the manufacturers, we are determined that the manufacturers shall respect our rights.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Do you favor any compulsory arbitration laws to settle differences between employers and employees?—A. To the question of compulsory arbitration I have not given a great deal of study.

Q. Do you think any proposition to arbitrate can ever be effective unless it is compulsory?—A. No, no. It would seem logical to me that compulsory arbitration would be the proper thing; but as I have already stated, I have not studied the question of compulsory arbitration nor the manner in which it was to be brought about.

Q. What is your remedy for labor troubles?—A. Arbitration.

Q. You have not your mind made up as to whether it should be compulsory?—A. I say that it seems to me that compulsory arbitration built on strictly fair lines is the proper thing.

Q. Well, it must be on fair lines, otherwise it will not be effective.—A. That is my unbiased opinion.

Q. Is the general sentiment among the organization with which you are connected in favor of arbitration for the settlement of these difficulties?—A. I will send a copy of our constitution down to you. One of its most prominent provisions is this: "5. To settle all disputes between employer and employee by arbitration when possible to do so."

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Is there anything in the by-laws or constitution which reprehends the resort to violence in case of strikes or troubles?—A. Our constitution does not mention the conducting of strikes. It only refers to the manner in which a strike may be declared legally. I want to say that members of our organization can not strike when they please. There is a strike benefit attached to our organization of so much per week. The law says that when a grievance occurs the men shall first appoint a committee to wait upon the employer. If their employer will not reason with them they shall not strike, but refer the grievance to the grand lodge. The grand lodge will then send a representative to that city, and if possible secure a conference with the firm, get a correct statement from the firm and get a correct statement from the men. If the grievance of the men is not just, the organization has the power and does prohibit the men from going on strike. If the grievance is just, the representative of the grand lodge will attempt to secure a settlement. If a settlement can not be secured, then the grand lodge may legalize a strike. So you will see that it is a very difficult matter for a body of men, members of our organization, to go on strike.

Q. Does your organization as such frown upon resorts to violence in case of difficulties with employers?—A. Our organization specifically denounces violence. I want to say that since I have been in Chicago I myself have counseled orderly conduct and strict obedience of the laws. I want to say that my colleague, the international president, has acted along identical lines. I want to say that during my intercourse with the men in Chicago I have not heard an inkling that would lead me to believe that violence has been done. If I had or if my colleague had, we should immediately have proceeded to put a stop to it.

Q. You believe that your organization can be effective along the lines of moral suasion without a resort to violence?—A. Yes, yes. The present strike places the employers in a very embarrassing position. In places in this country where there is no trouble, where shops are paying good wages, machinists can not be secured, for the reason that men come to this city, and come here through misrepresentation. According to the laws of the State of Illinois, advertisements must state that there is a strike, and one prominent firm in the city disobeyed the law; something which has not yet been proven against the men. The men that come under those conditions are generally indignant. We find no difficulty in placing men in other places.

Q. During the pendency of this present difficulty have any of the employers succeeded in keeping their work going by the employment of nonunion labor?—A. Not that I know of.

Q. Any conflict between members of your organization and nonunion men?—A. None that I know of.

Q. Has any riot or collision taken place?—A. One riot took place at the Link Belt Company, and a trial of two days proved that the riot was precipitated by a representative of the company, and that the machinists, so far from precipitating the riot, saved the representative of the company from being used with violence.

Q. Was that all the trouble that you know about?—A. All that I know of. Mr.

Chalmers and some others assert that there has been trouble, but they are unable in a single instance to produce the proof.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You refer now to the machinists' strike?—A. That is all I have to do with.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Is it not a fact that nonunion machinists are prevented from getting work through fear of violence?—A. I do not see why they should be. If men are afraid of being talked to, it certainly shows that they are ashamed of themselves. It is not fear, it is shame that keeps them away.

Q. Of course, that might or might not do it?—A. Of course, that is my impression.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) I think one of the gentlemen asked you a moment ago if you believed that arbitration, to be successful, must be compulsory. If I remember right, you said yes. Did you mean—A. (Interrupting.) Arbitration conducted on a fair basis; yes.

Q. Do you not know of instances of successful arbitration that was not compulsory—voluntary arbitration?—A. Oh, yes; there have been successful instances of voluntary arbitration, I guess. I could not mention any of them specifically, but I believe there have been.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Did not you mean in that answer that arbitration must be abided by?—A. Yes; that is why the arbitration here is compulsory to the extent that the honor of the men is at stake. The company which has signed this agreement has given its word of honor that it will abide by the decision of an arbitration board; the employees have also given their word of honor that they will abide by the decision of the arbitration board. Therefore, it is compulsory so far as honor is concerned.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) It has no binding legal effect?—A. No; it is practically compulsory arbitration.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You have stated that 5,000 members of your union went on strike in Chicago?—A. Yes.

Q. How many members of your union did not go on strike in this city?—A. Oh, quite a few. I could not state the exact number of men who did not go on strike. There the employers signed the contract.

Q. In every instance?—A. Yes; we had, I think, in the second week of the strike 13 employers who had signed contracts.

Q. How was it in the shops of Mr. Webster—was not that his name?—A. The shops of Mr. Webster, previous to the strike, were not thoroughly organized.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Not thoroughly organized?—A. No; since the strike they have become organized. Now, gentlemen, in regard to this strike, it brought on something that I have omitted. The claim is made that the men were incited by irresponsible leaders. The men of the different locals in the city of Chicago instructed the delegates to District Lodge No. 8 to draw up a contract on the lines on which it has been drawn up to present to the manufacturers. The delegates to the district lodge, through a subcommittee, drew up said contract. The contract was then referred to every local lodge in the city, and a vote by means of the referendum was taken. The men were summoned to be present at a meeting or meetings—so many meetings at certain dates. Each man, by secret ballot, voted yes or no to support the enforcement of this agreement, and the city unanimously voted to indorse the pushing of this agreement. The international office had nothing to do with the demands of the men except simply legalizing them; that is to say, We will pay you your strike benefit; we believe the thing is just.

Q. Can you state what the membership of the local unions is?—A. About 4,000, I presume.

Q. You said 5,000 went on strike?—A. They are not all our machinists.

Q. Not all machinists?—A. No; a great many handy men.

Q. Has there been a large growth in the membership of the machinists within the past few months in Chicago?—A. Very large.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) How much the number has increased?—A. About 50 per cent.

Q. In what time?—A. Three months.

Q. Three months ago 2,000 machinists who are now union men were nonunion men?—A. The machinists of Chicago organized to gain those demands.

Q. That was one of the benefits of organization?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you come on as organizer to organize them, or did they do it locally?—A. They did it locally. I was in Connecticut, and the work was going on in Chicago.

Q. If 90 per cent of the machinists in Mr. Webster's shops, for instance, were union men and 10 per cent were nonunion men—who did not desire to become union men—would the union insist upon their discharge?—A. That I am not in a position to state.

Q. You are not?—A. I do not know the feeling of the men on it. I have never asked them the question.

Q. Would the laws of the union compel them to insist upon their discharge?—A. No; the laws of the union do not compel them to insist on any such thing.

Q. Either local or international?—A. No.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Do the laws of your union permit you to work with non-union men?—A. The laws of our union simply ask the men to be diligent.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) There is nothing in the agreement submitted to the manufacturers that the shop should be unionized, is there?—A. I want to say, gentlemen, as an international officer of the machinists, that I am not responsible for the bitter feeling on the part of the men. If 50 men or 100 men in a shop refuse to work with three or four men who have proved traitors, neither I nor any other officer can control them.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) While the laws of your union do not demand that the members shall not work with nonunion men, in practice, I suppose, they will not work?—A. Oh, no; only in cases where men have proved what the men would consider traitors.

Q. What would be a traitor?—A. A man who will work while a strike is going on. We sometimes call him by another word. I do not like it; I use the word traitor.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Where there is no strike, would the union men in the shop be authorized to quit that shop because there were nonunion men working there?—A. No. In a shop where the employer has signed an agreement to employ none but union men the employer will be held to his agreement; but where he has not signed an agreement we have no power. Men sometimes strike to compel an employer to sign an agreement. That is what they have done in Chicago.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) To employ none but union men?—A. Yes.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Does your union attempt in any way to coerce men to become members of the union?—A. No. I want to be truthful, however, and say to you that you can not expect union men to be as pleasant to men who persist in keeping aloof from them as they will be with men who are members of their organization. Sometimes men are persuaded to join an organization because they realize that there is not the warmth of feeling existing between them and their shopmates that there ought to be.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) What do you think is the prospect of settling these different strikes that the machinists have on now in Chicago and in different cities in the country?—A. The strike in Chicago will be contested bitterly until the manufacturers use better judgment than they have used in the past. The manufacturers have characterized the leaders of the men in this city as overfed loafers and scoundrels. In fact, there has never been language too contemptible for them to use concerning the officers, local and international, of our organization. In your own presence one of the manufacturers referred to the men on strike as overgrown children. The men have got exasperated by those remarks and they propose to show that they are the biggest overgrown children they have ever run against.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) But still the men will later on settle it?—A. As soon as they sign that agreement the men will forget all the injuries of the past. I want to say that the best of feeling now exists between the Siemens & Halske Company and our men. The men will work in the Siemens & Halske Company with a vim that they have not shown in years. I am going to make a statement—it is a secondhand statement. I did not visit the employers in the strike for the simple reason that I do not believe it is judicious for me to do it. But one of the employees, the Mr. Camp, a gentleman who signed the contract, told me that Mr. Cohen had complimented him on the organization; said he was glad he had signed the contract; that the men were doing as much work in 9 hours as they formerly did in 10. The men have been underfed probably for some time now by reason of the strike, and it may take some time to get back their wasted vitality, but the manufacturers are to blame for that and not the men; but I believe in a week or two weeks the Siemens & Halske Company will realize that the men are turning out as much work in 54 hours in the week as they formerly did in 60.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) What other specific reform are you striking for besides the reduction from 10 to 9 hours?—A. The control of the apprenticeship system and overtime rates. We ask the manufacturers, if it is absolutely necessary for them to work night and day, to put on two shifts, to put more men to work. Otherwise, if they do not wish to do that, we ask them to pay the men who do work over 9 hours time and one-half for every hour they work until midnight and double time after midnight; and the men are naturally of a religious disposition and they insist on double time for Sunday and also for holidays.

Q. What has been the rule heretofore with respect to overtime?—A. Time and one-half has been the rule in many places.

Q. For all night and Sunday?—A. I want to say, gentlemen, that the machinists are not asking for an increase of wages in Chicago; they are simply asking that a minimum may be placed on the wages that they earn. I want to say that a great many of the manufacturers who are shutting up and locking their men out to-day are paying them as much, if not more, than they are asking for. They are not asking for a 9-hour day with 10 hours' pay. They are simply asking for a 9-hour day with 9 hours' pay.

Q. Are you not practically increasing the minimum so that it makes 10 hours' pay for 9 hours?—A. No.

Q. What was the minimum before you struck?—A. We had no minimum.

A VOICE. For the toolmakers 31½ cents an hour.

Mr. MANTLE. What is the request?

The WITNESS. Twenty-eight cents an hour for machinists.

Q. What were the machinists then earning?—A. They have been earning all the way from \$2.60 to \$2.85 and as high as \$3, some of them a little more, regularly in this city. All we asked for was a specific minimum.

Q. What does that minimum mean? Does it fix the pay for the lowest grade?—A. For the lowest grade; that is all. We say if a man is not worth 28 cents an hour he is not a machinist.

Q. What would you term the lowest grade in your trade?—A. He is a handy man.

Q. You want 28 cents an hour for him?—A. No; not for the handy man.

Q. Not for him?—A. No; only for a competent machinist. The handy man is not included in the agreement at all, and the agreement of Siemens and Halske shows, I think, to the satisfaction of the gentlemen of the commission that we did not interfere with the handy men.

Q. A machinist, then, working 9 hours on the minimum rate would earn \$2.52 in 9 hours; is that it?—A. Yes; 28 cents an hour.

Q. Is not that an increase over what he has been earning for 9 hours?—A. I do not consider it so; it is not as much as he has been receiving for 10 hours, but they are willing to work for 9 hours, and they want a steady rate an hour.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Has there been an increase in the products which the manufacturers demand that would warrant an increase in wages, in your opinion?—A. The increase of the product is getting more and more every year. As improved machinery comes, the product is increased. I can remember going to serve my apprenticeship—

Q. (Interrupting.) I mean is there an increase in the return to the manufacturer which would warrant an increase in the wages of the employee?—A. I should say so, in prices and everything else. We have hit prosperity good and hard, I am glad to say.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Has there been any advance in wages to machinists, that you know of, the last year?—A. Not that I know of, in Chicago.

Q. Have you heard of any?—A. There have been several reductions in years past, but not any increases.

Q. Have there been no advances at all?—A. Not that I know of.

Q. Not in Chicago?—A. The district secretary of Chicago does not know of any. There might have been individual advances, but no general advance. Of course, we know of general advances, but we do not know of any individual advances.

Q. The reason I ask that was that I was talking with an employer from a printing press concern to-day, and his men have all struck, and I asked him if there had been any advance in wages, and he said there had?—A. The district secretary informs me here that the men in the Goss Printing Press Company had an advance of 10 per cent, and that the wages previously were \$2 a day, and the advance of 10 per cent still kept them much below the average wages paid in the city. I know of another printing press shop here in the city that is the best paying press institution in the world, whose presses not only go into the United States, but go to Europe; presses that they can likely get their own prices for, and have had a large increase in their trade, and they have actually been paying machinists there \$1.75.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) What printing press establishment is that?—A. The Miehle, I believe, is it not?

A VOICE. I am not acquainted with it.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you know whether or not the Federal Steel Company, the American Steel and Wire Company, the American Steel Hoop Company, etc., employ machinists or not?—A. Yes; I believe they do. You mean the Illinois steel people?

Q. Yes.—A. Oh, yes; they employ machinists. The condition of the machinists in the employ of the Illinois steel plant are perfectly satisfactory, and the men never have to go on strike; they never asked to go on strike; there never has been any desire on the part of our organization to call them on strike.

Q. Have not their wages been increased since this prosperous period came in?—A. Yes; on several occasions, and that is one of the reasons they have not been called out.

Q. Do they not have a sliding scale the same as the amalgamated?—A. We have not any scale, we have simply a minimum. The employer can pay his men just as much as he pleases, but he can not pay them less than 28 cents an hour.

Q. You have that minimum in the Illinois steel?—A. That I do not know. I do not believe there is a man in the Illinois steel plant getting as little as that.

Q. As little as that?—A. I do not believe there is.

A VOICE. They get 29 cents an hour.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have you fixed a minimum? Is there any danger that your employers will take advantage of that and bring it down in a measure?—A. I do not think they would try.

Q. Would there be anything to prevent them?—A. Oh, yes; the men are at liberty to refuse. And in these times it is for the employer's interest to keep his men, because he would not get any others after he signed a contract like that.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Is an individual man entitled, under the rules of your union, to contract with his employer for a higher rate of wages than the minimum, or is the contract made by the committee?—A. The men go to the employer. The shop committee has nothing to do with it.

Q. Now, let us know a little more about this working of overtime. In case a manufacturer had orders which he needed to fill, and which were not likely to require more than two or three days of overtime, would you require an extra set of hands to be employed for that, or would that be treated as an emergency?—A. It would be treated as wages coming under the overtime rates; he would have to pay the overtime rates. I want to impress the committee with this—you will notice that I am, according to the statements of some of our manufacturers, an overfed loafer. I do not carry a great deal of flesh. In my time I have worked a good deal of overtime. When a man works 10 hours in a machine shop, light and pleasant as it is, when he gets up in the morning before he can see himself and comes back at night stumbling all over himself in the dark after working 10 hours, and when you compel that man to work 5 hours more, you are injuring that man. I want to say to you that the poor health and poor physical condition that I and a great many other machinists have got might be directly attributed to overtime. The man who works overtime, even at what would seem an exorbitant rate, does not make money; he loses.

Q. Do you think that the manufacturers generally desire to have their hands work overtime except in case of a brief or temporary emergency?—A. Yes; I feel confident that many manufacturers would run men night and day if they could do it.

Q. You do not mean to state that that is general, do you?—A. Oh, no. I want to say there are men who would do that. I want to say that there are manufacturers in the city of Chicago for whom we have the highest respect and confidence; but while we respect and have confidence in them, it is dangerous to establish a precedent upon which the unscrupulous employer might make capital.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Let me know a little more about the difference between the handy man and the common laborer in a shop.—A. The common laborer is a man whose only qualification is physical strength—a man that can lift a block of wood or pull on a rope, stick the tackle up, sweep the shop, and other such jobs as that; that is labor.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) What wages does he get?—A. He generally gets \$1 to \$1.25 a day.

Q. Has he got a union?—A. That is why he is getting \$1.25; he has not got one.

Q. If he has not the strength and intelligence and the ability, would he ever get as much as the handy man?—A. No.

Q. What does he get?—A. If you will excuse me, to finish my explanation, he is a man who can do a little something. There are very simple machines, a great many of them, in machine shops; drill presses, very simple milling machines, just straight work, screw machines, and such things as that. They are skilled men, but as they are really able to do only one thing, and that not requiring an extraordinary amount of skill, these men are termed handy men. They might take a hammer and chisel and knock a bolt off a casting, drill a hole, or operate a very simple machine. These men we did not ask 28 cents an hour for, and these men were positively not interfered with. The employer has a perfect right to hire as many of those men as he previously did.

Q. And pay anything he can get them for?—A. Yes; these men generally take care of themselves. They are with us now; these men are fighting with us, and I believe we will take care of them.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) He is put to any kind of work that his employer sees cause to put him to in the shop?—A. He is put to the work that is most profitable to his employer.

Q. But he must not take any part of the work of the skilled machinists?—A. No; the machinists will not allow that. The machinists' union generally is considerably on the line of the lawyers' union, the bar association. A man may know a great deal about law, he may have studied law, but unless he has come up to the requirements of the bar association he does not practice. Now, the lawyers are people that are down on the trade unions very much; but I saw a case in Chicago not very long ago where the judge fined a lawyer for doing something that the bar association did not like.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Violated some of the rules of their union?—A. Yes; violated some of the rules of their union.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Was it not some rule of court that he violated?—A. Well, the bar association makes a great many of them, I guess.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) He was disbarred for unprofessional conduct. Do you ever disbar any of your men?—A. For unprofessional conduct?

Q. Yes.—A. Well, it depends upon what you call unprofessional conduct. I will tell you one thing we will do that I do not think the lawyers will do, although we are looking for this 9-hour day to get drunk. If a man gets drunk very often we will disbar him. I do not think the lawyers would. [Laughter.]

Q. But you do suspend members for conduct that is not becoming to members of the organization?—A. Our organization will suspend a member for not paying debts that he ought to pay. We will not allow a dishonest man in our organization. Any competent, sober, and industrious machinist, who has worked at the trade four years or more and received the minimum rate of wages in his locality, may be admitted to membership in any local lodge after complying with the constitution of the grand lodge and the by-laws of the local lodge. They are both here. A man before he joins the organization has those two things on hand. If a man is one of these fellows that believes in spending every extra hour he can get, according to Mr. Gates's idea, in a saloon, he is not likely to become a member of our organization. I want to say that that remark has caused a great deal of resentment throughout the city. Some of the boys have gone to the length of saying that while every glass of beer they take is open and aboveboard and liable to be seen, probably Mr. Gates may have a great many more out of sight than they have in sight, and such men as he. That is the feeling that the expression of such men causes among the machinists of the city. The manufacturers have created a feeling of resentment that has embittered the men. The manufacturers have been unscrupulous in their abuse of us. I am safe in saying that there is not a member of the Commission but with perfect freedom would be invited to attend every meeting we are holding in the city, and if you can find a drunken man I will stand for the abuse that has been given us. I want to say now that I have not seen a drunken man near one of our meetings. I have not seen a drunken man on picket duty. And when we are characterized as wanting another hour for a low, contemptible motive, and one hour more to spend in the grogshop, as an international officer of the machinists, I want to say that I do not patronize grogshops, I have no use for grogshops, and very little use for men that frequent grogshops. I want to say that the standard of morality among the machinists is just as high as the standard of morality among the men who are trying to defame them, and that the standard of ability is as high, if not higher, than in any trade in the city. And I want to say that we are men that Uncle Sam needs. Dewey fired the guns, but it took the men to make them, and even the Army of the United States is literally dependent on the machinists. These men that by their efforts build the ponderous machines that bring Europe and America together in a few days, the men upon whom the industries of our country are wholly dependent, are without exception the lowest-priced mechanics in this country, and work the longest hours; and then when they do, in a courteous manner, ask their employers to better their conditions, those employers turn around and refer to them in scurrilous language, say that they are overgrown kids, say that they want the 9-hour day in order that they may frequent the bawdyhouse. That is the treatment we have got. Now, gentlemen, I leave the matter with you.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) You spoke a moment ago of picket duty; what do you refer to?—A. The picket is the national committee. [Laughter.] The picket is a body of men appointed by the employees of a shop to meet men who intend to take their places and by moral coercion, by demonstration, to show the fault

ness of their attitude, educate them to such an extent that instead of working for a man antagonistic to labor, they will join the union and help them to fight that man. That is the duty of a picket. As for violence, just let me cite a specific case. In spite of the fact that the manufacturers claim they have no police protection, Term's shop had police protection. They also had special police or, as the boys term them, "fly cops." One of our pickets, doing duty which the courts have declared legal, was requested by one of these hirelings to move a little faster. The man did not feel inclined to run, and was immediately confronted with a very ferocious gun placed at his breast, and not only that, but received a most severe punch in the neck. This was a case of the doing of violence. The pickets of the companies are the men who are doing the violence. In the police court it was proved that the pickets of the Link Belt Company caused the riot, and that serious injuries to an officer of the Link Belt Company were only prevented by the union pickets.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Without speaking of the machinists' strike particularly, but of all strikes in general, you recognize the fact, do you not, that there is apt to be violence on both sides?—A. I recognize the fact that circumstances may bring about a riot at any time; not only in strikes, but at all times. For instance, lot a little lad hit a man with a snowball; if such a man should take a Colt out of his pocket and fire three shots in the air, it may cause a riot at any time. That was done by the esteemed foreman of the Link Belt Company.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) You spoke a little while ago of the association, or the union, participating in politics. You explained that by saying that you are American citizens, and as such you have a perfect right to participate in politics. If I remember right, the suggestion was made with some special reference, and I want to ask you, does the union participate as a body with any political party?—A. The union assures to every applicant for membership that his political or religious duties shall not be interfered with. The union, however, tries to impress upon each applicant the necessity of voting for men who will vote for their interests.

Q. Does the union, as a body, act together politically?—A. Never.

Q. Are politics discussed in it with a view to the organization acting as a body?—A. Never. The only thing discussed is political economy.

Q. Does the union, as a body, ever act together in fact, in practice?—A. Never knew of it; never knew of it.

Q. Has it been charged here that your union has acted with any party as a unit?—A. I have got a clipping here. It might explain to you why I approach that question. [Reading:] "We believe, said Mr. Chalmers"—Mr. Chalmers has been going to fill his shop for the last month; he has not succeeded yet—"we believe that unless something is done to overthrow the unions and break up political machines, and unless that something is radical, Chicago as an industrial center is doomed." Mr. Chalmers evidently infers that our organization is in league with political machines. The trouble with us in the past has been that we have not been united enough; that we never could get our members united; that it was an impossibility to do it. The old spirit of American independence is there, and the son of a Republican will be a Republican until he is convinced otherwise, and it is a very hard matter to convince him otherwise. Some of them would not believe it if you did convince them.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) A son of a what?—A. I say the son of a Republican will be a Republican, and the son of a Democrat will be a Democrat. I want to say candidly that Mr. Chalmers has more to do with political machines than we have. Men that will form machines and lobby to defeat bills, and glory in killing bills that are to protect the lives of poor, defenseless workmen—if you do not call that political rottenness I do not know what rottenness is.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) That is not a partisan organization.—A. I should say it is; it is partisan to this extent: If you are not an employer you can not belong.

Q. That is not politics; that is what you call industry.—A. No; these societies are never partisan at all; but they are such things that they feel that they can get it every time.

Q. As I understand, your union, as a body, acts independently?—A. Our union, as a body, acts independently.

Q. According to their own conscience?—A. Every man according to his own ideas.

Q. No persuasion that he shall go with any political party?—A. Party politics are strictly forbidden. A man can become a member if he pleases, but party politics are strictly forbidden. A member of our own organization, were he a candidate, could not stand up in our meeting and say he was a candidate and solicit our aid. He would be quietly sat down upon. Our organization is a strictly

business organization, formed for the purpose of teaching manufacturers that there are others.

Q. I have heard that there are labor leaders holding positions in the city administration. That is a little outside of your—A. (Interrupting.) I am quite willing to answer.

Q. I just want to ask you if you knew whether that had happened?—A. Yes; I know of trade unionists that hold political positions, and I know of other fellows. Is it against a man, because he is a trade unionist, to hold a political position?

Q. Not unless he holds it by virtue of the fact that he is a trade unionist.—A. What does the other fellow get it for? He gets it by virtue of being a good Republican or a good Democrat. If by being a good trade unionist he gets a position I do not see why he should not.

Q. He should. But if he believes that by being a member of an organization and then carrying his organization he will get it, that is questionable.—A. Yes; I say decidedly, yes. I have never heard of a man that would do anything like that, but I say it is not right to interfere with the rights of any citizen, if that man is qualified to hold that position and can get it. I have no right to say to him, you have got that through your pull with the union. I believe that if I did I should be liable to be chastised very smartly, and it would not be for being a scab either.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Have you any information as to how many officers of the trade unions in this city now hold political appointments under the city government?—A. I have no information. I know that every machinist employed by the city of Chicago is a union man. I know also that the United States Government, in the shape of a shop in the hands of a receiver, had confidence enough in our organization to sign the contract. The other fellows that were not as big as the United States Government do not have the organization. I also want to say that the moment a man in our organization ceases to work at the trade he must take a withdrawal card.

Q. What?—A. A withdrawal card—no longer a member of the organization.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) That is so in many other organizations?—A. Yes; it is so in the vast majority of labor organizations.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) The name of your organization is the International—A. International Association of Machinists.

Q. Can you tell us the extent of it?—A. Canada, Mexico, and the United States.

Q. It does not include Great Britain, then?—A. No; the Amalgamated Society of Engineers includes that.

Q. I saw a statement in the morning paper that the machinists are to receive aid from the British machinists. Is that growing out of any regulation in your organization?—A. No; it is a debt of gratitude. Several years ago the machinists of Great Britain struck for an 8-hour day. The machinists of the United States sent thousands of dollars to them while they were on strike; and the machinists of England, feeling that they ought to reciprocate, are getting ready to pour thousands of dollars into the city of Chicago to the striking machinists. That accounts for it.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Do you know whether it is true that the manufacturers of England believe that as a result of that great engineers' strike a vast amount of work that would otherwise have gone to England is now being done in the United States?—A. I do not only believe it, Mr. Kennedy. I am positively sure of it.

Q. You know it is true?—A. I know that one company, the Allis, of Milwaukee, has got thousands upon thousands of dollars worth of work on account of that strike, to the best of my knowledge.

Q. Do you think there is any danger now to the engineers of this country in going on a strike, that it might become general and operate to drive that business back to England?—A. I would not say it would not. I can tell you one thing, Mr. Chalmers wished to have the view thrown out that he was very liberal. I understand Mr. Chalmers used up one of the proprietors of the shop he is in now. It now belongs to an English syndicate.

Q. An English syndicate?—A. Yes; probably that syndicate had a touch of the machinists on the other side and came here. Now, through the kindly inter-ference and bulldog tenacity of Mr. Chalmers they may have a touch of it here and they may go back. They might as well be at home against the union as to be here. Now, gentlemen, I hope if you have any further questions you will be as prompt as you can.

Q. Have you any further engagement?—A. Yes; I am the only international officer in town, and I have men at seven or eight different points in the city.

We provide halls for the men to meet in, so that they will not patronize the resorts attributed to them by Mr. Gates. They need a little supervision, and they want a little attention, and I will make probably five or six speeches a day.

I want to say to you in closing that the policy of the machinists in Chicago is going to be a peaceable policy. We are going to abide by the law, but we are going to keep on strike until the manufacturers become reasonable and at least discuss with us our demands. When they come to have common courtesy enough to treat with men as men, we may do something with the manufacturers' association. Until then we will keep on strike, or compel the manufacturers to give us what we have courteously requested them to give us. We mean to strike until we win, if it takes months to do it.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Will you leave us a copy of one of these agreements, and also a copy of your constitution?—A. You can have the copy that I used. I will send the general one. I will have a copy of this agreement typewritten—we manage to do business in a business way—and I will have some struck off. One copy will be enough?

Testimony closed.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 27, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. THOMAS H. JONES,

Machinist.

The special subcommission met at 10.05 a. m. Mr. Clarke presiding. At that time Mr. Thomas H. Jones, of Chicago, a machinist, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. Thomas H. Jones.

Q. Post-office address.—A. Grand Central Hotel, Chicago.

Q. And your occupation.—A. Machinist.

Q. Are you employed at the present time?—A. Yes.

Q. In what works?—A. Troy Laundry Machinery Company.

Q. We shall be pleased to hear you make a statement in your own way concerning industrial conditions here and your knowledge of them generally.—A. Mr. Chairman, I wish to state that I am a free-born American citizen. I have come here to give my views on unionism without fear of any man or organization. Unionism is a mild form of anarchy roaming about in a new dress. (Reading:)

I am a nonunion man. I beg leave to give you my views on unionism, and also why I am a nonunion man, and in doing so I am also speaking for many others who hold the same views. Unionism, as I see it, is the most selfish organization that has ever been sprung upon mankind. Bread and butter for the union man and his family; starvation and death for the nonunion man and his family. Unions have decreed that all men outside of their organization must be unionized or they can not work. In other words, they must join our union or they must die. I claim that an organization that seeks to deny the right of existence to all men outside of that organization has no rights whatever on American soil. Public opinion should rise up in its might and assert itself. It should demand of this organization who gave it such high-handed authority as to deny to all men their right to live who refuse to join their organization. Our union brethren seem to have forgotten entirely that this is a free country and that each and every individual has personal rights which no man or organization has any right to take from him.

If our union brothers wish to give their personal rights to a few labor agitators, that is their business and not ours; we nonunion men have no right to raise a voice; but, on the other hand, when our union brethren come to us and not only demand, but insist, that we nonunion men must follow suit and do likewise, whether we wish to or not, it strikes me very forcibly that they have crossed the line and gotten outside their territory entirely. Having given up their own rights, they are now running about trampling upon the rights of others.

In the union, no matter how good a position a man may have or how well contented that man may be, when Caesar pulls the string, that man has got to dance, and the dance goes on until somebody cuts the string. The result is that he is out looking for another position, and the chances are that he can not find one near so good as the one he was compelled to give up. If this is not surrendering your personal rights to the union, then I must confess that I do not know what

personal rights are. Each and every individual has a perfect right to go forth and earn an honest living in his own way and on his own terms, as he sees fit, without being dictated to by any man or organization.

The union men have asked for recognition of the union. That means that the employer must forfeit his right to hire whomsoever he will and discharge whomsoever he will. In other words, it means that the employer must hire none but union men. It also means that the employer must be a party to assist the union in denying all men outside of their organization their right to earn their daily bread. Do our union brothers think for one moment that the manufacturers of this city are going to be a party to such a base scheme as this? If they do, in my opinion, they are going to be very much disappointed.

Unionism has created a chasm as big as an ocean between the employer and the employee. It has also arrayed labor against labor; it has divided labor into two classes, namely, gentlemen, as our union brothers are pleased to call themselves, while their nonunion brothers, who are their equals in every respect, are branded as "scabs." This title, I understand, was adopted and approved by the union. This is one of the base methods they have of increasing their membership. That is what the title is for. Some men join them simply to avoid being called a "scab."

The chasm between the employer and employee must be filled in. Labor must not be divided. Labor must not be arrayed against labor. So long as these conditions are allowed to exist, just so long must chaos exist and violence rule. Union and nonunion men must work side by side, just as the Republican and the Democrat work side by side; just as the Christian and the non-Christian work side by side. If organized labor desires to change the order of things, their organization must be placed upon a better foundation than the one it is resting upon to-day. They must also purge themselves of the base methods they use in order to increase their membership. There are men in the unions to-day who were actually scared in, they are not there of their own free will.

What do I mean by this statement? I mean that just a few weeks prior to the strike the union men began to work like bees in the shop and out of the shop. They tell their nonunion brothers that a strike is about to be declared and they are going to win. Better come in now while the initiation fee is away down; it is liable to take a big jump at any time. You must join or you can not work. Union men are the only ones that will be given employment. This, of course, sends a large number of men into the union. Others who are not so easily trapped must have a little more pressure brought to bear upon them. The snap-shot method is here introduced; they are told that their photographs are going to be sent broadcast over the land if they do not join, and that they will forever be branded as scabs and will not be able to procure work no matter where they go.

How any upright Christian man can become a factor in these labor organizations as they are being conducted to-day I fail to understand. Speaking from the standpoint of a church member, I feel that if I were to join the union as it is to-day I would not be able to serve both. It seems very evident to me that I should have to play the part of a hypocrite somewhere in order to serve both. The church teaches us to love all those who are outside of the church as well as those who are in it. The unions tell me that I must love and help all those who are in the union and dispise all those who are outside the union. I am told that I must not work with them; told to treat them as scabs and hound them wherever they go; I must do all in my power to prevent them from earning a dollar to satisfy their hunger. Yea, more than that, I must not even touch a stone that has been quarried by these nonunion men, for fear of getting myself polluted.

At times unionism looks to me like anarchy being distilled into the minds of the workmen in homeopathic doses. Unionism seems to have one eye only, and that eye can see no good in anything outside of the union. All things approved of by the union are right and just; all things not approved of by the union are unjust. This one-sidedness of the union is the curse of labor organizations to-day. The unions claim that it is wrong for any man to operate two machines; they contend that he is depriving another man of earning a living for his wife and family. Grant this to be true, I ask, what are those union men doing who work all day in the shop themselves, while their wives at home are running a dressmaking establishment, a milliner store, or some other kind of a shop? I call this worse than running two machines. Is not the widow, the small shopkeeper, and many others who depend entirely on their little store to support them and their families, deprived of a very large amount of trade by these greedy union men, who, having eyes to see the faults of others, can not see their own?

If it is right and just for the union to demand of the manufacturer that he hire none but union men, is it not equally right and just for the church to demand of

the manufacturer that he hire none but church members? I ask what would the attitude of union men be if the church dared to make such a demand? Yet this is the very principle that the union men are fighting for so bitterly.

Let me not be misunderstood. Much as I have denounced unionism I am not opposed to labor organizations. Far from it. I know that much good can be wrought through and by them. It is their present methods of doing business that I object to and not the organization as a whole.

Unionism as it is to-day is far in advance of the saloon in breaking up homes and wrecking the lives of honest workingmen. If a minister of the gospel can invoke a blessing on these labor organizations, I see no reason why he can not also invoke one on the saloon.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Are you a Christian?—A. Yes.

Q. You say you have denounced the union, and in a way you have. Do you think you have displayed a Christ-like spirit in what you say about it?—A. I feel that I have or I would not have done it. If I am wrong I want to be right. That is what we are here for. Unionism is now on trial before the public, and we want to hear from both sides. I am not so far prejudiced but I can be swung about and put upon the right track.

Q. Do you suppose that if Christ were here He would denounce the union or the union men?—A. I think He would.

Q. Think He would?—A. I mean on the basis that they are being run on to-day, because the unions are undoing the work that the church is doing.

Q. You think He would be a different man from the kind of a man He was when He was on earth before, do you?—A. Well, I can not say about that.

Q. You say you think He would denounce the union if He were here to-day, and the union men. Were you ever a member of the union?—A. Never was a member.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Are the shops in which you are employed union shops?—A. Nonunion shops.

Q. Do they employ any union men?—A. Oh, yes; they make no distinction there whatever.

Q. Have you ever worked in a union shop?—A. No; I do not know of any shops that are union among the machinists at the present time.

Q. Do you make your individual arrangement with the employers or do you work through some committee?—A. I make it personally with the employer.

Q. Is that the case with all the hands in the shop where you work?—A. Yes.

Q. Are they thoroughly competent machinists?—A. Yes. Well, they are just as competent as any other class.

Q. Just as competent as the best of the union men?—A. Why, certainly. There are men outside of the union who have forgotten more about their trade than the union men know. There are good men on both sides, I can not deny that.

Q. You get substantially the same wages in the shop where you work that are paid in the shops where more union men work?—A. I get just the same pay; in fact, I have even received more pay than the union men themselves have received.

Q. Are you satisfied with your pay?—A. I am satisfied at the present time.

Q. Satisfied with your hours of labor?—A. Well, I should like very well to see shorter hours. We nonunion men are not opposed to more pay and shorter hours; not at all.

Q. How many hours a day do you think would be about right?—A. I should like to have the nine-hour day.

Q. Do you see any harm in the workingmen combining, making common cause, and endeavoring to secure a nine-hour day?—A. I do not.

Q. You do not see any objection to that same kind of combination to secure better wages when you think better wages are due, do you?—A. No; I do not; but I want to see a combination such that we can all join it. I do not believe in putting my foot on the other man's neck, who refuses to join, and holding him down. Let the organization be free for all men to join, whether they will or whether they will not.

Q. You seem to think that the unions adopt too many coercive methods?—A. It is their coercive methods that we are opposed to.

Q. You do not think that their methods are all persuasive?—A. Not all; but their methods of increasing their membership are very persuasive.

Q. Do you believe in strikes and lockouts?—A. I do not.

Q. What is your idea about what should be done when workmen and employers disagree as to some matters vital to the workmen?—A. I feel that the local organizations ought to be under the control of the national, and arbitrate it.

Q. Could they not arbitrate it without being under the control of anybody?—
A. Not so well.

Q. Why not?—A. As it is to-day the local organizations are at liberty to call a strike at any moment, whereas if they were under the control of the national organization they could not.

Q. Is that the only reason?—A. That is all that I have to offer at present.

Q. What proportion of the machinists that work in Chicago belong to the union or to unions?—A. I do not know just how they stand now during the strike. Prior to the strike, if I am right, about one-third were in the union; but, of course, just prior to the strike that is where they increase their membership, and after the strike is over their membership decreases, because so many have been scared in. They do not go in there of their own free will.

Q. What do they do? Withdraw or let their dues accumulate?—A. They generally will let themselves run behind, and then they are expelled.

Q. When they are expelled, what is the effect upon them in reference to getting employment?—A. It seems that they can not get any, especially if the union men can prevent it.

Q. They can get it in nonunion shops, can they not?—A. They can, in most cases.

Q. Is it considered any bar upon a man in a nonunion shop to have belonged to a union and been expelled from it?—A. No; a nonunion shop makes no discrimination whatever. They think just as much of their nonunion and union brothers as they do of themselves.

Q. How is a man's competency in his trade ascertained in a nonunion shop?—
A. He must prove himself to be a mechanic by his work.

Q. He brings no certificate with him.—A. He brings none at all; his work proves what he is.

Q. He has to be taken on trial, then, really, does he not?—A. Yes. Well, all men are taken on trial.

Q. In union shops?—A. Union and nonunion alike. All union men can not hold their position.

Q. But does not a union man possess some advantage by carrying a certificate of his good standing in the union?—A. It might have some weight in some shops. Some firms do not want any recommendation whatever. They want a man to prove himself to be a mechanic.

Q. What practices specifically would you eliminate in unions in order to preserve the good features and have them such as you would be willing to belong to?—A. I want them to eliminate all these base methods they have of forcing and scaring and driving men into them, and I want them to stop this hounding of all those who are outside of them.

Q. Is the hounding all on one side?—A. It is all on one side.

Q. Is there a nonunion union, so to speak—any combination of nonunion men to offset the unions?—A. I do not know of any whatever.

Q. In any trade?—A. In any trade. That is something I have been trying to advocate for some time, that there should be one. That is the only thing that will ever bring the union men into line, and I think it a case of necessity, just the same as we have several different political parties. The one party holds the other in line.

Q. Then it is not unionism to which you object, but the present method?—A. It is just the methods, nothing more. There is nothing that would please me better than to see an organization that we could all join.

Q. Then you do not think that trades unionism would teach anarchy, or lead to anarchy, or be anarchy if it were organized on the right principle?—A. I do not.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Are you a typewriter, Mr. Jones?—A. No.

Q. Do you own a typewriter?—A. I do not own one.

Q. You had these copies prepared? I notice you have many of them.—A. Yes; I paid for them out of my own pocket. I took so much interest that I squandered almost \$10.

Q. The manufacturers' association or any other association has not paid anything, have they, to help you?—A. No; not a penny. In fact, those men do not know that I am here.

(Testimony closed.)

(CHICAGO, ILL., March 27, 1900.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN A. LONG,*President Board of Business Agents, Building Trades Council, Chicago.*

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m., March 27, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 10.55 a. m. Mr. John A. Long was sworn as a witness and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your name?—A. John A. Long.

Q. Your post-office address?—A. No. 353 Wells street, gas fitter; business agent.

Q. Business agent for what?—A. Chicago Gas Fitters' Association.

Q. We should be happy to have you proceed in your own way and state your knowledge of the industrial conditions here, especially pertaining to your trade and your union.—A. I hold to our union as near as possible. Of course we are mixed a little bit with a couple of other trades; we work in the same shops, under the same bosses. We have had an organization since 1879. I have been a member for 17 years myself; been business agent for a little over 4 years—4 years last January. Previous to the World's Fair we had in the neighborhood of 100 members in our organization. During the World's Fair they brought a lot of men here; some were competent and some were incompetent; and we had an organization of about 300. After the World's Fair times were dull, and the membership fell away to about what we have at the present time—about 160 members. We have in the city of Chicago not more than 6 nonunion men in our line. All that we can locate are 3; but about 3 more may have come in; that is, in the city of Chicago. Previous to the World's Fair, because this number of men came in, and then after the World's Fair, on account of the dull times, it was impossible for the men to get employment; there are so many contractors in our line that are engaged in this business in Chicago, and they had to make a living for themselves. They worked on the line that if they secured a number of boys and figured cheap on the work they got the work. They worked the boys night and day and did the work themselves; worked Sundays as well. As the organization's representative I went around and interviewed these men and asked them if they did not think it was policy to figure according to what legitimate contractors did and employ men. They said they had to make a living for themselves, that they were entitled to employ all the boys they wanted to, and go ahead and do the work. But I said, we have served our life at this business and learned this trade, and we are entitled to protection; we are entitled to work for a living ourselves; we have no right to stay around and see the ruin of our industry. And so at that time our organization passed a resolution that anybody handling tools and doing the work must carry a card and be a member of the organization. We stopped the bosses from working in the city of Chicago, put them all on equal terms, legitimate contractors and illegitimate contractors. There was one firm on the north side in particular—I will not mention their name; it might hurt them in business, but they did most of the work on the north side at this time. They had boys working for them—there were two brothers—and they worked the boys night and day and Sundays. I spoke to them many a day and told them they were doing wrong. They said as long as they did not employ union men they could employ all the boys and do the work cheap and get the money. I said to them, "Well, you are ruining the trade for everybody else besides yourself. Nobody will be able to make a living at it; you are spoiling the industry." They said they did not care; they were just looking out for themselves. I said, "The condition of your work shows that you do not care whether you do competent work or not." They said, "No; all we care about is just to get it in and get our money. We do not care whether it is competent or not." It was for these reasons that we had to stop the bosses from doing the work, to get employment for our men; and we were the first organization that put a limit on a day's work.

Q. The first organization in Chicago, you mean, in the building trade?—A. In Chicago, yes; something like 3 years ago. The first you hear of it is during this strike. The legitimate contractors, after it had been in vogue a short time, came around and congratulated me on putting it into effect; said it gave them a fair opportunity to figure with these other people; that we were only doing what was right and just. The small contractors that were doing business in Chicago, we believed at that time were trying to force this issue. We figured out the amount of work that we did when we were working 10 hours with a helper—everybody with a helper—we figured what we were doing in 8 hours; we took an average, and we placed it on the average. We can take you around and you can get evidence from the bosses, if they will produce their books, and we will show that

during the last few years, working under a limitation, we are doing in 8 hours more work than we did in 10 hours with a helper.

Q. You have a helper now, I suppose?—A. No; we do not. The contractors think it is unnecessary for a man to have a helper; unless it is actually necessary they will not favor you with one.

The causes that led up to this strike have been brewing, I guess, for about 2 years. When they first started to hold a meeting the secretary of that committee, whom I am very well acquainted with, I asked him what the cause was. He said they were figuring on having a lockout. I said, "Are you going to succeed?" He said, "I don't care; I am getting paid for it, you know, and I will jolly the thing along." Well, he jollied it into a great lockout. When they finally came around and locked out on the 5th of February—I think there are, at the present time, in the master plumbers' association somewhere in the neighborhood of 700 or 800 men—there were 7 contractors, that issued an ultimatum to about 9 gas fitters. The rest that employed gas fitters refused to issue an ultimatum to them. On the following Monday there was one firm that was approached and was told that he would have to lay off his men, which he did. I interviewed him, and I said, "Why, this is peculiar; what are you laying off for? There isn't any trouble." He said, "No, but the organization has ordered me to lay them off." I said, "Did you ask them to sign the ultimatum?" He said, "No; I would not ask them to sign that. We have no trouble with the gas fitters, and have not had; everything is satisfactory." "But," he says, "we have got to lay them off for a few days until the strike is adjusted." The following day, it seems, they found out that another man, doing business in the central part of the town, had not laid his men off; so they went to him, and that night or the next morning he laid his men off. I interviewed him, and he said he would consider it an insult to ask the gas fitters to sign the ultimatum; that he never had any grievance against the gas fitters; they were perfectly satisfied, and he simply laid his men off, but he would never ask the plumbers to sign the ultimatum; he had not asked anybody to sign the ultimatum. Of course there were some that were stirred up, and conditions were such that they had a few grievances in some cases, but most of them had none. I said, "That is peculiar; that you should lock the men out and not have any grievance." About two weeks after that they found another one of their members who had not locked his men out; so he was notified and locked his men out. At the present time there are a few working yet that they have not found—union gas fitters that were not locked out. At the present time they are working for members of the contractors' association.

In leading up to this trouble, after the committees had met and they got to this trouble, I was around, and was interviewed by several of the master plumbers, and they suggested to me that I find some means of settling this difficulty. I said, "We are always willing to settle it the best we can, and we are willing to arbitrate. You say you have no grievance." He said, "Well, do something to bring about a settlement." So we went around. I asked him to suggest something if he could, but he could not suggest anything. So we met about, I guess, three times—oh, well, I do not know—I do not want to give the names of the people away. We got together in a committee, and I suggested certain things and he suggested some, and he said they were willing to adjust their matters. I said, "Well, we are willing to adjust our matters. Now, what is the matter with getting together? We will go before any fair-minded committee; let you have your representatives, and we will bring ours. You locked the men out, and you claim you have a grievance. You state your grievances, and we will answer. If you can show before any fair-minded committee that you are in the right and we are in the wrong, we are willing to make the wrong right." After this was brought about he said, well, he would see. Then he said, "Well, it is up to the central contractors' organization now, and we can not settle; it has got to be settled all together." It went on for about a week, and we had met about every other day and tried to bring about some other means. He said that if such and such things existed he thought he could bring it about. We brought a couple together where such conditions existed as he wished to have exist. Then he said, "No; I can not do it. No individual organization of the central contractors' organization can settle its own difficulty. It has got to be settled by a committee of the central contractors' organization." Now, it has got to the place where it has got to be settled by the abolishment of the building trades council, according to their statement, and under no other conditions will they make a settlement. We have met committees, in reputable architects' offices, trying to adjust different matters, where they had told them, as business men that are supposed to use good judgment and common sense, to get together and adjust the matter. They said no, it was out of their hands; they did not have the power. It would have to be

recognized by the central council; they could not fix up their end. They endeavored to save trouble on different buildings; to bring about a meeting of committees, and in that way to save trouble. At the present time here conditions exist just about the same as when it started, only that they can not secure enough non-union men to do the work, and the nonunion men they do secure are not mechanics. In relation to a statement that I was fortunate enough to read in the paper, I do not know whether it would be in order to reply to this.

Q. Certainly it will.—A. You had a man here yesterday, as I was informed by the paper, that testified before this board. His name was Michael Havey. The name was given in the paper as Hodey. He was a member of our organization, took the oath and the obligations of the organization, and was supposed to live up to that oath. He had been a member for a good many years. He went into business up on Division street, and through neglect of his own he failed to settle up with the organization and withdraw as a business man should when he retires. I went to his place of business on two or three occasions, when it did not amount to a ten-dollar note to make a settlement at that time, and explained to him that he was injuring himself; he might fail in business or something and might want to work at the trade again, and as the matter was of small importance at the time it would be best for him to adjust the matter, settle up, and take out a withdrawal card. No, he said, he did not think he would ever work at the business again; that he was in business and he thought he would make a success of it. He went on and he failed. He came back, and we issued him a permit to work, and I think got him a job and placed him at work. He worked along, but for some reason unknown to anybody but himself he sacrificed getting \$4 a day and went to work for the gas company for \$60 a month, which does not employ any but nonunion men. Nothing was said. When he worked, all he had to do was to come around Saturday and make a report and make a payment, under the rules of the organization, according to the number of days he worked. He worked for the gas company, and we have not seen him nor hear of him since. We put no fine on him whatsoever except according to the obligations which he took; and if he had looked after his own interests he would not have been fined at all. We have a fine if a man does not attend once a month, and he pays the penalty for it; and if he allows himself to run in arrears and get neglectful of his duties, there is a small fine attached to that—just to try and make honest men out of them and make them attend to their own business. In regard to the other man that testified I have a little more to say on account of the strong statement he made. According to some people he is a very ignorant man, but he is not. He is a very smart man.

Q. Who is this you are speaking of now?—A. Tony Konemerge.

Q. The German you are speaking of?—A. Yes; he understands the English language.

Mr. CLARKE. He did not testify.

The WITNESS. But through this third party he made the statement that was printed in the paper.

Q. The other man assumed to speak of his experience. We did not understand that it was Mr. Konemerge's own statement.—A. And he made the statement that he had whipped the business agent and he was fined \$1,000. I am the business agent that he is supposed to have whipped. Mr. Konemerge worked for firms that were supposed to be unfair, that did work that was unfair. In fact, a man is not allowed to subcontract work or work by the foot, and it was the impression from the firms that he worked for that he was doing that class of work. He worked for a firm up on Lincoln avenue, and I was on the building two or three times and noticed his work. It was an overhauling job; some new, and overhauling. I knew by the condition of the work that he was not working by the day. He was wasting pipe, running more pipe than was necessary to do the work, and was not taking the necessary precautions to do good, honest work. I went up to the firm that he was employed by and accused them of having him do the work, subcontracting a certain building. A certain person working for the same firm let a little matter slip, that fortified what I said. He came to me not to make any statement, because he would lose his position. I did not. This party was brought down. He was let go that time and cautioned not to do it again. He said he would be honest after that. The very next job he got was for another firm on Lincoln avenue. I happened to go on the building, which was on the North Side and I spoke to him and said, "What are you doing—contracting the work?" He said: "No, I took the contract for this job and I sublet the plumbing to the other party. He is doing the plumbing and I am doing the gas fitting; but I got the contract for the whole thing and sublet it." He also ran a little shop on the North Side at one time, and he used to take contracts. So I said, "It is

peculiar that you should get a contract. It does not look right." This was the day he was supposed to have licked me. When I went into the building he raised up a piece of 1½-inch gas pipe about 4 feet long and made an attempt to hit me; but I always have my eyes open and I did not get hit. At the present time I have never been hit since I have been business agent. So I talked to him then for about a half hour, and told him that he had promised to be good and do what was right. So he said, well, he was going to finish the work. This was on Saturday morning. I went down to the place of business and inquired if he was doing the work. He said yes. I said, "Are you paying Konemerge the wages upon that job?" He said, "I certainly am." I said, "He don't say you are. He says he got the contract for the whole thing and he turned the plumbing over to you."

Well, of course, that put a different light on the story, and he finally agreed that he would go up at noontime and lay him off and put on a man that would be truthful and honest. Instead of going up and laying him off he went up and told him to work all the afternoon. He was not supposed to work that afternoon, but he worked all that day and that night, as far as he could, and the next day, which was Sunday, and finished up the job to beat out the union. After he did that, of course, he was fined by the organization; he was fined \$1,000. He came down and made a plea that he would never do it again if they would show a little leniency, and that after that he would do what was right and according to the rules. They knocked out \$900 of it and that made it \$100, and told him that he would have to pay \$5 a week when he worked. He was to pay \$1 a day when he worked over two days; if he did not work over two days he would not have to pay anything. He secured another position. The first week he came around and reported; the next week he failed to report, and I went up there to see him, but he was off that day and I did not happen to meet him. I did not get around to him until the next week. He had failed to report the following Saturday. When I went to see him he stopped work and went over to the men he was employed by and secured the amount of money that was required at that time to fix up the cost for that week. The next week he failed to come around again. He quit the place then and I did not see anything more of him for some time. Finally he went back to this party on another job. I happened to go into the building one day and he must have gone out at the rear. He went right into the shop and made a report there that I stayed there. Well, I had not, so he got some money and came down and made his payment that week. I allowed him to go to work again, and the next week he did not show up again.

I went and saw the man by whom he was employed and explained the situation to him. I told him that I had been down to see him and everything that he had done; that he was not living up to the rules, and that we had been bothering with him a good deal, and were willing to give the man all the opportunity in the world to do what was right. He brought him in. He promised the boss that he would do what was right in the future; if he would fix it up with the organization he would not have any more trouble. So it was fixed up for him once more. The very next week he got through with this job, and the following week he started on another building. Somebody saw him and he thought it policy to come down and see me. He came down to the hall and saw me and wanted a permit. I said, "Where have you been, Tony? If you have got through where you were working, you ought to have showed up. You have broken your word now about half a dozen times. It is pretty hard to believe you any more. I can not issue a permit unless you live up to the conditions that are laid down." He said, "Well, I have not worked." I says, "Why, I understand you were working for a certain party over on the North Side." He said, "No." I said, "Well, I will see in a few minutes." And I stepped in to the telephone and called up this party and inquired how long he had worked these 2 weeks, and he had worked 3 days one week and a full week the other. He was given another opportunity. The proprietor said he would see that he did what was right while he finished up this work; but when he got through if he did not do what was right he would not employ him any more. He left him and went to work for another party; and he told this party, "I licked the business agent, and I do not have to make any report, and the business agent is afraid to come on a building where I am working, and I can do more work for you than anybody else." So the man employed him. I happened out there the next day or so, and he happened to see me coming about a block away, and he was gone home sick when I got over there. He came down to my house the next day and asked for a permit to go to work on this job. I told him no; that there had been trouble on that job, and I said, "A certain man was taken off; on account of the settlement that is made here it has got to be a man that we can trust that is placed on this work; we can not place a man here that we can not trust." Then he sent his wife over to the house. She happened to

get there a couple of hours before I arrived home, and she talked to my wife that length of time, and she insisted on a permit being granted him to do this work. I explained to her that I could not do that because there had been circumstances that required an honest man to work on that job. I said, "The best thing you can do, if you have any influence over your husband, is to induce him to be honest; then he will have no trouble in getting work. He will get his equal share with the rest." That is about the sum and substance of the Konemerge story; that is the nearest he came to licking the business agent.

Q. What was he fined \$1,000 for?—A. Doing subcontract work.

Q. Do the records show that?—A. What is that?

Q. Do the records show that?—A. That he was fined \$1,000?

Q. For doing subcontract work?—A. Yes.

Q. And not for whipping the business agent?—A. He made an attempt to strike me. I was the man that he claims to have whipped, but he never struck me.

Q. I mean, do the records say anything about the whipping?—A. Not a word, not a word. It was just on account of the subcontracting. He had been fined before, but that was suspended pending good behavior. Then, when he was caught the second time this way, they put this fine on: then they knocked off the other. Then he has been fined since.

Q. Does the fine of \$1,000 stand against him, or has it been liquidated?—A. \$100 fine stands against him for offenses at that time.

Q. Is he a member of the union now?—A. He is still carried on the books, and he will be a member until he dies or gets honorable withdrawal. We never let a man leave the organization unless he leaves in an honest way. We carry him on our books until he withdraws honorably. His name will remain there until he dies.

Q. Do you have a practice of regarding certain members as in good standing and others as not in good standing?—A. We have a practice of issuing a quarterly working card, and a man that does not settle is sometimes suspended unless he attends to his own business and gets a request granted. In case he should have been out of work he can have his dues extended from meeting to meeting until he has got employment. If he will only attend the meetings and look after it he will never be suspended.

Q. Is he dependent on the union or the business agent for employment?—A. No; he is not. In former years the business agent had the name of sending rowdies around to work, and the bosses would not seek men through the business agent. In later years they have found that they always get first-class men when they send to the business agent, men that do their work and are held responsible, and they send to the business agent when they wish to get any first-class men.

Q. Suppose they should not send to the business agent, but should apply to this man personally?—A. It would not make any difference; he can do the work. Certain people employ certain men, and prefer them. If they are unable to get any one of those that they prefer, then they will send down to me to get a man, and ask the business agent to guarantee that he is a good, honest man and will work faithfully.

Q. Does the business agent or does your union, in fact, inform the contractors of the standing of your different members?—A. Yes; they find it out if he is in arrears or if he is not in good standing. They can find it out for themselves, without any question at all. All they have got to do is to ask a man if he has his card, and see it. If he has not, all that is required is a permit that extends to the following Saturday.

Q. Do you give the contractors to understand that you will not permit men to work except with the approval of your union or yourself?—A. I will answer that in this way. We have not made an agreement with the master plumbers since 1892, but there seems to be a mutual understanding that they will not hire men that are not in good standing with the union, because they get the best results from the union men, and they know that if a man is in good standing with the union he is held responsible for his work by the union.

Q. Is there any such written contract between you?—A. There is no such written contract, but there was at one time.

Q. But you say that the understanding is mutual?—A. Yes.

Q. And practically just as binding orally as if it were in writing?—A. Yes. In case a man does something that is wrong, as a matter of fact the union makes it right.

Q. Are you conscious of in any way hampering the contractors in the construction of buildings by any of your rules or regulations?—A. Not by their own words; they say they have not a word against us, and are perfectly satisfied with the conditions that exist.

Q. What is there between you at the present time, then?—A. Nothing between us; only they said they had to lock our men out in sympathy with somebody else, on account of the fact that they were told to do so by the central contractors' organization.

Q. Who is it they are sympathizing with?—A. They claim they have a grievance against the plumbers.

Q. Does your Building Trades Council embrace all the trades that enter into building operations in the city?—A. Yes.

Q. Does their central body, whatever it is called, correspond to your body?—A. They never had a central body until the present time.

Q. They have one now, have they not?—A. They have just formed one.

Q. As I understand it, it practically corresponds to your central organization?—A. I have not got any such information.

Q. What is your knowledge about it?—A. That they have some of the contractors, but not all.

Q. You have not been given any information, then, as to their requirements, or what they are organized for, or what they intend to do?—A. Why, yes. If you want what I have been told by certain people, they said they were going to starve the working people into submission. I said, "What do you want them to do?" "Well, we are going to bust all the unions and bust up the council."

Q. Have you had any conference with any of the contractors yourself about that?—A. I have talked to them personally about that and they have told me that.

Q. That is what they told you, is it, that they are going to break up the council?—A. Going to break up the union and starve the people into submission.

Q. Do you wish to name anybody who gives you such information?—A. Well, I would not. They are people doing business, and I should not care to jeopardize them. It was not a very nice remark to make, but there have been two or three of them that made it.

Q. Two or three of them have made that remark, or something similar, to you?—A. Yes. I will state that I have been pretty close with the members of the master plumbers' organization as a whole. Now, they have a great many members, you know, that are not competent business men, and cases have happened where I have gone on the buildings and seen them doing their own work, and said, "Here, now, this is not right; you are in business, and it is supposed to be equal competition against these other men. They have to employ men, and it is no more than right that you should employ men. You know the conditions that exist, what the wages are, and you have an equal chance to compete with them." They say, "Well, we do not seem to get the work, and we can not afford to pay the wages on this job. Now, I just figure \$2.50 a day for time on this job, and figure that by doing the work myself, and working nights and Sundays, I may pull out ahead." I say, "Well, you consider the union men a great deal, then." He says, "Well, we have got to do it." This is not one case, but there have been a hundred just similar to this; this is the way they talk to me themselves. Of course, we have stopped them from working and made them hire the men. That is all we want them to do; to have equal competition and pay fair wages with their fellow-men.

Q. Have you any reason to suspect that they do not tell you the truth?—A. No reason on earth. It is not the first-class mechanic, as a rule, that goes into business. It is the man that is not a first-class mechanic; that is, these small bosses; and the reason is that they are unable to secure employment on account of not being competent men.

Q. Then, it is thought better to work for somebody else than to work for one's self?—A. In a great many cases it is. There are too many in the business to make a profit. Down town on the big work it is very seldom that they have any trouble. Sometimes a contractor will come to me and say, "Here, is that man employing union men?" "Yes." "Well, there is something wrong about this job. He took this job for such and such a price. I can not buy the material, let alone paying the wages on that work. There must be something wrong." So, we get information sometimes direct from their own members, competing against one another. They will tell us what the figures are that the other man takes the work for. Sometimes we find where they are trying to do it nights and Sundays, and such things as that. Of course, it is none of our business whether they steal material or not; as long as they pay our men the wages that is all we ask. So the contractors acknowledged when they had the agreement with the labor organizations. They raised their initiation fee from \$25 to \$100. This same man Kone-mergo that I was talking about went in to join the master plumbers' organization when it was \$100. He paid \$75 into the master plumbers' to join. He did not get the other \$25, and he came to me and asked me to go and see if I could not

get some of the \$75 back again. But when you put it into the master plumbers it is gone; they never give anything back.

The master plumbers have stated on more than one occasion that if better conditions do not exist than exist at the present time they are powerless.

Q. Why are they powerless?—A. They can not force their members to live up to the rules and obligations that they take. The men are so unfair to each other; they are all trying to get the dollar. They do underhanded tricks, and everyone schemes to see if he can not beat the other and get the work and make the money.

Q. Then, there is very sharp competition in the business, is there?—A. Yes; very sharp.

Q. Do you think that competition is a good thing or a bad thing?—A. I believe in competition, but I do not believe in cheap competition. If men go into an organization and take an obligation, I believe in their being honest men and living up to their obligation.

Q. You believe, then, that there is a limit beyond which competition should not be allowed to go?—A. I do. I do not believe when a business is being conducted, and people are living up to certain conditions, that another man should figure almost nothing on the work and sacrifice all business interests in that line, because if it grows from year to year it will ruin the business. If that continues, figuring a little cheaper and cheaper all the time and trying to secure men to work for less wages, it is bound to bring down the man that is in the business; he has got to work cheaper himself after a while. I do not think it would be a good thing for the city of Chicago for every man that is a member of a labor organization to start up a shop to-morrow and make every man go to work and force all men out of the business or make them all business men.

Q. Do you claim any right to prevent a plumber from carrying on business for himself, taking contracts where he can get them at such prices as he can get, and doing the work himself with his own hands?—A. We certainly do; we object to it under any conditions unless they are fair conditions and employ men; we do object.

Q. You have no objection to that same man's taking contracts and employing somebody to do the work?—A. None whatever.

Q. You do not attempt to put any restriction on the contracts that he makes; he may contract as he pleases?—A. He contract as he pleases; we should not in any way inquire into that.

Q. Your only requirement is that he shall employ the plumber?—A. Gas fitter. Q. A gas fitter that is in good standing and pay him fair wages, union wages?—A. That is all.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Did the building contractors' council send their walking delegates to compel the gas fitters who were employing union men to cease work and lock them out?—A. Yes; they have sent not only their representatives, but others also; they have appointed committees to go around and inquire.

Q. They have men who went around and did that work for them, or similar work to that which they claim the walking delegates or business agents do for the labor unions, do they not?—A. Yes; in fact, they had a man that used to travel with us at one time; and that was when they raised their initiation fee to \$100. He used to come around looking up members, or people that were doing business, and trying to get them into the master plumbers' association. We were foolish enough at that time to drive them in at \$100 a head. They almost all fell away when these conditions existed; I think they had about 100 previous to this lockout. To work them all in they reduced the initiation fee to \$10 and gave them one year to pay it in.

Q. As I understand it, while denouncing these practices that they attribute to the labor organizations, they resort to the same methods themselves?—A. The same exactly.

Q. And interfere with the liberty of members of the building trades who are carrying on a business and do not wish to be disturbed?—A. Yes; and I will cite one case where a certain contractor on the North Side was doing unfair work, so considered by the master plumbers; they were all kicking about him, saying that we ought to watch his place of business; that they could not compete against him, and could not get work that he figured on, and there was something wrong. So it happened that from the information we got we kept our eye on him and brought him up, and he finally made a settlement. And there were several of the master plumbers—this meeting was up in the master plumbers'—and when we came out of the meeting the master plumbers congratulated me, and one who was with us says, "I have only got \$10, but I will go out and spend this with you," and he said, "If I had \$50 I should be tickled to death that you got that fellow." You

see such conditions as that exist all the time among them; they are always fighting among themselves; they are not true to each other.

Q. You deprecate the ruinous competition that you say exists in those trades—the plumbers and gas fitters' trades?—A. Yes.

Q. You would like to see the labor organizations so strong and the building contractors' organization so strong that there would be a thorough organization, and that there would be no necessity for cutting and slashing, and this ruinous competition would be done away with?—A. If everything could be fair we should like to see it. We only want what is fair. But we have never yet been able to find a majority of contractors that were willing to be fair. There are a great many contractors that never have any trouble from one year's end to another, because they are willing to work under the conditions that exist and do what is fair.

Q. Well, you would like to see their organization in such shape that there would be no cutting and competition—they would all have to pay the same wages and everybody would know what everybody else was paying for materials and for labor?—A. Yes; I think they have a right to protection, when they devote their life to a trade, just as much so as a doctor or a lawyer, or any man that is a druggist, or any man that is in any business. I think they are entitled to protection.

Q. What have you to say to the charge that has so often been made here and elsewhere that the labor organizations are trusts? One man yesterday said they were fathering trusts.—A. We are not a trust, for the simple reason that nobody is barred from becoming a member of our organization. Any man that is a mechanic, and can prove that he is a mechanic, can become a member. We take in everybody. A trust, as a rule, is a combination that gets together to freeze out. We, on the other hand, work to benefit a man instead of depriving him of benefits. In our organization, when a man gets hard up, he is loaned money; he gets \$25 without any interest. He pays it back at \$3 a week when he is working, if he works over 4 days. If he does not work over 4 days he does not have to pay a cent.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Have you sick benefits connected with your organization?—A. No; we have no sick benefit. It is not a benevolent organization.

Q. Does your organization limit the amount of work that one of your members may do in a day?—A. They have had a limitation, yes, which has existed a little while under the conditions which have existed here.

Q. Does that increase the cost in any way to the owner of the building?—A. Well, not if he lets the contract let in the legitimate contracting firms; but if he lets it to some cheap contractor who works boys and works nights and Sundays and tries to do unfair competition, why, then it might.

Q. The amount of work that you permit your members to do is a fair and reasonable day's work, is it?—A. More than the average man can do in 8 hours.

Q. It is more?—A. Yes.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you think of any further statement yourself, Mr. Long?—A. One party made a statement here that he was not opposed to police protection. I wish to state that I am opposed to it, and I think that it is the duty of the mayor of the city of Chicago—which I told him myself—as chief executive of this city, when a crisis comes up, to find out who is right and who is wrong and when a person is at fault for troubles that exist. I do not think that they are entitled to police protection to protect them in causing more trouble; and such are the conditions that they, and they alone, are responsible for the trouble.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) How can the mayor find that out without a regular investigation?—A. A committee waited upon him; the real estate board waited upon him. He was told we were willing to meet any fair-minded committee that they might have there to represent them. We asked him to invite the contractors there in his presence; get fair-minded men there, let them put their questions and we would answer, and we would prove that they were at fault. In the committee of these building men, these stone men—

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Mr. Madden?—A. When Mr. Madden suggested the appointment of the committee I was a member that attended that meeting, and I asked at that meeting, where there were representative business men, contractors and others—I asked them after they had argued for about an hour, if there was any man in the hall that had a grievance, or a supposed grievance, to get up and state it. No one stated it. They wrangled for about an hour, and I said that they were not talking to the question, that they had got away off; and I asked again that if anybody had a grievance or a supposed grievance he should stand up and state it. The only man that got up was Victor Falkenau, and he asked me if certain things did not exist at that time—a limitation of work over

on the Western Electric Building. He said he went in himself and met a man, and the man was not doing anything, and he asked him what he was doing, and he said his day's work was done. I told him then and there that there was no limitation at that time on the work; so I says: "Mr. Falkenau, if the man did make that statement to you, he told you something false." I doubted very much that he made the statement. But the man that had charge of the man who was working up there was a relative of Victor Falkenau, and, of course, he told him to do certain things that would put more money in his pocket.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) I should like to get a little clearer understanding of what you mean by certain parties not being entitled to police protection. Do you think in the present controversy that a nonunion gas fitter is not entitled to police protection?—A. Not when the organization is not responsible for being the cause of the trouble. Until they are responsible for trouble I do not think they have any right to police protection.

Q. I do not quite comprehend. Supposing there should be an individual encounter between a member of the gas fitters' union and a nonunion man, you do not mean in that case the police should not interfere?—A. No, sir.

Q. You mean that the nonunion men working should not be accorded special protection by the police?—A. I claim this, that when the contractors are solely responsible for the trouble that exists, they should not be given police protection to try to cause more trouble. For instance, a man came to me in the building trades council—I think it was either on the 13th or 17th of February. His name—I have got his name [witness looks at book], his name was Daniel McCarthy; he lives at 56 Elizabeth street. He came to me and told me that there were a couple of gentlemen up to his house the night previous and they had a credential; he said he could not see the names on it, but he asked them if they had a right to do business, and they said they had a credential, but they would not let him see the names. They wanted to employ a lot of men to go around and do slugging and cause riots on the buildings and lay the blame on organized labor, and to try to get the city under martial law. He stated that he had a grievance against Davis and Doyle, in the engineers, and said he knew Davis; but he did not know him at all. Davis was standing at the window, near enough to hear at the time, and he did not recognize him; so he could not have known the man.

Q. Of course, you concede that the duty of the mayor of the city and of the police is to preserve the peace, and not to make judicial findings upon quarrels between organized and unorganized labor?—A. But if a man is—

Q. (Interrupting.) Now, I want to understand a little more clearly. You do not think, you do not contend, that it is not the duty of the mayor and of the police to preserve the peace no matter who?—A. (Interrupting.) No; I do not contend that.

Q. No matter who may contend?—A. I claim that he has the right as chief executive to keep order here and see that everybody is protected.

Q. In other words, the mayor and the policemen in discharging their public functions should know no organization?—A. They know nobody; they are not supposed to.

Q. You agree with that, do you, that their duty is to preserve order and preserve the peace?—A. That is what they are employed for.

Q. I do not quite understand what you mean by police protection from what you say?—A. The point that I figured on was that when they are responsible, and still do everything they can to cause trouble, they should be called down. As chief executive of the city he has the right to demand of them to adjust matters, and tell them plump and plain that if they do not want to be fair he will not give them the police protection.

Q. In other words, you think it is the duty of the mayor to arbitrate these questions?—A. Not for him to arbitrate, but to make people look after the interests of the city.

Q. Pass upon the merits of the controversy?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you think he has any authority to do that?—A. I do not see why he has not as chief executive, when he is put there by the people and is supposed to look after the welfare of the city of Chicago, and not only of Chicago, but you might say the State of Illinois. Controversies come up here that are a detriment to business interests; we will say to the whole community, where people are responsible and are not willing to adjust and be fair; and I think that other measures should be used, or they should not be protected in making an unfair fight.

Q. Of course, the mayor of the city and the governor of the State are both themselves governed by laws which specify what they may do, what their public functions are, what authority they may have. They can not legally go beyond the authority which is conferred upon them by law. I do not know of any law which

authorizes the mayor of the city of Chicago to pass upon the merits of any labor controversy except as it may show itself in some violation of law or in the breaking of the peace of the city; then, of course, he is authorized to interfere to preserve the peace, to preserve property, and protect life.—A. When people have an organization, or as individuals make and sign an agreement to do a certain thing for a certain length of time and fail to keep their word, do you consider them men that should be protected?

Q. Well, those things are all questions, of course, that lie directly between the organization and the men who make it. If it goes to the extent of being a legal contract, of course, if there is a difference of opinion, it must be determined in a legal manner. I do not know of anybody who has power to step in in a contingency of that sort and say: "This man is right or that man is right, and you shall be protected because I think you are right, and, on the other hand, you shall not be protected because you are wrong." That would be giving the mayor of the city powers that are not conferred upon any individual under this Government that I know of.—A. Now, as an individual, I am told on different occasions that I am to be beat up, such as this, by the contractors. If I wanted to be a little weak-kneed I could go and make a demand for police protection to follow me?

Q. Certainly you could, and that is what the police are for—to preserve the peace and protect you in your life and in your limb and in your property. That is what government is for.—A. The way I look at it is that when a man signs an agreement and says he will keep good faith and live up to that agreement he should do so.

Q. He is morally bound to do so, and if he is a man of honor he will do it. But you understand that there are some agreements which are not recognized by law; that is, they have no legal aspect; they are not drawn in the form of a legal contract; they are just mutual agreements, and they rest solely upon the honor of the parties concerned. That is what I gather from the testimony which has been given here.—A. As I said, we have not made any agreement since 1892, and we have had less trouble than any other organization since 1892, showing that if you do not enter into an agreement with them you are better off than if you do.

Mr. MANTLE. Of course, there is a question of self-interest that runs through all these things; but my questions were suggested by what you said about certain ones not being entitled to police protection. I did not know whether I clearly comprehended your meaning.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 27, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JAMES REGAN,

Representative of the Lathers' Union.

The special subcommission met at 10.05 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 12.10 p. m., Mr. James Regan, of Chicago, a lather, representing the Chicago Lathers' Union, was introduced as a witness and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE) please give your name?—A. James Regan.

Q. And your post-office address?—A. 3804 Low avenue, Chicago.

Q. Occupation?—A. That of a lather.

Q. Do you belong to the lathers' union?—A. Yes.

Q. Represent it here officially?—A. Yes; I have been appointed by the union to come here.

Q. We should be glad to hear your statement, Mr. Regan, in your own way.—

A. Well, I simply wish to state that every word that has been said by the contractors about the lathers is a lie.

Mr. KENNEDY. I would not use that language Mr. Regan.—A. Well, you know what it means; it is false.

Mr. KENNEDY. That is better.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE). The contractors have not testified before us in reference to the lathers at all?—A. They have made public statements through the press. I wish to state that the statements that Mrs. Robb and Mr. Havey made here, leaving out the word "unionism," would apply to our cause. All I have to do is to substitute the word "nonunionism," and that will be the condition that our members were in before we were organized. It was as necessary for us to be organized in order to live as it is for us to eat bread. Disorganization among the lathers produced a state of the most terrible suffering, misery, and poverty bordering on crime that ever I saw any class of people reduced to. Our members,

before they were organized, worked for as low as 90 cents a day. When you consider that the organization as a whole can not put in more than three days a week on an average, you can use your own mind on what we were living on. When you take from that amount the amount of money that we had to spend in seeking work all over this great city, where we would have to pay three or four car fares a day both ways, you can imagine what we had left for our family. It was a common thing for our members to live on one meal a day, and the man was lucky that had two. This continued all the time while we were in a state of disorganization.

Q. When was that, Mr. Regan?—A. We organized on the day of our beloved George Washington, a year ago, and we have got \$3 a day since we have organized, when we work. But the prosperity that we read so much of in the press has failed to reach us. Before the strike, before these contractors called this lock-out, there were five men for every job in our organization on the work that is being done in this city. We were not able to put in half time, so you can see whether we are exorbitant in our demands for a living or not. We owed to our friends, who were good enough to hold us up during the time we were disorganized, all the way from \$25 to \$180. When we were organized it took all we could earn to pay these debts to our friends, and just when we are about to get on our feet these fellows call a strike and unnecessary lockout, and our men have submitted like men, and I wish to take the charges that they are criminals away from them. I have seen our boys reduced to the most desperate state of hunger and misery day in and day out, week in and week out, and never heard them talking about crime. They are the most law-abiding people, the organized labor in this city, that the world has ever seen, and they are the main element that is holding this city up. All the hundreds and thousands of dollars that are paid into organized labor every week, every dollar of that goes out into circulation, goes to the business men of the city, the landlords, clothiers, butchers, bakers, and grocers, and everybody here benefits by it. Disorganization is the father of crime, positively and absolutely; that is our experience. The tale of woe that Mrs. Robb and Mr. Havey told was probably correct. I felt very sorry for them in reading their statement; but their statement is false when they say that organization breeds crime. Disorganization is the thing that produces crime, for you can not live, and the contractors never abided by their agreement. If we did not stand together through our organization we should be trampled under foot like the dust under your shoes. Before we were organized it was not, "Mr. So and So, come over and do this work;" but, "Jack, go and do that work," or "Jack, go and do this." It was you do this and do that, go and do this or you go out of the building. Slavery during the dark ages previous to our great rebellion never equaled that which the workmen of this city put up with without unionism. That is my statement, gentlemen.

Q. We will ask you a few questions if you will kindly be seated again.—A. Yes.

Q. How many members are there in your union?—A. There are about 300.

Q. What proportion of the lathers in the city are in your union?—A. Nearly all. There may be, I should think, 8 or 10, maybe 20, or some number like that—I do not know.

Q. Had you been in the habit, as individual lathers, of making your own personal contracts with the bosses?—A. The lathers' organization does not recognize any such thing as a bosses' organization. The lathers deal with the bosses as individual bosses. There is a bosses' organization, but we do not recognize them as such.

Q. And since you formed your union does each member contract for himself?—A. No.

Q. Or does the union do it?—A. No; there are probably 40 or 50 of the contractors, we will say; there are no less than that. When a job is ready we go to them. If they want us they put us to work, if there is room for us. We have made our laws that where there is 200 yards of work ready on a building there shall be a man put to work; and of course they agree to that, but they have a right to hire us whenever they please.

Q. Does your union prescribe a scale of wages, or does each member of the union make his own wages?—A. The union prescribes \$3 a day as a day's wages.

Q. For how many hours?—A. Eight hours.

Q. Does this lathing embrace wood lathing and iron lathing?—A. Yes.

Q. The same wages for each?—A. Yes.

Q. Does the wood lather understand iron lathing, and vice versa?—A. Well, generally; yes.

Q. When building is slack are there more lathers in the city than can conveniently be employed?—A. Times have been so hard in Chicago since our union was organized that we have been visited by very few lathers. There have been lath-

ers away from here in other cities who have returned, and, finding the condition of the business in the city, have left. We have had very few outside applications for membership.

Q. Perhaps you did not quite understand my question. Is there work enough in dull times for all the lathers who live here?—A. There has not been work enough in good times.

Q. Not enough?—A. Not half enough.

Q. Then are there more lathers than there is work?—A. More than there is work; yes.

Q. In that case some have to go without employment without its being anybody's fault, so far as you can see?—A. Our organization, as far as I can see, has pretty nearly prescribed for it. We try to be very generous with one another, and we have a ruling that where in hard times 20 of us are working to-day we be allowed to work 2 or 3 days and then make way for 20 more who have not been working. We try to divide up the work equally in order that all may make a living, but it is quite a hard job even in good times.

Q. Before you formed the union there was not any such equitable division among you?—A. No; it was die dog or eat the hide.

Q. You think the organization has been a benefit?—A. Yes; it has been a splendid benefit; it has enabled our boys to live.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) What is your remedy for present conditions, even if this lockout was disposed of?—A. Remedy?

Q. Yes.—A. If the lockout was disposed of?

Q. Yes.—A. Satisfactorily to the members of the building trades council?

Q. Yes.—A. Go to work.

Q. Suppose there is not work enough for all, then what?—A. We will get it—perhaps go somewhere else and get it.

Q. Has that not been the condition, substantially, since 1893 with the lathers?—A. The city, in our line of business, has been in a panic since 1893, and many of our boys have left, those who were able to go, but there have been quite a number left, and since this lockout they have been offered inducements to go to work for those parties who are trying to buck the organizations of the city. They have been offered police protection and wages, and they went out of the city without a cent in their pocket, so true are they to their principles.

Q. Who makes a move first in order to give work?—A. In order to give work?

Q. Yes; the man who wants the building put up?—A. Well, it is optional, you know, with a man whether he shall move or not.

Q. Suppose there is nothing to prevent, everything, of course, is left. If I have money to invest in a building and I am ready to go to work I give employment to so many men, do I not?—A. Yes.

Q. But suppose there are more men seeking employment than there are buildings to construct; who is to blame?—A. Well, I do not know; that is a social or economic question that I have not given any study to.

Q. Well, is it not a question of supply and demand, really—supply of work on the one side and demand for work on the other?—A. We are not insisting on having work, but we are insisting on having living wages. We do not insist that any man should build a house unless he wants the work done and is willing to pay for it.

Q. Yes; I was merely trying to find out the cause for the want of work.—A. I think the gold standard is the cause for the want of work; that is my positive belief—the demonetization of silver, if that is what you are after.

Mr. A. L. HARRIS. I do not think I have anything more. [Laughter.]

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Have you any further statement to make yourself?—A. I should like to state that one of the greatest frauds that is being practiced to-day in Cook County is traveling around on the street cars in the form of advertisements for labor, offering union rates and scales. I do not think these men could be believed under oath. I never saw a contractor yet that did not violate his agreement with the workmen. The only way to force these men to stand true to their agreements with the individual workman is through organization. But they have got these advertisements, and are trying to shove in thousands and thousands of poor fellows here who are ignorant of the situation, and who, when they do get them here, have no employment, for these fellows have none to give them. A man came from Minnesota with my son, and I sent him, in answer to that advertisement that you read in the papers, to, I think, 123 Michigan avenue. I heard afterwards it was this industrial union; I think that is what it is called. I said, "Go over and see what there is in it, and if it pays the union price let me know, and try to get a job. I want to see what their pay is." He was a common laborer; he was a farmer by occupation, honest, good, fine young fellow as I

Q. And your occupation?—A. Marble cutter and setter.

Q. Do you wish to give the street and number in your address?—A. I have no objection, sir; 4858 Justine street.

Q. Do you belong to a union?—A. Yes.

Q. What is the name of it?—A. Marble Cutters and Setters, of Chicago.

Q. Are you designated by them to appear before the commission?—A. Not exactly. We have not had a meeting since the invitation was extended by this commission to the building trades council, but we were advised by the building trades council to have representatives of the different organizations to appear here, if we saw fit.

Q. Do you hold an office in the union?—A. Yes.

Q. What is it?—A. I am business agent for the Marble Cutters and Setters' Union.

Q. How long has your union been formed?—A. It was formed in 1890. We were disbanded for 2 or 3 years, but we reorganized about 3 years ago.

Q. How many members has it?—A. We have about 287 men on our books. Most of them are scattered at the present time through the United States.

Q. What proportion of the marble cutters and setters of the city belong to your union?—A. About 97 per cent.

Q. Your union is one of the constituent bodies of the central building trades council?—A. Yes.

Q. Are you employed at the present time, or are you out?—A. Yes; in the capacity of an agent of the society.

Q. How about the members of your union; are they generally employed?—A. At the present time I do not suppose we have a half dozen members in Chicago that are not employed. We have been on a strike since the 1st of May—that is, until the 15th of last January.

Q. What was the strike for?—A. Some 3 years ago the marble manufacturers of Chicago solicited a compact with the marble cutters and setters union, the object being to make this a closed market. They gave us to understand that if the building trades council would indorse an agreement for us, tendering the support of every trade in an effort to make this a closed market, the question of wages would cut but little figure. Having no outside competition, they could afford to pay us good wages. We thought favorably of the proposition, and formulated an agreement in accordance with the employers' solicitation, brought it before the building trades council, and tried to have the council indorse it, but failed. That was in the year 1896.

In the spring of 1899, believing that the employers were as desirous as in 1896 of entering into an agreement that might give them some advantages, our union adopted an agreement, and had the building trades council indorse it, which was somewhat similar to the agreement of 1896. The one difference was that we would work for any firm in the United States which would hire our members to do the work. In other words, a marble contractor located in New York or elsewhere could do work for Chicago, providing our men were employed. Such an agreement, if made by the employers and our union, would probably keep outside firms from taking work here, as they might not want to employ members of our union. If they would employ members of our union it would prove a medium whereby we could increase our membership and eventually establish a national marble cutters union with a uniform rate of wages prevailing everywhere, thereby eliminating present differences and contentions.

We presented this agreement to the Chicago marble manufacturers, requesting their signatures, but they would not sign it. We referred to the fact that it was somewhat similar to the agreement of 1896 which they had solicited, but they would not come to terms with us under the agreement. Consequently our men were called out May 1, 1899. The contractors gave us to understand that inasmuch as they were obliged to compete with manufacturers on the outside for outside work, that got their employees cheaper than the rate we were asking, they would not be satisfied unless they obtained the same conditions in respect to wages that every firm they were in competition with enjoyed. They even strongly intimated at one conference that they were inclined to place the rate for shop hands lower than the rate in vogue prior to the strike.

We have reason to believe from their own statements that they did not want men working in their shops to remain members of our organization, consequently we were placed in a position where we were obliged to defend members of our union who were shop hands. It is a fact that the strike was prolonged in the interest and for the protection of the shop hands, as we could not properly desert any portion of the members, comprising even a minority part of our union. The most of our members, for the reason stated, were idle until the marble work for

the Marshall Field Building was required. The Davidson Brothers, marble manufacturers, who had the contract for the marble work for the building, would come to no agreement with us. Finally the architects, Burnham & Co., desiring no difficulties or delays during construction, offered to hire us direct, giving us the rates we were asking, which were \$2.75 for shop hands and \$3.50 for setters or building hands. The result was that almost all of our men who were in Chicago were employed.

Now, realize also this fact, that their declaration demanding the dissolution of the building trades council means more than what is apparent on the surface. We can see the advertisements giving the labor unions everything they want in respect to a day's wages. If we could depend on their complying with the advertisements that they have put up in Chicago, there might be no absolute necessity for an organization; but we have learned from experience that they are not to be depended on. I know in our organization we have entered into agreements with some of them, and they think nothing of breaking it. We are consequently suspicious of everything they say and everything they suggest. And I may state that when we see that their principal desire is to annihilate the building trades council, while they still say they will give us the wages, which is the principal thing a man desires, what we are all looking after, which every union is satisfied if it can receive, we know what their aim and object is. We know very well that the medium through which we are able to obtain and maintain the wages is to be through this sympathetic strike. There is no dispute about this. We know what inferior pay in Chicago means to a workman. We have good, strong illustrations of what it means in Chicago, and there is nothing like practical illustrations to a man as to what he may expect under certain conditions.

Q. You are in entire harmony with the building trades council?—A. Yes.

Q. You think they can better represent you in the general relations to the contractors than you can represent yourself?—A. The central body looks at conditions in the light that the injury of one is the concern of all. We do know, then, that we are benefited by it.

Q. If they would see fit to enter into arbitration of these differences with the contractors, would your union be ready to approve it and abide by the result?—A. If the building trades council as a whole should conclude that it was policy or proper that they should enter into a scheme of arbitration whereby all differences that might arise might be adjusted, it certainly would obtain the approval of our organization.

Q. You have two classes of employees in your trade, known as the shop men and the outside men?—A. As a matter of fact, a man in order to be a workman on the outside, of necessity has got to be an inside man; because you have got to be one in order to be the other. A man has got to be a marble cutter to be a marble setter, because in the setting of marble there is more or less cutting and fitting required.

Q. Do you require that all marble of whatever character that enters into the building in this city shall be prepared in the city?—A. Not at the present time.

Q. Did you ever have that requirement?—A. That was our effort. I thought I explained that.

Q. Well, I did not quite understand you.—A. No; we never had that condition established in Chicago, in any manner.

Q. Is it customary for the marble producers at the quarries to do some dressing, some preparation of the marble for building?—A. I remember myself when two particular shops in Chicago probably employed more men and steadier than they do now—some twenty years ago—and that was owing to the fact that the work done for Chicago was done in Chicago. But at the present time the major portion of the work done for Chicago is done in those districts where the men do not get a sufficient amount of money to enable them to live properly.

Q. Where is it done?—A. It is done in Vermont, in Georgia and Tennessee, and some of it comes from Europe.

Q. Do you know what the wages paid to those men are?—A. I have understood from sources that I consider reliable that wages run from \$1.25 up to \$2, and some less. In fact, I understand that in Vermont they have arrangements in effect whereby a man has not been able to make a sufficient amount to get out of town if he loses his job. We have men in our organization who say that when they find any man there that has aspirations for the formation of a labor organization his head is cut off.

Q. Is there no organization of workmen at Proctor or Rutland?—A. I do not think so, so far as my knowledge goes.

Q. Do you know to what extent they employ machinery there in the preparation of marble to send here and to other cities?—A. That I do not know exactly, but I presume they employ it as far as it is possible for them to employ it.

Q. In what shape does the marble generally come here to-day to be put into buildings?—A. It comes here almost finished, completed as far as the cutting is concerned.

Q. Is it shaped to fit together in the walls of a building, in the wainscoting?—A. Yes; it is shaped to finish; but, as I said before, there are some alterations required where there is variation in respect to the plan of the building, etc.

Q. Is it molded and polished?—A. It is molded and polished and finished.

Q. Do you know whether that is done by machinery or not?—A. Most of it is done by machinery.

Q. Have you any definite knowledge of the condition of the workmen employed in doing that for these manufacturers and quarries?—A. Only just what I have said, from the statement of the boys that were born down there; they say their condition is very bad.

Q. Do you believe that it is necessary to the success of your people that any more of the work of fitting should be done near the building?—A. I know positively that if the work for Chicago was done in Chicago we should require probably twice the number of men that are employed in Chicago at the present time.

Q. You do not know any way to bring that about?—A. No; I do not know any way to bring it about while labor can be secured outside of Chicago cheaper than it can be in Chicago.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) What wages are paid in Chicago?—A. On buildings under the agreement that we have signed at the present time, \$3.50 per day.

Q. Is there any difference in labor: do you all get \$3.50?—A. No; the shop hands get \$3.75.

Q. What men?—A. The shop man that does the cutting and molding gets \$2.75, and the setter gets \$3.50.

Q. What hours do you have?—A. Eight hours.

Q. Do you limit the amount of work?—A. No.

Q. Nor fix a minimum?—A. No; eight hours' work constitutes a day's work.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) In what shape does the Italian marble come here? Is it dressed and fitted for building?—A. In some cases. The most of the Italian marble that comes to Chicago comes here in the rough. There has been an English firm in Chicago for years that has done a great many of our largest buildings, and they have had it finished almost altogether in Europe.

Q. Do you know anything about the duties they have had to pay on the finished product?—A. No, I do not.

Q. Do you know whether they are much larger than they are on the rough marble?—A. Oh, I presume they must be, because they have got to be handled with a great deal more care when finished. You see, the rough marble that comes to this country comes in blocks, big cubes, and the finished goods in thin slabs, say from 1 inch and an inch and a quarter to 2 inches.

(Testimony closed.)

Whereupon at 12:55 the subcommission took a recess until 2:30 o'clock p. m.

(On March 31, 1900, Mr. McCullough again took the stand, and testified as follows:)

Mr. CLARKE. Please make your statement.

The WITNESS. I wish first to submit a certificate that will prove the statement I will make with reference to the bosses securing our assistance in an effort to handicap outside competition. This certificate is signed by Mr. John Flindall, president of the White Stone Manufacturers' Association, and C. N. Marthens, secretary of the White Stone Manufacturers' Association. The certificate reads as follows [reading]:

"CHICAGO, January 2, 1897.

"We, the undersigned members of the White Stone Manufacturers' Association, having come to an amicable settlement in our agreement with the Marble Cutters and Setters' Union, of Chicago, for the ensuing year, fully concur in allowing the Evans Marble Company, of Baltimore, Md., to finish work contracted for by them on public library and Chicago, Cook County, jail, with men from said Marble Cutters and Setters' Union of Chicago; in all other respects the aforesaid union is to strictly adhere to terms of agreement."

Now, the agreement itself that we entered into is in the hands of a former treasurer, who is not connected with our union at the present time. Consequently I could not obtain the agreement; but this will certainly be sufficient evidence that such an agreement existed between the marble cutters and marble manufacturers; and they were responsible for the contract, although we acquiesced. This refers to a matter pertaining to an outside firm that was doing some work

in Chicago at the time we entered into this agreement, and considering the possibility of the employers in Chicago concluding that we were violating the agreement if we undertook to work for these people, we got this certificate which I have just read.

Mr. Bagley, in his statement yesterday, stated that we were hemmed in with an agreement ratified by the building trades council, and that we gave him to understand we could not alter it. As a matter of fact, I met Mr. Bagley in his own house, spending the better part of two days, and settled up every question that was in dispute between us, until we came to the point as to what he would do with his present employees. They were men who, during the strike, had taken the places of our organization. He did not intend to discharge them, and he gave me to understand that he had a sufficient number to answer all purposes. Consequently I did not see the object of coming to an agreement with him under such conditions, for it would afford him relief while it would not benefit us a particle.

He also referred to a book of rules measuring a day's work. As a matter of fact, we had adopted a book of rules, but there was only an effort on one occasion to enforce it, and it all transpired in one day. That was on the Grand Pacific Hotel, and that was over two years ago. The aim and object of adopting that book of rules was to locate men among ourselves whom we suspected of being pieceworkers—men who would work night and day to the disadvantage of other members.

I wish also to state that since the early nineties an eight-hour day has obtained in Chicago with all marble manufacturers.

Mr. Bagley remarked that the qualifications required for business agents were the qualifications of, or generally went to qualify, a ward politician. Why it is all those men bring in those complaints about business agents is something I can not understand. I have been connected with the building trades council now almost 3 years—almost directly—and in that time I could swear that I never have been approached more than three times about politics. No man ever approached me and asked me to vote for this man, or that man, or any other man.

Now in order to show the disposition of some of these people that are apparently so antagonistic to labor organizations, I want to refer to this man Frank L. Davis that gave testimony here yesterday. At the time the library building—some time in 1897—was going up, the marble work was being done by this Baltimore concern, and Mr. Davis was manager. That is the concern I referred to in regard to that trouble. He was manager at that time. We had been disorganized for two years, since 1891. Prior to the starting of the marble work on the library, some time prior, we organized and became affiliated with the building trades council. Our movement was to formulate an agreement and present it to the council for their approval. It was the same as had been signed by this same firm he represented prior to that time. We presented it to this man Davis, and he refused absolutely to sign it. That resulted in a strike being inaugurated on that building; resulting in the calling out of something in the neighborhood of three or four hundred men in the various trades, in an effort to enforce his signature to this agreement. Remember, gentlemen, that at that time he was shown a letter coming directly from the office of the people themselves, given to one of our members, stating, in effect, that the wages to be paid on that building were to be \$3.50 a day. That was the rate we demanded under the agreement we presented. Notwithstanding the knowledge he had of that letter, he ignored us and put up a fight. It finally came to a point where the people in charge of it, the library board, were becoming very anxious, and Mr. Hatch, the president of the library board at that time desired to have the matter arbitrated. We apparently showed a disposition—probably for some purpose—not to arbitrate the matter. At one conference in Mr. Hatch's office, when Mr. Davis was present, Mr. Hatch turned to us and said, "Boys, I don't see why you don't arbitrate this matter and settle it up immediately." We at that time showed a disposition apparently not to do so; and he said to Mr. Davis, "Mr. Davis, you have no objection to arbitrating?" and he said "No;" and then we coincided without any delay. Then the question arose as to what form of arbitration we should arrange, and Mr. Hatch proposed that each side select an arbitrator, those two to select a third, the three to discuss the case pro and con, and the decision of those parties to be final and binding. When it came to that point it appeared to our committee that Mr. Davis was very sorry he had agreed to arbitration, because he insisted that we should show evidence that we were able to compensate the man we were to select for arbitrator. He ahem'd and ah'd on that point so long that finally Mr. Hatch told him, "Mr. Davis, if the arbitrator they select demands recompense for his services, I guarantee the board will pay him." Now that settled that matter. They selected Ex-Judge Jameson, of Chicago, and the case

was gone into and was decided in our favor; and that settled that strike; but the members who were actively engaged in the strike were laid off, and they were not employed on that building afterwards. The members of the building trades council were willing to strike that building if we desired it, but we did not desire to call off 400 men for that matter.

Now, I also listened to Mr. Bonner. As I have been in that tile business myself I understand a little about it. He made a complaint here to the effect that the tile setters would not tolerate an apprentice. Now, as a matter of fact, Mr. Bonner knows as well as I can tell him that the helpers he referred to develop into tile setters, and he knows as a matter of fact that the major portion of the tile setters in Chicago to-day have been helpers; that is the way they became tile setters just as the helper in the marble business becomes in the course of time a marble setter.

He also refers very strongly to the Molly Maguires. He stated here that we were worse than the Molly Maguires. He stated it, notwithstanding, as he admitted, that there was a full delegation of the building trades council at his back. He stated further that he was down in that Pennsylvania country during the time the Molly Maguires were in blast, and he was afraid to open his mouth in opposition to them; but he was not afraid when he had a full delegation of worse people behind him. It must be that as he advances in age he develops more nerve.

Now I will tell you, gentlemen, my experience as a business agent has been simply this, that business agents do not desire trouble. Their aim and object so far as I can observe is to avoid strikes. As a matter of fact, it will appeal to the best judgment of every man, on any consideration, that the workmen do not want to remain idle. The more trouble a business agent gives an organization the less time he is likely to remain in that position. That is not pure and simple. Of course there are exceptions to the rule. It may be that men are doing something they have no business to do, and it is a distress probably to the people they represent and the people they are doing business with.

I want to refer also to a marble firm in the city of Chicago—Davidson Brothers. They secured the contract for the Wayne County court-house, Detroit. They agreed under that contract to employ none but members of labor unions affiliated with the building trades council, that were connected with the national building trades council. They agreed under that contract to do that. They stated to those people in Detroit that their present employees at that time were members of the building trades council and all carried cards. As a matter of fact that was not so. A report became current that Davidson Brothers were an unfair firm in Chicago, and the officials of the Detroit Building Trades Council asking for the truth, we told them the truth; that we could not get him to make any terms; that he was employing good, first-class mechanics, and paying them \$1.50 a day. That shows you the advantage of individual liberty.

I will submit here a certified copy of the agreement he entered into with the building commissioners of Detroit, certified to by the Wayne County court—by the clerk of the court, under seal—stipulating just exactly what I said with reference to union labor. (The agreement referred to, with certificate, follows):

17. The contractors hereby agree to perform all labor and furnish all materials in accordance with the resolution adopted by the board of supervisors of the county of Wayne and State of Michigan, Friday, October 15, 1896, as follows:

Resolved, That none other except union-made iron and steel shall be used in the said Wayne County building.

Resolved, That the interior work on the county building be done by union men and citizens of Wayne County: *Provided*, That this rule need not hold when a union does not exist or that citizens of this county can not be procured for proposed work. Adopted January 5, 1899.

And it is further mutually agreed to by the parties to this contract that the marble and scagliola work called for by this contract, and the drawings and specifications, is to be done in accordance with proposal of said Davidson Brothers Marble Company, the contractors, as described on page 5 of the specifications for marble and scagliola work, second, third, and fourth lines, as follows: "First, to do the work of sawing, molding, rubbing, and polishing wherever practical, and erecting the same complete and finished in the building."

The work is to be performed by union labor wherever the same is executed.

It is also agreed to by the parties to this contract that the materials called for by this contract and the plans and specifications shall not be made or prepared by prison labor.

In witness whereof the parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

DAVIDSON BROS. MARBLE CO.,
JOHN A. DAVIDSON, *President*,
Contractors.

WALTER H. COOTS,
BERNARD YOUNGBLOOD,
FAYETTE HARRIS,
CARL STAHL,
JUDSON T. MAYHEW,
LOU BURT,
THOS. H. CHRISTIAN,
HUGH T. SCULLEN,

Owners.

In presence of—
JOHN SCOTT.
PETER DEDERICHS.

[No. 66.—Certified copy—Law.]

STATE OF MICHIGAN, *County of Wayne*

I, Henry M. Reynolds, clerk of Wayne County, and clerk of the circuit court for the county of Wayne, do hereby certify that the above and the foregoing is a true and correct copy of a portion of the contract of the Davidson Brothers Marble Company with Wayne County, Mich., containing all stipulations regarding union labor entered in the above-entitled cause by said court, as appears on record in my office. That I have compared the same with the original, and it is a true transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court and county, at Detroit, this eighth day of July A. D. 1899.

[SEAL.]

WM. H. MCGREGOR, *Clerk*,
By C. H. AUSTIN, *Deputy Clerk*.

It finally came to the point that at the instance of the labor people of Detroit—it came to the point that they were satisfied he did not intend to do what he agreed to do—he evidently made an effort to avoid it by making an effort to employ people who were not members of an organization; and it finally went to Allan H. Frazer, prosecuting attorney of Wayne County, Detroit, and I submit a certified copy of his opinion with reference to what this firm was obliged to do under this contract. (The opinion above referred to follows:)

DETROIT, MICH., *October 5, 1899.*

WM. H. MCGREGOR, Esq.,
County Clerk and Clerk of the Building Committee of the Board of Supervisors.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 4th instant, including letter from secretary of the Building Trades Council of Detroit, and contract of the county of Wayne with the Davidson Brothers Marble Company, has been received and carefully noted.

The letter from the secretary of the Trades Council to the building committee, says, among other things, "We have reason to believe that the Davidson Brothers there are making or preparing marble work for the County Building with non-union under-paid labor."

The contract between the county of Wayne and the Davidson Brothers, contains the following among other things:

"The contractors hereby agree to perform all labor and furnish all material in accordance with the resolution adopted by the board of supervisors of the county of Wayne, and State of Michigan, Friday, October 15, 1896, as follows;

"*Resolved*, That none other except union-made iron and steel shall be used in the said Wayne County Building.

"*Resolved*, That the interior work on the county building be done by union men and citizens of Wayne County: *Provided*, That this rule need not hold when a union does not exist or that citizens of this county can not be procured for proposed work. Adopted January 5, 1899."

"And it is further mutually agreed to by the parties to this contract, that the marble and scagliola work, called for by this contract and the drawings and specifications, is to be done in accordance with the proposal of said Davidson Brothers Marble Company, the contractors, as described on page 5 of the specifications for marble and scagliola work, second, third, and fourth lines, as follows: 'First, to do the work of sawing, molding, rubbing, and polishing wherever practical and erecting the same complete and finished in the building.'

"The work to be performed by union labor wherever the same is executed."

It is my opinion that Davidson Brothers are obliged to have the work done by union labor in connection with the Wayne County Building, whether done in Chicago or any other place, and that it is the duty of the building committee to see that this provision of the contract, as well as all others, are literally fulfilled by the contractors.

Very respectfully,

ALIAN H. FRAZER.
Prosecuting Attorney.

[No. 71.—Certified copy—Law.]

STATE OF MICHIGAN,
County of Wayne, ss.

I, Wm. H. McGregor, clerk of Wayne County, and clerk of the circuit court for the county of Wayne, do hereby certify, that the above and the foregoing is a true and correct copy of opinion entered in the above-entitled cause by said court, as appears of record in my office. That I have compared the same with the original, and it is a true transcript therefrom, and of the whole thereof.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court and county, at Detroit, this 7th day of October, A. D., 1899.

[SEAL.]

WM. H. MCGREGOR, *Clerk.*
By CHAS. P. BENOIT, Jr., *Deputy Clerk.*

Fee, \$——.

I can only see one object in the desire of the building contractors in Chicago to dissolve the building trades council, and that is simply because they recognize it as a means whereby the workmen can successfully obtain what they are entitled to. I do not see any other reason for it. It appeared singular to my mind when I heard some of the gentlemen here refer to the business agent—it appeared very singular to my mind that after swearing to their knowledge that business agents had accepted considerations to call off strikes, that when the question was asked them to explain the circumstances they avoided doing it. Being such rabid enemies of the building trades council, you would think that they would use every means they could to explain it. If they know about those things they lack moral courage, or they must be liars, or criminally connected with such affairs, or they would expose them. If the building trades council understood that such transactions were performed by any member connected with it, it would soon discipline them; it would soon place them where they belong; because there are enough men in that council of common sense that know that nothing permanent can exist under such conditions.

I do not know that I have anything further to say with reference to this matter. There is considerable to say, but it has been very thoroughly covered by other people.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) A question has been handed to me, which I will read to you: "Is not the tile setter's helper the same as the hod carrier to the brick-layer?"—A. In a certain sense, yes. The tile setter's helper is the man who in the beginning mixes the cement, makes all preparations for the tile setter to go ahead. As I stated before, the majority of the tile setters in Chicago have developed right up from the tile setter's helper.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Here is a question that has been handed in: "Does the helpers' union belong to the building trades council?"—A. Yes.

Q. If so, how can they become tile setters?—A. By the fact that when they become proficient and when the tile setters are satisfied that they are proficient, they permit them that privilege.

Q. Can you tell us what the scale of wages in your trade is in Chicago, and how it compares with the scales in other cities?—A. The scale in Chicago with reference to the men employed in the building is \$3.50 per day at the present time. The scale in New York is something in the neighborhood of \$4. The scale in St. Louis is \$3.25. As I understand it, up in Milwaukee it is a sliding scale, and it goes from \$2.25 up.

Another thing I want to say in reference to our contention, is this: Mr. Bagley stated here yesterday that because the larger part of the work he does in the factory here is done for the outside, he is obliged to compete with the people outside, and he could not pay the shop hands the rates we are asking. Now, as a matter of fact, we got testimony from the Evans people showing they pay their shop hands at Baltimore \$3.45 a day. In the instance that I understand Mr. Bagley to refer to, he was acting for his organization and I was acting for mine. We realized

the disadvantage of placing a Chicago employer where he could not compete with outsiders, because we knew if he was forced out of business it would probably mean so many of our men out of employment. He was satisfied to pay these rates. As I stated before, we settled everything until it came to the point that he would only employ those nonunion employees.

Q. You are very well satisfied with the scale you have in Chicago?—A. Well, we are very well satisfied, yes.

Q. And the hours?—A. Yes.

Q. A gentleman wants me to ask you how that scale compares with cities that compare with Chicago in size, like Philadelphia and Boston?—A. I think really, taking everything into consideration, I think really a man working in the city of Boston is not obliged to do half the work that we are here. As a matter of fact, it is acknowledged right and left that our tradesmen do more than people working outside of Chicago. There is no exaggeration in that statement.

Q. Were you ever a walking delegate?—A. I am at the present time.

Q. Were you ever approached by a contractor with an intimation that you might have a consideration for settling troubles?—A. During the course of this summer, a contractor telephoned over to the building trades council that he wished to see me one evening at 5 o'clock. He made a proposition to me that if I would do certain things he would make it all right for me. I understood what that was; if I would allow a certain job to go through it would be all right. I was asked to name the employer who proposed bribing, and my answer follows: I have not so bitter a feeling against the man that I should want to expose him. I did make a statement in regard to it among the members of my own association. I should not like to do it, because I know it would injure him in the community. I do not feel so bitter toward him that I should like to place him in that position, because it may be a lesson to him to be honest in the future.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 27, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. GEORGE P. GUBBINS,

President of the Bricklayers' Union of Chicago.

The special subcommission met at 2.35, pursuant to recess, Mr. Clarke presiding. At that time Mr. George P. Gubbins, of Chicago, president of the bricklayers' union, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your post-office address?—A. No. 12 Selden.

Q. And your occupation?—A. Bricklayer.

Q. Do you belong to the bricklayers' union?—A. Yes; I am president of the local union in Chicago.

Q. And you represent it here?—A. I represent the international of Chicago; we are a subordinate branch of the international.

Q. We shall be happy to hear you make a statement in your own way concerning the industrial conditions here.—A. You mean what brought up this crisis that is on at present?

Q. Anything you want to testify about concerning the past or present.—A. Naturally it would lead up to the present crisis and lockout at the present time. The causes of that would be most interesting.

Q. We want to hear you testify to what you want to bring out.—A. Some of the contractors have appeared before the commission and made statements that labor organizations are arbitrary and not willing to arbitrate or to meet the contractors halfway. They seem to try to throw all the blame upon the labor unions. I am here to refute those statements and give a correct statement of the conditions in Chicago at the present time and how they were fetched down. Some 3 or 4 years ago the mason contractors' association of the city of Chicago formed an agreement with our organization to work for nobody but members of their association. We saw that it would not work, that it put a bar on those who wished to build by the day. It was also barring anybody that did not come up to the requirements of the contractors' association. Regardless of the fact that a man had money enough to carry on a successful contracting business he was not eligible for membership to contract in Chicago in the mason line unless he was a practical mason and went through an examination put to him by the contractors' association of Chicago. The breaking of that agreement

was caused by an injunction in the courts here which was served on our association, upon the officers and members, to restrain the officers from interfering with members of our association who wished to work for the Greenbaum Construction Company. The officers, of course, refrained from interfering with the men, but the men that were down there refrained from work. We refrained from working, from opposing them, from working for this contractor.

But we had no agreement the following year. The last year we entered into the agreement again, at the time I was president. The first meeting of our arbitration board and theirs—as per agreement of long standing, we were to send over and meet with them and arbitrate our differences every year, in the month of January. The first question put to me was, Were we prepared to work for them, and them only. We were in such a position—the bricklayers in the city of Chicago—that we were continually hampered by the bosses—by the contractors' association; but I told them we were prepared to go into that agreement. We entered into an agreement and arbitration. We selected an arbitrator or an umpire rather; 5 men on each side of the arbitration board met, and we agreed upon certain rules to govern the year. The bosses holding us down to the agreement that we would work for nobody but members of their association created a good deal of trouble and strife in the city of Chicago, and many contractors of long standing were debarred from membership in the contractors' association because they did not come up to the requirements, one of which was that a man had to be a practical brick mason. Some men, as I have said before, who had been for twenty years contracting mason work, were not eligible for membership in their association. Since, according to our agreement, we were not allowed to work for those men, they were compelled to hire others. The contractors' association wanted us to force those contractors into their association—those masons by trade who were eligible. There were somewhere in the neighborhood, I believe, of 90 forced in last year through not being able to employ any of our men.

Right after making that agreement with us, an exclusive agreement to work for none but them, they entered into an agreement with the material men of the city of Chicago, commonly known as the material combine, debarring their members from buying material from firms not in the material combine. The material combine embraced the following material men: Brick, common and pressed; lime, crushed stone, sand and also dimension stone, commonly called rubble. They raised the price on material \$1.50 for rubblestone to anybody outside of the master masons' association; \$1 a thousand for common brick; from \$1 a thousand to \$5 on the pressed brick, according to the quality; 15 cents a barrel for lime; from 20 to 50 cents a yard for sand. Any contractor not a member of their association could not buy material except from a very few firms—very small firms that were not in a position to supply a large demand. They froze out, to my knowledge, two or three pressed brick firms and stone companies, who had to go in with these contractors that we were not allowed to work for and form an independent masons' association, taking the headquarters formerly occupied by the masons and builders' association, and continuing on employing any man who would work for that association. Contractors even went so far as to try to hire laboring men to put some of these independent contractors in the hospital. I have myself met one of the men of whom they wanted to know if we could not get men, and I told them we were not engaged in that line of business.

Q. What do you mean by putting them in the hospital?—A. Breaking their legs and arms, and something of that kind.

Q. Assaulting them?—A. Assaulting them—putting them out of the business when they could not put them out through the material men. They wanted to put them out physically. The contractors' council, an institution here, was formed by William O'Brien, a member of the mason contractors' association, Behel, of the carpenters, and Samuel Smith, secretary of the master plumbers' association, and they sent a communication to the building trades council asking us to deal with them or arbitrate. A committee of 5 was appointed by the building trades council in December to meet with them. Oh, no; excuse me. The building trades council ignored the communication coming from that body, but M. B. Madden, a prominent citizen of Chicago and large material dealer, tendered his services as mediator, and asked for a committee from the building trades council to meet with a committee of reputable builders and material men of Chicago, to see if we could not fetch about such a condition of affairs that things in the building line would run smoothly during this coming year of 1900. A committee from the building trades council, receiving that communication from a man they considered a responsible material man, and the men he mentioned that he was to have on a committee with him being reputable business men, contractors, and material men, a committee was appointed from the building trades

council, a committee of 5, of which I was a member. We waited upon a like number (Mr. Madden's committee) in the Builders' Exchange, Chamber of Commerce building, on the second floor. I do not remember the date; I have not got that. But at the first meeting Mr. Madden was elected chairman, and both sides aired their grievances, and they adjourned subject to the call of the chair.

Another meeting was held with like proceedings. Then a communication came over stating that Behel, Murdoch Campbell, Boyd, the plumber, and other members of the building contractors' council who were members of it—at that time we were thinking of refusing to meet with those men, as we had refused to meet with them before, but on persuasion from representative men of Chicago we went and met them; and one of their members was John Rawle, who represented the cut-stone contractors of Chicago. But at the first meeting of the joint board, of which he was a member, he fetched in a resolution to do away with the ban that had been placed by organized labor on the machines used in the stone yard. On being asked by the representative of the stonecutters' union, who was a member of our committee, what portion of his organization he represented, he said he represented the whole of them. The representative of the stonecutters' union told him that he thought he only represented 15 per cent, and that 85 per cent had signed a paper which he had in his pocket stating that Mr. Rawle was there in the interest of the men who wanted machines, and not acting in the interest of his whole association, because 85 per cent of them were not in favor of having machines in the stone-contracting business in Chicago. At that time I asked if the contractors that were there were there in the interest of their respective associations or for the individual benefit of themselves and their own contracting business. It seemed to stampede them. But finally, after several meetings, we came to a set of rules governing the year. The matter was referred back to the respective councils—a copy sent to the contractors' council and one to the building trades council. The one sent to the contractors' council was acted upon very quickly. The one sent to the building trades council had to be referred for a referendum vote. Some of the trades in our organization—the building trades council, I mean—have only one meeting a month; some two; some every week. Our organization, the bricklayers and masons, had the first meeting the Monday following the Friday when the matter was referred from the council to the subordinate unions interested in the council for a referendum vote, and our organization voted in favor of that point of arbitration and the rules adopted upon the same.

In the meantime, during all this controversy, the organization of which I am president, the bricklayers and stone masons, in January, as per agreement, sent to the masons and builders' association of the city of Chicago, notifying them of our election of a new arbitration board for the ensuing year, telling them we were ready and willing to meet with their arbitration board and arbitrate for the coming year. We sent over a written communication to them, but received no answer. I went East. Coming back from the East on the 23d or 25th of January—around there—I immediately asked the secretary of the arbitration board if he had received any communication from the masons and builders' association. He said he had not. I immediately told him to communicate over the 'phone and ask them if they desired arbitration for the coming year; if they wanted to meet with our organization. He did so, and Mr. Robinson, secretary of the masons and builders' association, who by the way is not a mason by occupation and who is secretary of their association, and who admitted that they delarded men from their association for not being masons—he sent word over that Mr. Coey, president of the association, was not in, but he would see him when he came in and let us know. The next morning I asked our secretary, "Have you heard from Mr. Coey?" He said no. I said, "Call him up again." He immediately called him up on the 'phone in my presence, and he told him he had forgotten the matter, but would speak to Mr. Coey and let him know that day. So he let it go that day and heard no more about it. Four successive days we telephoned over with the same answer. We did that up to the last Saturday in January. Then we told them that, according to agreements entered into by them and us when we first adopted arbitration methods in Chicago, we had to meet in January, and that if it was only for $\frac{1}{2}$ hour we craved their indulgence. They ignored us.

February 5 they sent an ultimatum, or posted up notices rather, to the masons and laborers of Chicago, telling us that we were to lose our half day Saturday, and we were to work under anybody they sought fit to hire, telling us that they would hire union and nonunion men if they saw fit, and that any men who should work the following Monday they would consider would be working under the building rules. On every building that these notices were posted in the men quit work on Saturday as usual, and from that time on, 8 weeks yesterday, the men in Chicago have been locked out unless they would come to the contractors' terms.

Since that time efforts have been made at arbitration. While the matter of arbitrating was before the different unions for a referendum, the contractors issued half a dozen ultimatums. The contractors told the building trades council that they wanted immediate action upon the matter of the referendum vote in regard to the joint board of arbitration. A committee from the building trades council, Mr. Davis and Mr. Lillien, waited on the contractors and told them if they had one more week they thought the matter would be settled satisfactorily to all concerned; some of the smaller unions had not voted on it, and one more week would give every union a chance to have a meeting, and those voting in favor and those not voting at all would be counted in the affirmative. The contractors paid no attention to the request for one more week, but sent out their ultimatum on February 5, which caused the present lockout.

After that time the international president of our organization was here. I stated the facts of the situation to him, and he told me he did not think it was possible that such a state of affairs could exist in a city of this size and enlightenment; did not really believe the statements I made to him. I took him over to the bosses' association, and in my presence the bosses told him they would not arbitrate with anybody until the building trades council was dissolved, and then "To the victor belonged the spoils." I asked him what he meant about the victors belonging the spoil. He said, "Well, if you fellows win, why you can stick it to us." And I said, "Then I consider if you people win you will stick it to us?" He said, "Well, you heard what I said; to the victors belong the spoils." So our international president said, "Well, then, your policy is rule or ruin, I understand?" And Mr. Gindele said yes; that would be about the size of it. Our international president says, "You would have no objection to my making that statement public?" He said no; that he sent a letter to the mayor when the mayor wanted to mediate in this matter to try to settle it. "We told the mayor we wanted no outside interference. If you will read the letter to the mayor"—I think that was on February 27 or January 27, the date of the letter to the mayor; he stated the date—"you will see that our position is pretty firmly defined there, and it has got to be the downfall of one association or the other." Our international president said, "What grievance did they have against the masons and bricklayers?" He said they had no grievance. He said, "What grievance have you got against any specific trade? State one." They said, "Well, the men are arbitrary." He said, "Give me some instances of their arbitrary actions." One of them tried to tell him something about the plumbers, and then I asked him if he was talking from hearsay or from something that came under his own observation, and he said from hearsay. There were quite a number of contractors in the room, and I asked any of them if they had lost any time—the mason contractors or bricklayers had lost any time—through the year 1899 through any arbitrary rulings that had gone through; that I had not heard of it, and that I should like to hear from some of those men if I could, and I would investigate it; and no one was there to say that they had lost any time. So that our international president came away in disgust. Knowing that we could not get our side properly before the public through the city press of Chicago, he asked me what to do in this matter, and I advised him to come before this commission; and, just as I surmised, we got about three inches of space the next day in papers of the city of Chicago. Now, I am ready to answer any questions.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Are you still ready and willing and anxious to refer all differences to arbitration?—A. All the workmen of Chicago are willing—have always been willing. I never heard when at any time they were not willing to arbitrate.

Q. Do you know any reason why the association of builders should undertake to crush the association of laborers?—A. No; only that the contractors' council was formed principally by the masons and builders' association, who want to dictate the policy of the industrial world, I believe. They would like to reach outside of Chicago after they get this place corraled. They have nice offices over there, and they have what I consider a lot of chair warmers—men who receive so much per day for sitting on committees—and it is to their interest to create trouble. The more trouble they have, the more committee work they have to do; and every time they sit on a committee they receive so much for the sitting. Those men—some of them—were the men who were most active in fetching about this shut down and lockout; and one in particular, I might state, only laid 60,000 brick on one job in two years. He did not settle, and after this brick was in the wall, then he went around to the brick manufacturer and tried to get \$1 a thousand taken off. Such men as this are the men who are the cause of this lockout. It was not the responsible and big contractors, such as Fuller, Sproul, and men of that kind. Those men were not interested in this thing. They were fetched in

afterwards. The Wells firm has always had a friendly feeling. That is another firm that I do not think understood the situation when they went into this thing.

Q. Are you willing to give the name or names of the man or men who tried to instigate your men to attack workmen and maim them?—A. Well, I should not, of course, like to get anybody in trouble, but I will say this much: That it is only yesterday (Sunday) that I was closeted with a detective for 3 hours who wanted to have our men assault a buss loaded with people who were in the employ of the master masons' association; whether thinking I had a hand in these assault cases I do not know, but the assault did not occur. I told them we did not do anything of that kind.

Q. Do you say the detective tried to have your men make the assault?—A. He said, "Wouldn't it be a bad thing if such a thing happened?" There is such a thing as telling a man, wouldn't it be a bad thing if such a thing happened, and at the same time telling him to do it. But he says, wouldn't it be a bad thing; he told me that there was going to be a buss with two men in charge, and he said, "Wouldn't it be a bad thing for the men to clean that buss out?"

Q. You understood that he was tendering an invitation?—A. That is what I understood. He did not tell me, but he was telling me what a bad thing it would be; that was just the same thing; I considered that he was informing me of those things, thinking that our men would go and paralyze those men.

Q. Do you know who employed him?—A. The master masons' association.

Q. Did he say so?—A. Yes.

Q. Are you willing to give his name?—A. Yes.

Q. What is it?—A. Le Vin.

Q. What is his first name?—A. I do not know, but he runs a detective agency. Also, I went over to the chief of police to see about protection, and I have got a revolver in my pocket now because Le Vin told me that certain men at the head of this lockout wanted him to break my neck.

Q. Do you feel that you have adequate protection from the police?—A. Well, I had rather help myself a little if anybody should jump me.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Did you get permission to carry a revolver?—A. No; the chief of police told me he had no permission to give to anybody, and I asked him why it was given to policemen who were the lowest disreputables in the city and who were living off lewd women; and I can fetch a man here to prove that two of them were blustering and were jumping back and pulling their guns and showing how they could kill a striker. I have a man on every job in Chicago, and I know everything that is going on in the city of Chicago. This man was in a saloon with them. It was at night, and two of them got drunk and were showing how they would kill a striker if he should come out, and how they had been told they would be attacked, and finally they got to quarreling amongst themselves. They were protecting the Heath & Milligan shop out here on Eighteenth and Canal—Lumber and Canal. The laboring men in Chicago do not care how much police protection is given. I was one of a committee that went over and saw the mayor and told him that we wanted any of our men who had broken any law arrested and we wanted them punished. The building trades council, of which our association is a member, and our association and all others affiliated with them do not countenance any violence of any kind. We told the mayor that we did object to the irresponsible men of the caliber that they were swearing in, who we thought were liable to go out amongst a crowd of men who might be standing around watching other men take their places and incite those men to some act of violence and then shoot them down. If the mayor was cited before this commission he would tell you the same thing that I tell you.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Did he defend the character of the men who were being sworn in?—A. No; he did not. He told us that no man had any authority to carry a revolver or to go outside of a building. The men who were sworn in to protect the building had no authority outside of it; and if owners of buildings in the city of Chicago and citizens here were willing to have that class of men protect their property, why, of course, that was also outside of his power; but those men's duties only went as far as the threshold of the building, and if we caught any of them out amongst the men inciting them to any riot or disturbance of any kind we should acquaint him with the fact and he would relieve them of their stars and responsibility.

Q. Well, you have no fault to find with the treatment you have received at the hands of the mayor, have you?—A. No; I have not. I know our association has not, and I do not believe any other association has any fault to find with him. I know this much: I know that men have been arrested on the street—some of my men have been arrested. I will cite a few instances. One man named Lars Nelson was arrested on a warrant calling for a man 5 feet 8, with a light mustache,

and that was the only description. He was 6 feet 2, and was arrested on the warrant. Another man belonging to the labor organization, Anthony Connelly, was 5 feet 10½. He was arrested on a warrant calling for a dark-complexioned man, 5 feet 4. They took us up before a justice here and we took a continuance before Justice Underwood. We took a change of venue from Justice Underwood. Upon arriving at Judge Priudville's court they asked for a continuance. They had a whispered conversation with the judge, and then it was put off. I did not get a chance to get up near enough. They had it laid over, and, of course, when it was laid over it cost us \$3 a day each for the bonds. The next time it came up I appeared as attorney for the men. They asked for a continuance again, and I stated my case and laid it before the judge, and told them we were ready for trial, and some of my men were destitute and wanted to get out of town, and it was a shame to hold them there. Those men stated at the time that they had witnesses, and the judge asked them why the witnesses were not there, and they said they did not know. I asked them if it were not a fact that the witnesses were working for them anyway—these special men. They said yes; so I told them I did not see any reason why those witnesses were not there. I told the judge we left it to his fairness as a man; we considered we were only being gouged out of so much money. The next time, if a continuance was granted, they would not be there at the trial to prosecute; they had done that in several instances after having it continued, and every time we continued it, I told the judge, it cost \$1. The judge said he saw no reason why we could not go ahead with the trial, and I notified the judge that we had more witnesses than they had, and the day we went into Justice Underwood's court it would not be any trouble for them to go out and get all the witnesses they wanted. The judge told them: "You will have to proceed with the trial or I shall have to dismiss the men." So the matter was dismissed, and they took exceptions, and the men were liberated.

There was the case of another man, named Borch. They had a description that tallied with him pretty well. It seems that the practice in vogue with the contractors in Chicago, through their hirelings, their special police officers, has been to go before some justice and swear out a lot of John Doe warrants. One of my men being arrested—they arrested him first and then they went through a bunch of warrants about that thick [indicating] and found a warrant that corresponded as near as possible to the man. In those two cases they could not get anything nearer 5 foot 8 than 6 foot 2, and to 5 foot 4 than a 5 foot 10½ man. We consulted with a lawyer, and the lawyer told us that we could resist a warrant of that kind, and, if necessary, kill the man that served it. Since that time they have come to find out that we are ready to resist a warrant of that kind, and none of them have been served, because if any had been they would have been murdered.

Q. Are you willing to give the name of that lawyer?—A. No. You mean our lawyer?

Q. Yes. You say that a lawyer, a member of the bar, told you— A. (Interrupting.) I consulted with a lawyer, and he told me that any man who would try to arrest us on a warrant of that kind that was not a legally deputized constable or sheriff—these men, understand, that serve these warrants were those disreputables that I told you about, who are sworn in as special policemen to protect certain property, and also sworn in as special policemen under some of these detective agencies here—and he said they had no right to serve a warrant, and the warrants were defective unless they had our name, or the warrant tallied, or there was a man there to point you out, and you could resist arrest, if necessary, and nothing could be done with you.

Q. How could you know whether an alleged officer was lawfully deputized or not?—A. He would have to show his credentials or he would not take me.

Q. Do officers generally show their credentials?—A. They have to if they have got a live one. If they are going to take a dead one, they can take him, and if they take a man that has not got rights in the city. You would not go if I came up and pulled you, nor any other man. You would want to know what I was and who I was.

Q. When a man is authorized in this city to make arrests, is he given a badge?—A. I will explain the duties as the mayor explained them to me. The duties of a special police officer, such as they have, are only to go out and guard property. There their authority ceases. They are only allowed to arrest men when they come in and do damage to the property, and their authority ceases when they go out of that. But, of course, if a man comes into the building and does some damage and runs out, and they run outside after him, and follow him and arrest him; that would be all right, because they caught him in the act.

Q. How would a man being arrested know whether the officer had any authority or not?—A. He would make him show it.

Q. Would he have anything else but a badge? Would he make him show that or ask him for that?—A. Well, I will tell you. In the first place, he has got to have a warrant. If you do anything, he has got to have a warrant or else catch you in the act; or he has to go immediately after the crime was committed and have a man there to make a complaint that you have committed the crime, and then he takes you with the man that makes the complaint and takes you both to the station.

Q. I want to know how you are going to know whether a man is an officer when he attempts to act as an officer?—A. It is his business to make it known very plainly that he is an officer; he has got to show a star, and he has got to show a warrant, and no man can be arrested in Chicago without a warrant.

Q. Is it a common practice in this city for men to pretend to act as officers when they are not officers?—A. We have them fined in the courts here very often for impersonating an officer. It was only the other night that an officer at Desplaines street station—because there were two men impersonating officers and taxing lewd women of the city for money, and this Officer Quirk came along and went to arrest them, they pulled their guns and shot after him. That is only two blocks from where our hall is located—Green, Peoria, and Sangamon.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Does your international organization make it compulsory upon you to resort to arbitration in labor questions?—A. Yes; that is one of the fundamental principles of our international body.

Q. Is your local organization at liberty now to enter into arbitration with the master masons independent of the building trades council?—A. We would not do it.

Q. You would not do it?—A. No.

Q. Would it not be compulsory upon you to do it?—A. Yes; and that is what our international president was here for.

Q. Suppose, now, that the master masons should change their attitude and agree to arbitrate?—A. They lost their chance with us.

Q. They lost their chance?—A. If it is a fight to a finish, we will stick with it as long as they can.

Q. You thereby forfeit aid?—A. We are willing to forfeit aid. We can not lose our manhood for all the aid in the country. The fact is this: It is a contractors' fight that was fetched down, but every organization in the council at all times was willing to go before the public; we are willing at this time, now, to take one man, five men, or twelve men from the building trades council and hold a mass meeting in Chicago, for the citizens of Chicago, and have any fair-minded audience decide who is right and who is wrong. All we want is an equal share in the proceeds of the building industry in the city of Chicago. Our organization, Mr. Kennedy, for over 12 years has not received an increase in salary. The contractors have gone so far as to post up notices in the cars, to mislead the general public, that we receive \$4 a day. I am willing to make oath right here that our union—the members as a whole—do not average \$1.75 the year around. There are some men who are very fortunate. They work for contractors who have work continually. Those men may make somewhere around \$900 or \$1,000 a year; but the vast majority make but very little. I have known men that have not worked for 18 months in the city of Chicago at their trade, because they could not get work to do.

Q. You think the contractors are not willing to share with you the prosperity which they might enjoy if the building trade was uninterrupted. Have they shown any disposition to do that?—A. No; they have always acted the whole hog or none. That is what they want, and that is what they want now. They have said to the general public that we are the cause of the stagnation. I want to state to the general public, through this commission, that we are the people that spend the money in this city, and the business men have the right to understand it and know it. The business interests, of course, suffer through our not getting our wages. Considerably over a million dollars has been lost in Chicago since 1900—possibly quite a number of them; I have not thought on that matter. But that money might well have been in circulation. We put money into circulation. They want to put us back to the days of 8 or 10 years ago, when we had to live in one room and fetch up 8 or 10 children on \$1.75 a day.

Q. I presume you have heard a great deal about what has been said here concerning labor leaders and delegates holding political positions?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you hold a political office?—A. No; a man who holds an office in our association can not hold a political office.

Q. Can not hold office?—A. Can not hold both at the same time.

Q. He would not be able to represent you in the building trades council or in the Federation of Labor?—A. Oh, as a delegate? We are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Q. With your central body?—A. With the building trades council; I select the delegates and they go there, and I select regardless. Some of them might be working for the city; I could not state any. But I generally pick out the brightest men in our association, to my mind, and have them go to the council. One of them, I might state, holds a state position here, a very conservative member, a good labor man.

Q. What percentage of the bricklayers of Chicago are in your organization?—A. About 97 per cent.

Q. What is your total membership?—A. On our books we have, in good standing about 3,100.

Q. 3,100?—A. Some men might not be in good standing this quarter and they might be in the next. We have probably on our books a membership of 5,000.

Q. Do you know whether the building industry in other parts of the country is so depressed that the contractors could readily get brick masons together?—A. No; I know that we do not feel a bit alarmed over the prospects. Last summer we had 1,500 of our men outside; our men are going out every day, and we are getting communications every day. I also wish to state that the bricklayers of Chicago have been also in St. Louis, New York, Baltimore, Washington, and other Eastern cities, and Butte, Mont. They come from all the cities. I also wish to state that our men, the bricklayers of Chicago and the stone masons, are carried all over the country by contractors who do work here. We are classed as the best mechanics in our line of business in the country. We work harder and do more work.

Q. Do you know this Fuller building firm?—A. Yes.

Q. Are they employing your men at the present time?—A. All over the country.

Q. Are they doing any building in Chicago?—A. Yes; doing a job right around here on Jackson street in the new theater building. They are working there now; I just left there half an hour ago.

Q. What kind of a business arrangement have you with the Fuller Company—is that the name of it?—A. Yes.

Q. The Fuller Construction Company?—A. No arrangement, except that the Fuller Company along in the first of the year want to know all the requirements of the different labor organizations, so that they can tell their clients, so that they can get along without any trouble in conducting their work.

Q. Do you know whether they are taking new contracts in Chicago?—A. They are taking everything that comes their way, I believe. That is a new contract; that contract has been let since the lockout.

Q. On the street above here?—A. Yes. We also have members of the contractors and masons' association signing our agreement. We have an agreement with them. We are willing to make an agreement with individual men who wish to employ our men.

Q. Are you familiar with the effort that was initiated by Mr. Madden?—A. I was the one that fetched it around.

Q. Toward arbitration?—A. I was the one that fetched it around from the building trades council side. Mr. Madden sent for me, and, as an old acquaintance, I went around, and he told me of the vast material interests that were involved, and he said: "Those d— fellows over here have started this thing without consulting our interests. We have a dollar's interest where they have a penny; and if I can find a way to settle this, it is going to be to the interest of my company and all the material firms in the city, and also the citizens in general."

Q. Who said that?—A. Mr. Madden. I told Mr. Madden that I would consult with some of the members of the building trades council and let him know whether it would be advisable to send a communication to the building trades council. I immediately went to the head of the building trades council and saw Mr. Edward Carroll, and he said, "By all means; anything that can possibly be done to avoid a labor conflict here should be done." I waited on Mr. Madden. I saw Mr. Smith, of the plumbers, and Mr. Madden, of the steamfitters, and Mr. Preece, of my own organization, and Mr. Davis, of the building trades council, and Mr. Lillien, of the hodcarriers, and Mr. Ryan, of the structural iron men, and Mr. Buchanan, of the structural iron men—all men who were prominently interested in labor organizations—and they thought that it would be a good idea; so I went back to Mr. Madden and told him: "Now, Mr. Madden, if you will get men on there who are willing to be fair, men who have not been fighting the labor men—not such as Behel, Murdoch Campbell, and Billy O'Brien—it will be all right." He said, "Can you name some men?" I named Mr. Sproul; told him to name anybody from the Fuller Company, and Mr. Falkenan and Mr. Thomas Cavanaugh, of the steamfitters. I do not remember the other names, but I remember giving

him some names of other men that I thought could better agree with the boys because the boys would be more willing. Before this time there had been a good deal of talk all through about the secretary of the contractors' council coming out with statements. They were making ultimatums that we were ruining the industries of the city of Chicago, and they were the innocent lambs, and this reporter would get some contractor to come out with a statement, and there was always hot stuff in the papers from the contractors' side; but they did not tell the people that they had a material combine on the outside and were charging outsiders all the way from 15 to 25 per cent extra for material. They did not tell them that the iron that went into buildings went up 175 per cent, and immediately upon some trade asking for a little advance they come out to the general public about the arbitrary demands of organized labor in the city of Chicago, and about the demands being so high that it was putting up the cost of building.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) How about this arbitration arrangement? Did they arbitrate and did the arbitrators come to an agreement which was submitted to both sides?—A. Yes; I was chairman of that board.

Q. Was the arbitration agreement agreed to by the contractors and rejected by the building trades?—A. No; it was not rejected by the building trades.

Q. Tell the circumstances.—A. The matter was referred to the joint board of arbitration, and they had come to an agreement on certain rules. The matter was rather complicated. I do not believe that some of the men who are very much interested in this matter understand the thing to-day. I will try and explain it. The joint board of arbitration was to be five from each side, five from the contractors' council, and five from the building trades council. The agreement was that the contractors in the contractors' council would arbitrate with the other trades, and then if they could not agree upon anything, that matter was to be referred to these five men from each side. We do not use an umpire. We generally have a judge, some prominent man in town who we know will be fair and act favorable to both sides. I am probably ahead of my story. Our agreements with the masons and builders were broken along last June, I believe, somewhere along in the summer, through failure to agree. They claimed we were breaking the rules, and we claimed they were breaking the rules. We had met several times in the office of the masons' association, and it was always a vote of five and five. Finally I suggested that, as it was an expense to my organization of \$16 a day every day we met, they take the rules and place them before the committee and take 1 week and go over everything, and if there was anything in the rules obnoxious to their association, and they had any grievance or fancied grievance, that they meet 1 week from that day, we doing likewise with the agreement and finding where we had any fault with them and their methods; and that we agree to meet there and then not go in like a lot of loggerheads, five and five; but when we could not come to an agreement have an umpire there and submit it to him with arguments on both sides. We had, in our previous meetings with them, when they got to a deadlock, asked them to call in Mr. Luther Ladin Mills, a lawyer of great prominence here in Chicago, who had been selected as umpire and had been for years. They never would fetch in anybody, knowing that we had the right side in the matter. When we put it right up to them so that it was right up against them, and they either had to do one thing or another, they did the other. They sent an answer to us here telling us that they broke the agreements, which they had a right to do by giving 6 months' notice; but they never did so, telling us in the letter which we received the morning of the meeting—Tuesday was our meeting night—that they considered that they were at liberty to hire and fire whom they pleased; they vacant to hire and fire union men.

They continued on having their agreement with the laborers' association of the city of Chicago, and when we went out and went to work for another man who was not a member of their association they wanted the laborers to stop work on the job because he was not a member of their association. The man was willing to pay their \$200 initiation, but they said that he was not eligible—although his credit was a great deal better than 85 per cent of their own members—because he did not happen to be a bricklayer by trade. They even would not let in a stone mason as a contractor over there. One of the contractors told me that a stone mason was not eligible as a contractor of masonry because he was not a bricklayer. It was a kind of close corporation. They commonly would ask the laborers to stop work; the laborers would stop work, and they would use their influence then with the owners of the buildings to try and take the contract away from these other men. We went along as if nothing had happened, and we never made any other demands on the contractors to sign an agreement or anything else. We went along keeping our agreement under the 6 months' notice, not suggesting anything to them; only the minute we received that communication we

started to work for whoever was willing to hire us and pay us the wages. They harassed our organization with the union laborers, and they told us that they had us up the spout. They did not say up the spout, but they used language I can not use in the presence of the lady there, and any of you gentlemen will not use it; but finally we had to fetch the matter up in the building trades council. They went so far as to have the laborers go out there and pull their men off, and finally tried to harass the men who took their places. When this matter went on, I told our men to work with anybody that the bosses would hire, and I went to the laborers' president and asked him, and he said, "Well, according to our agreement with the boss masons we can not work with anybody that is not a member of their organization." I said, "Well, you can not have any objection to our men working with nonunion men. You have no right to go and hound those men that go on with their work, and you have no right to kick about their working with nonunion laborers when you refuse to work."

So the matter came up before the building trades council, and the council ordered the laborers to break their agreement with the master masons, because the master masons were working to the detriment of one of the trades in the council, which was the bricklayers. And then from that time on they began starting their agitation, because a great many of these contractors were getting work who did not belong to their association, and so their association would be on the line, unless they did something on a gigantic scale to check it. Along in the latter part of August and September, I think it was—November—they threatened a lockout. Twenty-five of the reputable contractors of the city of Chicago met in the Builders' Club, some of the best men in the building line, both material men and contractors—called a meeting and said they would not lock out their men; that they were not going to be dictated to by a lot of chair warmers of the master masons' association, and that they wanted to run their own business without any hindrance from them. I immediately notified the 25 reputable contractors of the city of Chicago that organized labor would stand behind them; that we would rather have the work for these 25 men than all the rest of the contractors' association in Chicago. Those men, by some means or other, have been now taken into their association, with the exception of Fuller, who refused to break his agreements with organized labor. Other contractors, regardless of their names being signed to agreements which we have, have come out and stated before the public, as honest and reputable citizens, that we are arbitrary and unjust to them; but over their own signatures we can show where they broke agreements signed by them. With the mill men, for instance, we had an agreement that did not run out for one year, and they have broken it off, quite a number of them. The bosses never have hesitated in the city of Chicago to break their word to the labor men. They do not consider that we are human. They do not think they are losing their manhood and also lying when they tell us something, because they do not consider us as their equals, I guess.

Q. Will you state briefly what followed in the way of an effort at arbitration after the building trades rejected the Madden arbitration?—A. They never arbitrated it.

Q. Well, they failed on their side?—A. It did not fail, Mr. Kennedy. You see we have to refer everything of importance of that kind to a referendum vote. The building trades council, let me explain, has nothing to do with the individual unions. We make our own agreements with our own bosses irrespective of the council. We are merely in the council for mutual protection. There would not be any cause for a building trades council if the contractors of Chicago would be fair and act honestly and live up to the agreements which they sign. I can cite cases, hundreds of them, where the contractors signed their names and agreed to certain things and then went right out immediately and broke their agreements and word. If they would act fair with the men and live up to their agreements, there would be no occasion for a sympathetic strike; there would be no occasion for the building trades council in the city of Chicago. The building trades council is created here for the mutual protection of all men belonging to the building trades. I can tell you the procedure you have to go through to create a sympathetic strike. A sympathetic strike is a last resort.

Q. That has been told. Will you state the effort that was made to have the mayor arbitrate the difficulty and why that failed?—A. There was not any effort made on behalf of the men. It was the men that went over there to register a kick (to use the vulgar phrase) against the irresponsible men who were being sworn in as special policemen. The mayor said, "Is there no way to settle this difference?" One of the committee, I think Mr. Long, said: "Well, we at all times have been willing to settle the thing on a fair basis. We are willing to go before the general public, and we can get our system before the public, but we

do not want to go and back the material combine." Mr. Long represents the gas fitters, who were up against the same thing we were up against. The metal supply houses here would not sell anything. You could not get a screw; you could not get a monkey wrench or anything of that kind from any of these material supply houses unless you got an order from a master plumber. For instance, if I wanted to go and build a house myself, I just had to go and get permission from the bosses before I could get any material; it is \$1.50 for rubble stone and \$1 for common brick and \$1.75 for pressed brick. This is not hearsay. I have been in the master masons' association when the statements came in from the different companies, when the lime man sold so many barrels of lime. I was right there and saw the check come in from him. It is not hearsay with me; I saw it with my own eyes. That is what we are up against. We want open competition in the material here. We want to see capital invested here, but we know very well that capital is not going to be invested when they can only buy brick from one firm and they can shove it up as high as they like.

Q. What did the mayor suggest?—A. The mayor suggested it himself. He said would we be willing to meet with a committee of contractors and try to fetch about a settlement in this matter. I said to the mayor, "I do not think there would be any use in your trying, but we are at all times ready to meet anybody to settle this difficulty, because it is to the men's interest that the difficulty be settled."

Q. Did the mayor make an effort?—A. Yes. At that time, when I told him I did not think it would amount to anything or materialize, I told him, "Mr. Mayor, we are not here to have you arbitrate in our behalf at all. We are here for what we told you before. We do not want any special police force to handle this matter, but whenever any one of our men, no matter who it is, breaks the law we want him punished, and whenever you can show us where any of our men have broken the law all you have got to do is to telephone to our respective associations and we will get the men."

Q. Did the mayor open negotiations with the contractors?—A. Yes.

Q. And with your organizations also?—A. When he asked us if we would meet if he could fetch around a meeting in his office or anywhere, I told him, of course, it would be all right, but I did not think it would materialize; I did not think that it would amount to anything, as they did not want to arbitrate; all they wanted to do was to sit there, these fellows, and draw their salaries.

Q. Well, did he formally invite?—A. (Interrupting.) He invited the masons.

Q. Invite your people to meet with him for that purpose?—A. Yes; he invited the building trades council, and the building trades council signified their willingness to meet a like committee.

Q. Then he invited the contractors also?—A. Yes.

Q. What did he hear from them?—A. I do not believe he heard anything direct. I believe he got a letter through the press. I do not know just what it was, but that was the one to which they referred—keeping his nose out of their business; that they were going to handle this thing to suit themselves.

Q. They rejected his effort at arbitration?—A. Yes.

Q. If there was no organization among the building trades in Chicago, do you believe there would be general building going on in the city now?—A. Oh, I do not know; I think the bosses have a right to organize.

Q. I am not speaking about that. I say, if there was no organization among the working men would building, in your opinion, be going on in the city of Chicago now?—A. I do not know who would be strong enough to do the work. I do not think it would if the bosses could help it. I do not think they would have enough help to do the work. I do not think we could get enough brick. You mean, Would the condition of the laboring men be better off if there was no organization?

Q. That is not what I mean. If there was no labor organization, if there was no organization of the building trades, do you believe that building would be going on in the city now?—A. Not in the way it is going at the present time. No, there would be just the same trouble, only it would be worse. There would be a great deal of rioting going on; men would not be bound together, and you could not control them. Now, in my organization, none of our children, wives, families, and none of our men are suffering. We can stay out for three years and all of them can get plenty to eat. We are not giving any money to any of our men, but we are giving them all the stuff that any man needs, and it is the best that money can buy. We are dishing the stuff out to the boys. We are paying 11½ cents for smoked meat and 22 cents for coffee. We buy it at wholesale and give them a better article and take care of them for less money.

Q. What do you believe would be the wage and hour condition of the workers

of Chicago if there was no organization?—A. Bricklayers at \$1.50 a day and plumbers about \$1.

Q. Hours of work?—A. About 12.

Q. Treatment of the men; what would that be?—A. Well, I do not know. I believe something similar to the slave drivers of the South. A man would not have the courage to stand up for himself, and if the bosses did not like him, it would be as it was in the old days—the boss would knock the handle out of a pick and knock a man down. The laboring men would not be recognized in the courts. We should be placed on the same basis as these Guineas are in the East. What I mean by Guineas is the lower class of Italians.

Q. Do you consider a labor organization a trust?—A. No; I consider it a body for the benefit of the whole people.

Q. It has been charged—A. (Interrupting.) Just like the church, only better.

Q. Do you believe that as a result of labor organizations more money goes out into the channels of trade of Chicago than would otherwise be the case?—A. Why, I know the merchant has to live off it. We do not go abroad to spend our money; we do not get enough; and the more money we get the better it is, because the merchant gets it back. All we want is a good, fair show before the public. I never heard of a workman in my life that got rich off his work, no matter how hard he worked. I am president of my organization at \$5 less a week than I was receiving before. I want to just cite a case to show you a picture of these contractors. I was born and raised here in the city of Chicago, educated in the public schools; went for a short term to a college out here in Kankakee—St. Vincent's. I have worked largely here since I was big enough to work. My father was a contractor. I am considered a good mechanic at my work. I took a civil-service examination, and, if I do say it myself, I was the only man that was not afraid to speak up in any company in favor of arbitration—never hesitated at any time in behalf of arbitration, because it is men first and money afterwards. Knowing that my term of office will expire next year in the bricklayers' union, unless they change their constitution (which I do not think they would, because there are plenty of men just as good as I am), I naturally looked a little ahead. An examination came up for sewer-pipe inspector, and I went over there and took it. I happened to be third on the list. And the contractors of the city of Chicago came out through their press association—to show the smallness of them—and ridiculed the idea of my filling that position; the idea of a man like Gubbins filling the position of chief sewer-pipe inspector of the city of Chicago, when I am willing now or at any time to stand a competitive examination with any man in the bosses' association for that position. And I do not think I have got the right treatment. I should have been first on the list, but I happened to be third. But the idea was this: They wanted to prejudice the markers who were marking that thing up, or to fetch something up because Mr. Carroll happens to be affiliated with labor—he is no more than anybody else—but he happened to be one of the civil service commissioners. They wanted to intinate that something was wrong—or would be wrong if I was marked high on the examination; and two or three weeks afterwards I took an examination, and happened to be first on that examination. That was for tunnel mason. I only cite that case to show you how they persecute a man as far as they can. They ridicule the idea of a workman's being a commissioner, when I can show you that a majority of these men originated a darned sight lower down the ladder than George Gubbins, and some of them have not got very much higher up the ladder than I have. The ones that paid \$300 to join that association imagine that they are lifted up above the ordinary man.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) You belong to the International Bricklayers' Association?—A. Yes.

Q. What relation exists between that association and what is known as the Western Federation of Labor?—A. None whatever.

Q. Do they affiliate or recognize each other?—A. Oh, no; not any more than one Christian recognizes another; that is all.

Q. Is not there some sort of a clash between them now in the West?—A. Not that I am aware of. In the city of Frisco, do you mean?

Q. No; in the city of Butte.—A. In Frisco there is some.

Q. Is there not some trouble at Butte?—A. That has been rectified. Our president stopped over here. I asked him if he would not stop over here. That is how he came to be here—the Western Labor League, I believe.

Q. The Western Federation of Labor?—A. I do not understand the details, but there were too factions in Butte, Mont. One was created by this Whiteside, who became notorious in this Daly and Clark matter. He was the cause of the dissolving of one of our unions. We only had one union in Butte, Mont., but

through Daly and Clark of Whiteside the union was dissolved there and they formed two unions. The old union, which was a member of the international body, and which had our sympathy in Chicago here, was dissolved at the instigation of the organizer, who went there, and they went into the American Labor League, I think it was; but, as you say positively, it is the Western Federation of Labor. But now they are all in one union. No. 1 of Butte, Mont., is now formed by the bricklayers and stone masons in Butte, and the thing is now as it was before the trouble.

Q. International now?—A. International.

Q. They have fallen out with the Western Federation?—A. I do not know that they have fallen out; they were not in until No. 1 had been dissolved.

Q. There was quite a clash between the two and they would not march in the same procession?—A. You know sometimes these bodies disagree, but when a little common sense is used we generally come together.

Q. Were the conditions generally with respect to the bricklayers about what you have stated here prior to their organization in the union? What wages did they get before the organization?—A. \$1.75.

Q. And how many hours of labor?—A. Ten. Well, if the boys felt like working for an hour or so over time they did not get anything for that.

Q. What are the hours and wages of labor now?—A. Eight hours and \$4 at a minimum.

Q. And what is the maximum?—A. Well, \$4. You might say it is a very small raise, but the supply and demand, of course, you know, govern. During the World's Fair we never raised our wages, but, of course, wages went up, and some men received considerably more than the minimum rate.

Q. Why did they receive more?—A. Because during the World's Fair the demand was so much greater.

Q. And the wages responded to the law of supply and demand?—A. Yes; that is, a contractor wanted a man and he could not get him, and he offered him more than the man who had him.

Q. That is about always true, is it not, that when there is a great demand for labor it commands a higher price?—A. Yes; that is, if labor is not muzzled by a trust. It does not matter how much of a demand for labor there is if the bosses stand out. There is a demand for labor in Chicago to-day, but if the employers of labor stand out there are no resources fetched to the labor man. You can not blame a man; when his wife and children are starving, he will do things that he would not do if he had something to do.

Q. That is true. Now, is your union a benefit organization?—A. Yes.

Q. Benefit?—A. Well, only so far as the mortuary fund; we have an accident fund.

Q. Have you sick benefits?—A. Not for sickness; only just for accidents.

Q. Generally speaking, are all these unions pertaining to the building trades organized on about the same principle as yours?—A. Well, I do not know. I never interested myself in anybody else's interests.

Q. They pay for accidental injuries?—A. No; I do not think they do.

Q. Look out for the members?—A. You see, we charge 50 cents a month dues, and when a man dies his widow gets \$150. If a man falls or is hurt or anything during working hours, or is injured getting on or off a car, going or coming from work, we give him \$5 a week for 75 weeks, and then at the end of that time, if he is not better, we give him \$75, and that ends his benefits derived from our organization. For this 50 cents a week which we collect he has all the privileges of the organization that any other man has.

Q. Then you take care of him, in case of a strike, out of a fund?—A. Oh, certainly.

Q. The union fund? Must a member of your union get permission from the union to go to work, or does he apply anywhere to get work?—A. You mean during times of strike?

Q. No; under normal conditions.—A. Our men work for anybody that will hire them, you know; but while we had our agreement with the bosses we could only work for them.

Q. I know; I understand that.—A. You mean do we tell a man he has to work for this man or that man?

Q. I want to get a little specific information just bearing directly on this point. If a member of your union wants to work, he simply goes anywhere and inquires for it and gets it?—A. Yes; he walks around, and if he finds a man that wants to hire him and pay him the wages he gets it.

Q. Are the members of your union permitted to work with nonunion men?—A. No.

Q. Are the members of your union permitted to work upon a building where material is used that is produced by nonunion labor?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you employ force or coercion to induce membership in the union?—A. No, we just go round and get a job and go on the job; and if it is all a nonunion job, we walk off it; but if there are only one or two men who are not union men we go to the men and ask them if they wish to join the union. If they do not they say: "No, we will not join the union." Then we go to the boss and say to the boss: "You have two men on there who refuse to join the union. I shall have to pull my men off, because we can not work with nonunion men." If the boss sees fit to force those men off, they go off; if he does not, my men will go off.

Q. Do you indorse as a union the use of force in preventing nonunion men from working?—A. No; we do not.

Q. Do you condemn it?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you attempt to prevent it?—A. I just stated that I myself told the mayor that we wanted him to punish any man, no matter who he was, who broke the law, whether he was in the labor movement or not.

Q. You believe that all labor unions should be conducted entirely within the law?—A. I do, and I believe they ought to be all conducted on arbitration.

Q. Is that the general sentiment of members of labor unions such as you are familiar with?—A. Yes; when you can arbitrate with men whom you have arbitrated with before, and they like you.

Q. Do you know of any case in your experience where the union has deliberately attempted to prevent nonunion men from working—that is, by agreement or with an understanding as a union?—A. Yes; our union did with the bosses.

Q. I am speaking now about the nonunion men.—A. Yes; I am speaking about union men.

Q. Where you have resorted—— —A. (Interrupting.) Where our union has gone at the instigation of the bosses and tried to scare men away or make some demonstration.

Q. This they have done at the instigation of the bosses?—A. Yes.

Q. And the suggestion originated outside of the union itself?—A. It originated with the boss masons' association. They told me they would stand one-half of the expense of cleaning out any job in Chicago where there was a nonunion man or contractor working.

Q. Did you clean them out?—A. No; but our agents went to the bosses and told them if they did not join their association we would not work for them—intimidated them, you might say—and also told them they would not do any work; and also used our influence to take their work. For instance, if a grocer had a place, we would go in and call the grocer and tell him, "You are building that building; everybody knows it is a scab building, and nobody will trade with you, etc." That is intimidation.

Q. In a case where union labor is employed has the employer a right to discharge or hire anyone he pleases, provided, of course, he is a union man?—A. Certainly; that has always been provided; that is, so far as I know. I have never heard of any union in Chicago that would not allow that done. You know there are times when difficulties arise on a job, and certainly some man has got to take the side of the union. If a man speaks up for the other men and is discharged, we have such a man as we call a steward in my business—I am talking now about the bricklayers and masons. We have a man whom we designate as a shop steward, or, rather, a job steward. He is the man who, if any difficulty arises, will fetch the matter before the contractor, and not have a lot of men standing around and arguing. The men will recite the grievance to him, and he will try to settle the difficulty with the contractor. Failing to do so, he telephones down at noon-time, so as not to delay the work; he telephones down to our office and we send one of the business agents, or I go myself. My time is wholly occupied in the interest of my organization. Then we use every endeavor to settle whatever the difficulty is. Then after the matter is settled—say the next morning—he discharges this man who is steward, while the man is doing as much as anybody else on the job. He merely discharges that man because he acted in the capacity of a steward. We immediately pull our men off. After he reinstates that man and when we reinstate the men, the man will certainly have to do an honest day's work, and he will have to do as much as any other man and hold his own. If not, we will not see the boss on his behalf. We will not see the boss imposed upon.

Q. You only take the quarrel up where you believe the man is discharged because of his association?—A. Because of his standing up for the men.

Q. And looking out for the interests of the union?—A. Yes.

Q. A question of incompetency or drunkenness or anything of that sort, you concede the right of the employer to discharge?—A. I do not believe there is a

mason contractor in Chicago that can ever say that we have ever tried to force him to keep such men. While you are asking the question, I want to state some of the things we have on that line. I can cite to you a number of jobs. This man who is president of the building contractors' council, Billy O'Brien, is a man who stands around with a fat roll of money in his pocket, and he calls men everything under the sun. It is fortunate for O'Brien that I never worked for him, or else there would be a case for the coroner. But he will just stand around there and fire men simply because he thinks it will put the fear of God in their hearts and make them work for him. And I went over to this job of Slouitt's on Michigan avenue, where a report came to me that they were firing them by tens. Naturally a man is a little nervous, and they would not give a man a chance. Usually he was a good man, but they just fired him, knowing that when they got tired of firing them the men would be so they would do anything they would tell them. I went on to the job and saw the foreman and told him that this thing was our business, and that we did not mean to have them hiring and firing men, and we did not want to have them giving a man only a half hour's trial; it was not fair, it was not honest, and it was not right. And I told them if they engaged another bunch of 10 men and discharged them, I would stop the job. And when they saw I intended to do what I said, those men went on. Of course, there were some discharged, but it was not as it had been before. I know a man named Sprout, who is one of the big contractors in Chicago, who has a tendency, if he has 50 or 60 men working for him and there are 10 or 15 men outside waiting for a job, to pull out 10 or 15 of those he has and put these in their places without any reason. That is not fair in any case.

Q. Briefly, then, you do not interfere as a union except where you believe it is a case of persecution?—A. I interfere where I find cases of that kind.

Q. Does your union place a limitation on the amount of work a man shall do in a day?—A. No. I want to cite here that we used to work 10 hours in the city of Chicago prior to 1883 and 1884. In those days we used to lay, on an average, on an ordinary wall, about a thousand brick a day; that is, a 12-inch wall. Now, we work 8 hours, and we have got to lay up a thousand more than that. When I was a boy, serving my own time at the trade, a man used to have a chance to smoke. Now a man can not come down off the wall for any reason whatever. A bricklayer has a space of 5 or 6 feet, maybe, and we have men who get a little more space. The foreman says, "Let her go." Up goes the line. "Let her go up." It goes again. And these men have got to keep this gait up along this wall, and if a man has to come down for any reason, many a time he is put off the wall. He can not stand there 4 hours, maybe. But those men are working the hardest gait they can. I have worked so hard that my wife had to push me out of bed in the morning, I was so stiff.

Q. Does that man have to fill up that gap?—A. I have had to keep up to them until I was tired.

Q. You had to do it until you got it filled up, 8 hours?—A. Yes; 8 hours; and they say, what kind of an eye have you got? Come down here and fill that up.

Q. And then, the men are practically on an equality in the amount of work?—A. The fast man is the measure; what they call the dog driver.

Q. The fastest man is the thermometer for the others? The others have got to keep pace?—A. You understand, for these men on the corner they pick out the fast men.

Q. He leads, and the others must keep up to him?—A. The man on the corner has only just a few bricks on the corner to keep the thing going. The other fellow takes from him and the third man from him, and you have so many brick. You have sometimes 8, sometimes 6, sometimes 7. I have worked on a pier 14 brick and the other fellow had 2; sometimes I have only had 2 and the other fellow 14. He had to lay his 14 brick while I laid 2.

Q. Suppose that the workman can not keep up at the pace set; is he discharged?—A. They are discharged; they can not get anything to do if they fail.

Q. Has your organization had any difficulty with machinery? I am speaking somewhat at random.—A. We do not have any now.

Q. What are your rules with respect to apprentices; are there any in your union?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you object to them?—A. They are permitted under certain rules.

Q. Under certain rules?—A. The contractors took advantage of the apprentice system in our line of business. We used to give 1—after a contractor was 2 years in business, if we saw he was what we called staple, you know, substantial; we would give him 1 apprentice; then the next year after that he could take another one, and then the next year another; so that it was 3 years of service and he always had 3 apprentices. Some of them used to take advantage of that

fact, and they would not have work to keep the boys going. Of course, they would have to come and swear that they had work enough to keep the boys going and that they would pay the boys so much per year and then send them to school during the winter months; and that they have not done, either; but they have taken their oath. We do not believe them under oath; we do not recognize their oath. Just as soon as the winter months come they let their apprentices go. They have to give a boy a Bible and \$50 when the time is up, but they never have done anything. They never buy them a suit of clothes. They never have done anything, only what would fill their pockets with gold.

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Q. The fact that he is his own boss does not discharge him from any obligation to abide by all the rules as to the number of hours he must work?—A. Oh, certainly, he must live up to the rules of our organization. You see he ceases to have anything to say. In our union he can hold his card, but he is not given the privilege of the floor without a two-thirds vote of the body, because it would not be right for a contractor, an employer, to go on the floor and talk and settle our matters. But I have never yet seen a man refused the floor if he asks for the floor. It is always put before the meeting. "Shall brother So and So have the privilege of the floor?" and it is always carried; it has been in my time.

Q. His interests, of course, are considered different from yours?—A. Yes; the minute he becomes a contractor.

Q. What is the general condition of the bricklayers to-day as compared with your condition before the organization of the union?—A. I should really not know how to make a comparison any more than taking—

Q. (Interrupting.) Socially and financially?—A. Any more than taking the savages in Africa, you know, in the savage state, and as fellows the way we are. That is about the only comparison I could make.

Q. That would be a very wide distinction, do you not think—show a wonderful advance?—A. We acknowledge we have advanced. Science has advanced, everything has advanced, and we have got to keep up with the times.

Q. So, the condition of the men in the union has vastly improved, in your judgment, since the formation of the labor organization?—A. Certainly, just the same as the services of the Pagans before religion. I consider they enlighten the people, and I think the trade unions have enlightened the workmen to their own betterment.

Q. And vastly improved their condition?—A. Vastly improved their condition.

Q. Could this change have been brought about except by the formation of the labor union?—A. I do not see how, if we were left in the hands of our enemies.

Q. Do you believe that the union was absolutely essential to the advancement of the interests of labor in maintaining its dignity and respect and its ability to maintain a fair compensation?—A. I know that without it we could not get it. I want to state right here that in the cities of Liverpool and London the bricklayers lay 400 brick a day. That is their limit. I want to state we are way behind time here as far as labor organization is concerned. A man there has time, like a clerk in an office; he has a chance to smoke once in a while; but we have not got those things. We are like a piece of machinery. That is the reason they have never had a machine to do brickwork in Chicago, because they have human machines.

Q. Well, the English are proverbially slow.—A. I wish we could be that.

Q. In Butte, Mont., our masons receive 75 cents an hour.—A. Yes; that is true. Well, of course, the conditions are somewhat different there.

Q. You spoke a while ago of open competition. I think you were speaking of the material men?—A. Yes.

Q. What distinction do you draw between your labor organization and the organization of those men to control the price of materials?—A. We help the many and they help the few. Another thing is this, we do not restrict, we are not averse to, competition. There are two classes of men whom we have to deal with, the scab and the nonunion man.

Q. What is the difference between a scab and a nonunion man?—A. A nonunion man is a man who never belonged to a labor organization, but who would not take any other man's place when he is out on a strike. There are many of those men in this town, and there is never any controversy between them and the union men. The man who consider a scab is a man who follows from place to place, who is not a mechanic, who is wrong somewhere—he is degenerated or something else—he is wrong because if he was not he would belong to a labor organization, because he could see that it is to his own advancement to belong to one. But it is either a man who has designs to break the laws of some organization which he agreed to uphold, or he has done some criminal act and had to get out and travel under an assumed name, or something else. Those are the men who go from place to place.

Q. What you call a scab is a man that has belonged to some organization and got into trouble?—A. Not necessarily. He is a man who will go out, while a man is out pulling for his rights, and take his place.

Q. Nonunion men, you say, do not do that?—A. I say nonunion men can do it, but I say there are nonunion men who will not do that. A scab is a man who either belongs to a union and has been fined in his organization for some overt violation of the laws he has helped to make, or has gone to work deliberately coming in here and knowing that he is trying to take the bread and butter out of a man's mouth. That is a scab.

Q. You condemn the formation of a combination of the men who sell material for building purposes for the purpose of maintaining prices?—A. Yes; I do.

Q. You think they all ought to be in competition?—A. Yes; and I think the way to solve that is to have a little legislation. There is legislation here that you can only charge a certain percentage for borrowed money. Their money is only borrowed when it is to be put into material. I believe that if we had laws that those combinations could only charge for their products the legal percentage it would increase the cost so much that it would only amount to what the State law is in regard to the legal percentage on their money; that is 8 per cent in this State. Then I would not care if they held the whole thing. But take Rockefeller; he gives a million dollars to his university, and he sends up oil 15 cents and makes the whole country pay for it and they think he is a philanthropist; but he ought to be hung.

Q. Do you see any difference between the formation or the aggregation of a number of men into an organization for the purpose of putting up the price of labor, and the organization of any other men to put up the price of material?—A. Yes; I do. Organized labor gets money and puts it into circulation; Rockefeller gets it and he puts it into Europe and into bonds.

Q. There are other men besides Rockefeller?—A. I am only citing him as an example. They will start a free library, and nobody pays for it except those that are buying their products.

Q. You say these material men—they are various firms?—A. Various firms. Take the brickmakers—Davis, Snyder, Whittaker. They sold four and a half million brick to Burns & Thorheimer, and we would not lay a brick because we were with the contractors' council at that time—affiliated with them. They lost four million and a half brick because we notified Thorheimer that we would not lay them, and he said, if these men won't lay them we can not buy them. That is the way.

Q. You say you could not?—A. We could not, because our agreements with the contractors were such that we could not.

Q. They stipulated that you should not lay certain brick?—A. No; they put a man in bad standing in their association and we could not work for him.

Q. In effect, then, it is the building contractors' association who boycotted the products of the material men?—A. Yes; certainly, that is what I told you; that is what I am here for, to tell you that this whole lockout was put in force and maintained by the mason contractors' association of the city of Chicago through forming this contractors' council. And I want to state that any contractor who would not buy any material of certain men who were in this combine, and who gave a certain percentage of their profits to the masons and builders' association, could not go to the Union Pressed Brick Company and buy pressed brick; he could only go to Renold's & Jennings; he could not go to any of the other pressed brick concerns; to Purington, and S. S. Kimbell, Thomas Molton Brick companies—and there is one other firm, I do not know who they are—but he could not buy pressed brick except from those firms that were in the deal. Now, on that pressed brick that was worth from \$12 to probably \$18, they charged a dollar a thousand more to an outsider than they charged to a member of the bosses association. For every bit of brick they sold to a man outside, they sent over a dollar to the masons and builders' association that went into their treas-

fact, and they would not have work to keep the boys going. Of course, they would have to come and swear that they had work enough to keep the boys going and that they would pay the boys so much per year and then send them to school during the winter months; and that they have not done, either; but they have taken their oath. We do not believe them under oath; we do not recognize their oath. Just as soon as the winter months come they let their apprentices go. They have to give a boy a Bible and \$50 when the time is up, but they never have done anything. They never buy them a suit of clothes. They never have done anything, only what would fill their pockets with gold.

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contractors nothing. I say if they showed a tendency to meet us fairly, if they wanted to arbitrate, if they did not want to crush us, if they wanted to be practical, there would be no trouble.

Q. You think there are some good men among the contractors?—A. Some of the best men. I heard a man named Webster testify; and if we had men in the building business like this man Webster, of the Webster Manufacturing Company, we could have no trouble, because that man is humane and his heart is in the right place. We have got a few contractors like Webster, and it is too bad they are in the minority.

Q. If good men, then, get in the ascendancy among contractors, you think everything will be all right?—A. I do think so. Mr. Falkenau, of the press committee, and the man who is making all the public statements, told me in his office last May, I believe it was, that he would not belong to that damned band of robbers over there only that he could not get bricklayers unless he belonged to them; and now he is on the press committee.

Q. Now, when you had your contract with the contractors?—A. (Interrupting.) That was while we were in there; but Falkenau discharged a man by the name of—

Q. (Interrupting.) They were pretty fair fellows at that time, were they not?—A. Now, we at all times—when I found the arbitrary methods that were used to hoodwink the public and that they were using us as a whip to whip them all in, recognized this fact: that it is better for everything if there is lots of work going on. If the laboring man is prosperous, the merchant is prosperous, and everybody is prosperous along the line.

Q. Do you not think it is to the interest of the contractor that everybody be prosperous?—A. Yes; oh, yes. I say if they would use proper and ordinary business tactics; but if you would see the statements in the papers issued by the contractors you would find what their methods are. They have tried to lead the public to believe that the public was going to be gouged. But it is not always the man who prays that is the honest man. The man who hallooed "Stop, thief," probably is the biggest thief.

Q. You do not think that all the contractors want to make slaves of the workmen?—A. No; I do not. We have some very good contractors, and I am sorry some of them have lined up and taken the position they have. If they understood the conditions that have come up, I do not think they would stand as they do.

Q. Do you not think human nature is very much the same in all classes?—A. Certainly; if they use the same reason, it is the same. One man has a greater amount of reasoning than another, and of course he may see a thing quicker than another; and another man has not the same faculty, and it takes him a little longer; but he will generally come around. I say that there is no way of settling this difficulty except through arbitration.

Q. I understood you to say that you had no confidence that the contractors would stand by their agreements?—A. I know; but this lockout has been such that I can not suppose that these men who would sign their names—that the business committee would be placed so low in the estimate of the general public, not only of Chicago, but of the whole Union. I believe that possibly they would stand by their agreement, because the whole thing would have to be etched about—if it was fetched about—in such a way that whichever side broke faith could be fetched before the public in a proper way. We should have to have judges on the bench—men of influence—in such a way that they would have weight enough to do the thing. Now, I will state that anything that comes from Judge McConnell—if he gives out anything, I say, it is not cut out, because his standing is so great in this community that even if the papers refused to publish his statement over his name, if he was to send out circulars, he would fill the biggest auditorium we have in this city. The general public would know if Judge McConnell said anything; they have so much confidence in him; they know he would not lie.

Q. Do you not think the newspaper men are men of honor?—A. I believe the reporters of the newspapers have been very liberal and very fair. We have no difficulty with the reporters. It is after it gets out of their hands. We have seen many and many a report fairly written down by the reporters as we would like to have it, and it goes in to the city editor, and he has his scissors there, and he doesn't do a thing to it; he cuts it up.

Q. Are not the city editors, as a rule?—A. (Interrupting.) Well, the sporting editor, or whoever it is—I do not know who it is that has it, but somebody has it, and he doesn't do a thing to it. [Laughter.]

Q. Really, you feel better toward the citizens of Chicago than you have expressed in your statement, do you not?—A. Citizens of Chicago?

Q. Yes.—A. I certainly have the greatest admiration for them. It is my home town.

Q. I was going away to my home feeling that Chicago was very bad.—A. I have no fault to find with the citizens of Chicago; the job I have is to live there. But I know the sentiment of the citizens of Chicago. I have lived here a considerable length of time, and when they can see but one side of the case and the other side can not be put to them, they naturally labor under the impression that we have no other side, and that everything they see and hear is true, because it is not contradicted. It is not contradicted because we can not get it before the people. We have not money enough, like some politicians, to buy a paper to advocate our cause.

Q. I have noticed since I came here that some of the manufacturers have expressed very liberal views in regard to organized labor. Does organized labor have that liberal view of the manufacturers and the men who employ them.—A. They do. If you will remember, a few days ago, when we were in the other place, this man came in and you heard statements here that would lead anybody to believe, and I do believe, that he is a good humane man, and that his heart was in the right place. And this gentleman in the middle asked him a question in regard to the building line, and he immediately said, "That is a thing we have to fight; that is something we have got to put down." Now, that man simply gives—he is not familiar with it except from hearsay. He immediately said that the building trades council was a thing that was against public policy, because he was not familiar with it; but he talked very intelligently and very nicely of the propositions that were nearest to his pocketbook, because he had investigated those things and he did not take hearsay. But in the other he had heard and seen these statements in the papers, and come to believe them himself. But I know if the matter was explained to him—I would not hesitate a minute in having that man—now, he is a big manufacturer—I would ask him to act as a representative of the masons and bricklayers, to act as an arbitrator for us in our differences. Still that man had been so misled by statements, either made verbally to him or read by him, as to condemn us here at this hearing. Is not that right? Did he not say that now?

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) I have a recollection of something about it.—A. He is a smart man, so you see that he and a great many others are laboring under the same impression. They imagine that we want to murder these men; that all we want to do is to kill somebody that is trying to take our place. Now, in Chicago they would kill a man for a great deal less than that. They kill them for getting into bank vaults.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) While they are looking at labor in this way are you not looking at manufacturing in pretty nearly the same way?—A. We never told a man that we wanted to look at anybody. There is not a contractor that has any fear at any time of walking along the streets of Chicago.

Q. Do you not think that you could get together more readily and quickly by showing a better spirit toward each other?—A. I will tell you the spirit they show toward us. Naturally when a man represents 60,000 men we should expect that a little courtesy would be extended to him. We should expect that from men that have a vast amount of wealth. We should expect, if they want a man to use a little intelligence and tact, that they would just show him the same courtesy that they would expect from him. We went over there with that man staying here a thousand miles away from home, and finally they gave him his last answer. We knocked at the door of the secretary's office. They have a large suite of rooms. They have a great big hall and half a dozen conference rooms as large as this little room here. We knocked, and after a while they came out, and Mr. Cowey—he is the president of that association, and I do not suppose his credit is good for \$500 worth of material—they opened the door and came out into the public hall, and he pulled the door shut after him. He told us that the matter had been referred to the council of the contractors, and that they had made up their minds they would take the same course with it that they did with the plumbers' application to arbitrate. I said, "Mr. Cowey, what was that?" He said, "Well, we will not arbitrate or settle anything until first the building trades council is busted." Well, they should have shown us common decency and invited us in. They could have had us sit down and told us. But they have their ultimatums; that has always been defined. They have not asked for anything. They told us they had no grievance against the bricklayers now, and they told the carpenters they had no grievance against them. The idea is this: If they have no grievance, why do they lock us out? If they have no grievance, what is the need for arbitration? We know there is a grievance; we know we have a grievance. Possibly there are individual cases where the contractors have griev-

ances. We know that sometimes possibly the business agent may have gone out and done wrong. It is human nature for a man to fail. Everybody is a good man until such time as he has done wrong; but we can not reprimand him unless he does something wrong, nor until we are told of it.

Now, we hear that a man has gone on this job and has done this or done that or the other and been discharged. If the contractor does not tell about that, it is no time to talk about it a year after, because after the lapse of a year no witness can be got, and you do not remember who was there, and one man's word is as good as another's. There are business agents, we know, who might have a spite against individual contractors. I have known of cases where the contractors told me of my business agent being drunk. They told me they had seen him drunk, and I had not left him more than ten minutes before they told me, because he lived next door to me and I went to the council with him. They told me he was paralyzed drunk, and he had gone out of the council and had been drunk. But he was not drunk, and had not been. I did not like to tell those men they lied, but still they did lie. It is just like this: If a man gets drunk—some men do—it is no harm. But I saw him, and they said he was drunk, because a man once or twice may have got drunk, and you can not deny he was drunk. I have never been drunk; but I was with five men, and one man left me and went about 4 miles out of town and met a man who said, "I saw two men leading Gubbins down Halsted street near Harrison, and he was spifflicated." He told me of it, and I was in court that morning and this man was one of the witnesses, and he just left the court and went out. That is the way with men in our association; they tell that to the men that ought to have known better. They say every man has a double, and this man must have been my double. I think the proper way to adjust this thing is by legislation. That is all.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) By legislation?—A. Yes, I think laws should govern. The laboring men do not want to dictate the policy of the building industry of Chicago. We could not.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Would you favor compulsory arbitration?—A. If necessary. I do not think any class of men should stand out and not arbitrate; and I believe nobody is afraid to arbitrate unless there is something wrong that he is afraid to fetch out before the public. For that reason I have always been in favor of arbitration.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You claim that the contractors have violated contracts with you; have you ever tried to sue them and hold them to their contracts?—A. Oh, a number of times.

Q. Have you brought suits against them?—A. Do you mean in the courts?

Q. Suits at law; yes.—A. Well, no, but I suppose we could on their breaking their last agreement; the agreements were broken by them the last time, you see. They have broken them in this last case, as I have told you about the metal workers, the sheet metal workers. Their agreements do not run out for over a year yet, and the contractors broke them. Last year on account of a firm violating their agreements with the men they were out seven or eight weeks last summer, the early part of the season; and those men deliberately, soon after fetching up all the differences and starting the men, when the agreement was not to run out for a year, deliberately broke their agreement. They do not consider their word anything, and we do not consider it anything either.

Q. Have you brought suits against them to hold them to their contracts?—A. We can not go so far. What is the use of bringing suit? They would go into bankruptcy if we got a judgment. We have judgments against a number of contractors. One of our members, Thomas Preece, has got a judgment against a fellow and he went into bankruptcy. You can go into bankruptcy for \$25, and a man would be foolish to pay \$500.

Q. That is the reason, is it?—A. Certainly. We should spend \$500 to get judgment, and the minute before we got a judgment, or at least before the judgment was given, they would go into bankruptcy or settle the case. A lawyer friend of mine told me that a fellow came and saw him about going into bankruptcy. He said: "How much will it cost to go into bankruptcy?" He said: "It will cost \$50." He said: "I have not got any money. Suppose I go out and borrow this money." So he went out and borrowed \$80 and paid him \$50 and went into bankruptcy and made \$30. So you see what we are up against in this country. [Laughter.]

Q. Are those the methods that prevail?—A. Well, all their methods have been simply—of course, I am speaking for the bricklayers; but, of course, I am familiar with a good deal of the transactions with the laborers, because we come into close contact. The bricklayer can not work without a laborer, and the laborer can not work very well without the bricklayer on contracting or building, so that these two branches are more familiar with each other than with any other branches of the building trade.

Q. Are most of the contractors who belong to this contractors' association irresponsible financially?—A. There are 115 of them that are good. There are somewhere in the neighborhood of between 400 and 500 contractors. There are another 30 that are good for \$100 if you watch them, and 115 good. The rest of them, it is all chance.

Q. Do you claim that those who are responsible have violated their contracts with you?—A. (Interrupting.) Well, I think like this; that any man of intelligence who would lend himself to an association that has a policy of that kind, a rule or ruin policy, has certainly broken his relations with organized society, let alone organized labor. He has broken his relations with all means and methods of arbitration, which is the only salvation in a case of this kind.

Q. If they have broken their contracts with you and your men and deprived you of an opportunity to earn an honest living?—A. (Interrupting.) You understand that they claim this much—that they will give us work on certain conditions. Now, if they do, they have got to go out before the general public upon the ground of the rules as laid down by the general board of arbitration, which had been ratified by both of the committees and referred to their respective associations, which they did not give the building-trades council time enough to ratify. If they had given us time to ratify it, it certainly would have been ratified, and any wrong that had been enacted on the contractors would have been righted, and any wrongs forced upon us by the contractors would have been righted to us.

Q. Have you considered that you have a good legal cause of action against them for breach of contract?—A. I never looked at it that way, you know. I will tell you; we do not—

Q. (Interrupting.) You say you would like more legislation. Now, maybe you have got all the law you have need of if you only enforce it.—A. Well, the idea is this—really, I do not know whether that is an incorporated body or not—the contractors' council. If it is not, I do not think we could get at them. And another thing, we never looked at it in that light. We are not antagonistic and do not want to fight. We do not want to fight physically or legally or any other way. All we want is a peaceable solution of this matter. We are willing, as I said before, at all times to appear—our council will appear before any enlightened body of citizens in Chicago, or we will have 5 men or 10 men from the building trades council—as many as the general public wants—and we will state our case and let them state their case; and then we are willing to have 5 or 10 of the prominent men of the city, both merchants and judges and men of that kind who are above reproach, who would not stoop to anything small—men who would be fair and give the workmen that fair consideration and give the bosses just as fair.

Q. Are you willing to do that now?—A. We always have been.

Q. A while ago you testified, unless I misunderstood you?—A. (Interrupting.) I said that we would not—you understand our condition. We are affiliated with the building trades council; what is their fight is our fight; what is our fight is their fight. Now, then, our international president comes here, who supplies us with so much money, and the men would be assessed all the way from \$1 to \$5, who are working in other cities, to sustain us in our strike here. That shows the amount of money we can get into this town for us. But the fundamental principle of the International Bricklayers' Union is arbitration. Our president came here, and I was with him for three days or four, and he wanted to know whether every effort had been made to settle this difference. He asked if the contractors were willing to treat with us. If the contractors had been willing to treat with the bricklayers independently of the contractors' council, and we had not been willing to treat with the mason contractors independently of the building trades council, we should have forfeited our means of support from the international body, because the international body would have instructed us to arbitrate with the bosses independent of the building trades council and the bosses independent of theirs. Then it would come up to our union, and if our union refused to arbitrate the international union would withdraw its financial support from our organization. That was the situation.

Q. You are willing to arbitrate, are you not?—A. We always have been.

Q. Well, you are now?—A. As a single body?

Q. No matter how, you are?—A. No, not no matter how; not unless the whole building trades council arbitrates.

Q. Very well. You are willing through your organization?—A. No, not through them. We are willing with them. The council generally trust to the trade to know what they shall do, and in a matter of this kind we stand by the council.

Q. You are not disposed to put any obstacle in the way of arbitrating this question?—A. No; use every honorable method of arbitrating this question; only understand that the building trades council has never gone on record—

Q. (Interrupting.) You say the only obstacle in the way of it is the unwillingness of your antagonists?—A. That is the only way I see it.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) How is this central council made up?—A. It is made up of thirty-four different trades.

Q. A delegate from each one?—A. Delegates to the council according to the number of men in the different unions. My organization embraces 3,000 men, something of that kind. We are entitled to seventeen delegates to the building trades council. Then we have what we call a board of business agents. Each organization has as many as the organization can support.

Q. Who has the right in the trades council to pass upon the question of whether or not they are willing to submit to arbitration?—A. The council would not act on a matter of that importance without referring it to the different organizations or a referendum vote; and then the votes come in as each trade meets. They fetch it up within their own body, because they think it is a matter of too great importance to have a few men that are sent to the council as delegates settle the matter; and the men themselves sometimes are under the impression that maybe it is too grave a matter, and they would like to have their organizations act on it. A man might be there, for instance, myself; when I speak, I generally speak for the bricklayers, and something that might be beneficial to my organization might be a detriment to another organization.

Q. Speaking for your organization, are you in a position to say that they at this moment are in favor of arbitration?—A. I speak authoritatively at all times for my organization.

Q. Are you in a position to say that they are in favor of arbitration?—A. Yes; my organization is willing to arbitrate this matter in any way satisfactory to the building trades council.

Q. That does not throw much light on it. We are now seeking to find if there is a practical way for the solution of this trouble by arbitration.—A. Well, I should be willing to say this much, from what I know of the building trades council, that the building trades council would be willing to settle this matter by arbitration. I could not exactly say by how many men on a side; of course, you know, there are 33 trades—possibly by 33 men.

Q. That is immaterial.—A. That is immaterial, but I do not know but the building trades council would be willing to arbitrate with a smaller number of men, and have this commission present to act as arbitrator.

Q. Do you not believe that this subject is of such importance that it would put your labor organization at a very great advantage if you would take action all along the line, and be prepared to say to the public that you have passed upon these questions, and that you are prepared to submit to arbitration along the lines which you have suggested?—A. I will say that as far as our organization is concerned, and I will say also 90 per cent of the other organization who have any grievances, they are willing to submit their grievances to arbitration. Our council has gone on record.

Q. Do you not think that would have a tendency to put the matter into shape?—A. We have always been willing, and the council has put itself on record; the international building trades council has adopted a resolution in favor of arbitration.

Q. I understand in a general way you are in favor of it, but here is a specific case right at hand; and if your Building Trades Council was prepared to-morrow to say, we have taken this matter up and it has been passed upon by all the unions represented here, and we are ready to submit these questions to a fair arbitration and abide by the result, do you not think that would have a great moral effect?—A. I say we are willing to do it.

Q. I understand that you are willing except that first.—A. (Interrupting.) I say the council has gone on record at all times. They never have gone on record as being in any other way than in favor of arbitration. The only thing was this, that the contractors, before the time asked for, one week—between the Friday and the following week—on the Monday that came in between, the ultimatum went out and the men understood from that that they did not want to arbitrate. But I am really under the impression—and I consider that I am as conservative a labor man as there is in Chicago—that the bosses were at no time in favor of arbitration. This man Rawle, of the Stone Contractors' Association, appearing and being a member of the joint board, merely came there and represented his selfish interests, only representing himself and 15 per cent of his association and misrepresenting 85 per cent. And another thing, those men are under a salary over there, just as the arbitration board of some of these different labor organizations are under salary. I might state that when we a year ago last January were meeting with the boss masons, we went in there and

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know we should be perfectly willing, as far as my organization is concerned, to throw it in the balance and take the chances. I have such confidence in you.

Q. I know these members of the commission here would be heartily glad to have an arbitration, and be very glad to have these things settled, and it is only because these statements here have uniformly been in favor of arbitration that I have made these suggestions.—A. Have the bosses been over here?

Q. There ought to be some way, inasmuch as arbitration is favored, of giving it practical application.—A. Have you been here when some of the boss builders were here? Have any of the boss-builders been here?

Mr. KENNEDY. Not before the commission.

A. I do not think any of them want to arbitrate.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) I suggest, however, that the idea of arbitration is eminently fair; and my suggestion was that if you gentlemen on your side of the controversy, who are willing to arbitrate, would put yourselves in a position where you could give the principle a practical application, and advertise your willingness and your readiness to do it, if you secured nothing else, you would secure a tremendous advantage in the way of moral support of the community.—A. I should like to ask the commission if any labor man who represents organized labor here has refused at any time or said his organization refuses to arbitrate?

Mr. KENNEDY. No.

A. I would state that as far as labor is concerned we are willing to arbitrate at any and all times.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Well, there is quite a difference between saying it and doing it.—A. Well, can not you get the others together and put the same thing to them, and see what they have to say?

Q. When one fellow will not do it until the other fellow does it, it will never be done.—A. We are willing and we always have been willing. The only thing was they did not give us the three or four days we asked; they just locked us out. And I am going to tell you that we might just as well shut up shop now. You would not do everything a man told you to do and I would not do it; and if you and I differ and I am willing to show that I am always ready—

Q. (Interrupting.) It is a suggestion I make simply. Of course I have no thought of dictating to you about your business; you know your own business a good deal better than I do.—A. But is it not reasonable and logical to suppose that if a party knows it all and is not ready to arbitrate he is wrong?

Q. If I had a disagreement with you and I should say, "Yes, I am perfectly willing to leave the settlement of this matter and the settlement of our case to these three gentlemen and abide by their decision," you would certainly be at a great disadvantage if you should refuse to do it?—A. Certainly, we are here before these three men.

Q. Everybody would say I was perfectly fair, and that I had faith in the justice of my case?—A. Well, I have not a bit of hesitancy in saying that I speak for the whole Building Trades Council when I say this, that we have always been willing to arbitrate and we are willing at any time when the general public wants us to. But we are willing to hold off and fight it as long as it is necessary. We are not going to the bosses or anybody else begging. We do not have to do that, and there is not one of us begging to-day. But in the near future if the citizens of Chicago want us to do anything we are at all times willing to bow to the general public; and if there is anything in our rules that is obnoxious—that is going to retard building, no matter how far it is going to hurt us, we are willing at all times to strike it out of all the unions if we see that it is going to restrict, as I said before, the building industry. We can not strangle the industry that gives us our life, neither can the bosses by their material combines. We do not want them to stifle it either.

Q. Now, you feel that the citizens of Chicago are the ones injured?—A. Yes; they are the ones that pay the material men.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Did you initiate President McKinley into membership into your union?—A. Yes.

Q. There was a gentleman before the commission last week who seemed to represent the other side, and he made a suggestion that the President of the United States be asked to name an arbitration committee of eminent gentlemen, men in whom both sides would have confidence. I should like to ask you if you do not believe that that might be a practical way out for you—for your organization to ask the building trades council to ask the President of the United States to name a committee of 5 eminent men, selected either in Chicago or elsewhere, to take this matter into consideration, and tell the President that you would submit your entire case to any committee of that kind that he might name?—A. Now, let me understand you, Mr. Kennedy; do you mean that these men be practical men?

Q. Well, not necessarily practical men; they would be men that would have some knowledge; there would have to be one or two practical men on that committee. Get a couple of practical men, get eminent judges or jurists, or men of that sort. They would have to listen to the presentation of your case by yourselves or by attorneys, and then take the matter under advisement to decide it. You, in the first place, to say that you will put your entire case into the hands of such an arbitration committee. If you asked the President to do that and he should signify his willingness to do it in case the other side should join in your request, it would be up to the contractors. Then it seems to me that you would have them at a disadvantage. I should like to ask you how that suggestion would strike you?—A. Well, I should like to consult two or three men here, and I could tell you in a minute. Of course, I will tell you, as far as I am concerned, it would suit me.

Mr. CLARKE. You may take a little time to consult with them if you wish to.—A. Well, I could only consult those that I know. I should like to consult one or two men.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Answer for yourself.—A. That would be perfectly satisfactory to me; perfectly satisfactory to me and my organization.

Q. You have got to get out of this matter in some way, and the contractors have got to get out of it in some way, without annihilating each other; and the only true arbitration is to submit all differences without reserve to a committee of arbitration. If you will agree to that, and the other side will agree to that, I think that you would perhaps get out of the woods.—A. Speaking of my own organization, I say that we should be in favor of it, and I should certainly be in favor of using what influence I have with the other members of the building trades council. Of course, I do not know how their views would be on the matter, but I think that the proposition is all right; I do not see anything wrong in it.

Q. The President might name—A. (Interrupting.) Yes; I have said that we are at all times ready to arbitrate and I think that if a committee of that kind was sent here, one or two practical fellows—it does not matter much—things could be fetched to a proper settlement.

Q. Do you not think it is your duty to go out and try to get some solution?—A. Yes; and I think if the President would name some men, he would be fair and impartial. I know he would get men of good standing, men who are above reproach. I do not see why anybody should object to a proposition of that kind. I know, while I am a red hot Democrat and all that, I do not think politics would be in it. I know it is something that the executive here, Mr. Madden, and the material men have failed to do. We ourselves, the laboring men, have failed to do it. And as I said, I am ready for arbitration before any fair, honorable, and square men, and I will say now that I am in favor of a proposition of that kind.

Q. Well, then, it seems to me if that is so that it is your duty, regardless of the attitude of the employers, to go ahead on some such line as that; and if they did not join you in it, then they would be at a very great disadvantage before the public of Chicago and the public of the United States.

(No answer.)

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You have always had success in selecting arbitrators under the old rule that prevailed for some years, have you not?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you know any reason why you can not select your own arbitrators now, if the other side would be as fair as you have been?—A. I do not think so; the only thing is, if they do not arbitrate we can not arbitrate.

Q. We have not had them before us.—A. If they do, I think there are plenty of business men and judges here and everything of that kind, provided they would be satisfied with them. But from the way I understood Mr. Kennedy's remarks, he did not consider that we could agree upon anybody here, because the bosses do not want to arbitrate. But if the President sent a committee, if we were to ask of him to send a committee of men from the different cities in the Union, men of standing, to come here and take this matter up, then if the bosses did not come before that committee the general public, not only in our own city but throughout the United States, will know where the fault lies. Is that it?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes.

The WITNESS. That is the way I understood the question. That is arbitration. What is the use of mincing matters? If we are going to arbitrate the matter I believe in arbitrating it right away. I do not believe in stagnating the industries of Chicago. I do not believe the general public wants to be chained up for a year because of the mercenary and arbitrary laws of the material interests and for the benefit of some of the real estate men—and the most of them are a curse here.

MR. CLARKE. I do not think Mr. Kennedy wished to be understood as intimating that the bosses are not willing to arbitrate, because we have not heard from them. We do not know.

THE WITNESS. I know they do not want to arbitrate, because I have seen them.

MR. KENNEDY. This suggestion came from their attorney before our commission the other day. That would seem to indicate that they would be in favor of such a method of arbitration.

Q. (By MR. CLARKE.) If they come before us they may be asked very much the same questions that have been asked of you and others representing the labor side. We have no business to know what their views are before they state them. But if we can find out that there is a disposition on both sides to try to arbitrate, do you think there would be any difficulty in your selecting good arbitrators yourselves on both sides?—A. Well, you see our arbitrators on our side would be from among our own men.

Q. Well, you do not anticipate you would have any difficulty in selecting men?—A. No; but what I understood was not a board of arbitration, it was merely a board of umpires; we were to come before them, representing both sides, and it was practically—

MR. KENNEDY (interrupting). My suggestion was to have a committee of that kind arbitrate.

THE WITNESS. With full power to act, after hearing both sides, and that their decision was to be final?

MR. KENNEDY. Yes.

A. They are the umpires.

Q. You would be heard before them by attorney or otherwise, and each side would have full opportunity to state their case.—A. State the case and agreements, and then take up the differences. I do not know but that would be all right.

I just want to state one thing more. The real estate men have come out very prominently in support of the contractors in their fight, and I want to say why; you see they have got to, the most of them. These contractors have got a good many real estate agents every year in January in Chicago, you know, and out of town. If one lets his flats though some of these real estate agents, why, of course, the repairs and everything on these buildings have got to be done by the real estate agents. They wire on and the contractor goes ahead and he puts in two bills, you know. Just for example, supposing the figure of the contractor was \$75 for the work, the real estate agent would make out a bill for \$100. That has been done in quite a number of cases here, and the \$100 bill is sent out to the owner with the extra charges of the real estate man, and the \$75 bill is paid to the contractor. I have done some jobs of that kind myself when I was contracting work, where he will say, well, you give me a bill for \$100, when it only amounted to so much less. Take these men Burger & Dryer, and these other men who have been in the real estate business, and Meadowcroft Brothers, and those who have been robbing the public. Those are the men as a majority who have always been down on organized labor. Now, they are being railroaded to the penitentiary. They are not being railroaded, but they are trying to get them down as fast as they can. Those are the men who are at all times—these real estate men of Burger & Dryer's caliber—who have always been antagonistic to organized labor.

(Testimony closed.)

Whereupon at 5:30 p. m. the sub-commission adjourned until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 28, 1900,

TESTIMONY OF MR. LAWRENCE ANDERSON,

Stationary Engineer.

The special subcommission met at 10.05 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At that time Mr. Lawrence Anderson, of Chicago, stationary engineer, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By MR. CLARKE.) What is your name?—A. Lawrence Anderson.

Q. Post-office address?—A. 1166 West Thirteenth street.

Q. And your occupation?—A. Stationary engineer.

Q. Are you employed at the present time?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where were you employed last?—A. Steel Ball Company, 840 Austin avenue.

Q. Why are you not employed at the present time?—A. Through the board of examining engineers of the city of Chicago not granting me a license.

Q. Not granting you a licence?—A. They revoked it.

Q. You had a licence, then?—A. Yes, I was a licensed man at the time I took that situation.

Q. On what ground was it revoked?—A. They claimed that the blow-off cock on the boilers opened up—and the watchman's statement. I was discharged from the place before I went there through the statement of that watchman. I went down to the board and presented a statement the 15th of this month that it could not have happened. The blow-off cock could not have been left open; because if it had been left open, the boiler has a fusible plug that would have melted, and then you would have known it, because the water would have put the fire out.

Q. Have you any reason to believe that the revocation of your license bore any relation to the labor difficulties that are pending here?—A. Yes, I do.

Q. What is the connection between them?—A. I went to work for Keenan Brothers, 313-317 South Canal street, about December 15, and I worked there until January 29. While I worked for Keenan Brothers I joined the progressive association of stationary engineers, and after I joined the union the watchman made it rather unpleasant, so I decided to quit. On Saturday I telephoned to Mr. Doyle, the president of the board of examining engineers and also the president of this union, the progressive association of stationary engineers, that I was going to quit, and he requested me to stay until Monday morning and he would have his business agent up there to find out the difficulty. But I was going to quit anyway, and so Monday morning when I came to work they had another man to take my place at Keenan Brothers. I secured a situation with the Steel Ball Company, 840 Austin avenue, on Tuesday, and Wednesday morning I went to work. Tuesday night they had a meeting, the progressive association of stationary engineers; I attended that meeting and they wanted to reinstate me at Keenan Brothers. I did not want to get reinstated, and I told them that, because I had a situation for Wednesday morning to go to work. The following Monday I went down to the board of examining engineers to get my license changed to 840 Austin avenue, Steel Ball Company, and Mr. Doyle stopped the license, stating that there were charges preferred against me, that I left the blow-off cock open and let the water out of the boiler, and saying, "We will settle this matter to-morrow." That was their meeting night. I did not attend their meeting, but I agreed to show up there Wednesday morning. The company would not let me off, so I waited until the following week; then I told the people that I was working for that I should have to go to work and get a license or else they would be liable; so I went down and asked them to issue a license, but they would not do it until those charges were disproved. So it ran along another week and then the people finally discharged me for not having a license. Therefore I lost the job through the board of examining engineers of the city of Chicago not granting me a license. Then the progressive association of stationary engineers sent me two letters. (Witness produces letters.)

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Just read the letters.—A. The first letter I received was on February 19, 1900. (Reading:) "Lawrence Anderson, esq. Dear sir and brother: At our last meeting I was instructed to notify you to appear at our next meeting, February 20, 1900. A. M. Macker, secretary."

Then I received another letter afterwards, February 22, 1900. (Reading:) "Lawrence Anderson. Dear sir and brother: You are hereby notified to attend our next meeting, to be held February 27, 1900, at 99 East Randolph street. Given under my hand and the order of the union. A. M. Macker, secretary."

Then I received another letter from the board of examining engineers. (Reading:) "Chicago, March 14, 1900. Mr. Lawrence Anderson. Dear sir: Please call at the office of the board at 2 p. m. on the 15th day of March, 1900, in regard to your case before the board. Very respectfully, Daniel Herlihy, secretary."

When they could not settle this thing in the union, they brought up a charge against me to the president of the board of examining engineers.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) The union did?—A. Yes; at that meeting following the 14th. That was about the 14th; somewhere around there. It was on the Tuesday night they brought up this thing, a d, I think, about Thursday I answered this. Yes; that is right. Wednesday I received the letter and Thursday I answered the charge before the board. Well, the case was brought up there and the thing was proved, and there was no evidence, except that of the watchman. The walking delegate of the union, Mr. Burke, presented the charges against me. Then—the blow-off cock could not open up if everything was in good condition—they asked me for an affidavit; so I filed an affidavit and then they would not give me a

license. I went down to the city attorney, where they sent me, and the city attorney drew up this statement and affidavit (reading):

"State of Illinois, county of Cook, ss: Personally appeared before me, the undersigned, a notary public in and for the county of Cook, State of Illinois, Lawrence Anderson, who being by me first duly sworn, deposes and says that he resides at 1166 West Thirteenth street, in the city of Chicago and county and State aforesaid, and that he has lived continuously in the city of Chicago for more than 10 years last past."

Q. That affidavit is merely your own statement as the attorney drew it up?—A. Yes.

Q. And that is really what you have been giving us here?—A. Well, the same thing as what I have been giving you.

Q. We do not need to have it repeated. You need not read any further from the affidavit unless it sets forth some new fact.—A. Well I can read you the last part of it where it takes in (reading);

"And further on his oath says that from the 15th day of December, 1899, up to January 29, A. D. 1900, the deponent was employed as stationary engineer at Keenan Brothers, at 313-317, South Canal street; and while so employed for said Keenan Brothers the engine was kept in good order, and that the blow-off cock, the boilers, and all parts were kept by deponent in good order, repair, and condition; and that said blow-off cock was not left open by deponent at any time. And further deponent saith not. (Signed) Lawrence Anderson.

And during the last 6 weeks, by my being out of employment, having no money, my family having been in hard circumstances. My family had been sick, and I owed quite a number of bills.

Q. You maintain then that the charge against you was not true?—A. No; it was not true.

Q. You did not not leave the valve open?—A. No, sir; I did not.

Q. Why did they prefer that charge against you, do you think?—A. I do not know.

Q. You had no trouble with the union so far as you know?—A. The place at 840 Austin avenue, I think, was a union man's. I took his position; but it was a nonunion shop. That is what I heard afterwards.

Q. Have you been in any way disciplined by the union; have you been tried by them on any charge or subjected to any fine or other penalties?—A. No; I would not go near the union at all. When Mr. Doyle took this thing up, Mr. Doyle being president of the union, why, he could make it quite unpleasant for me, and I thought best to let it drop and keep out of the union, but when an opportunity comes to fix it up then it is time enough to appear before the city authorities.

Q. Then they have taken it up?—A. Yes, they have taken it up, and I have proven a charge and filed an affidavit, but still I did not get it.

Q. Your license has been revoked and you now have an application pending to be reinstated?—A. No; it is to get my license back.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) How long have you been an engineer?—A. For over ten years.

Q. Have you held this same license all that time?—A. No; they issue a license every year. The first issue of license I got out was in 1893.

Q. Were you ever deprived of your license before?—A. No, sir.

Q. Ever been discharged from any position for incompetency or neglect?—A. No, sir.

Q. Had you had any disagreement with the union or any member of it prior to the time when you are charged with having neglected your work?—A. No, sir.

Q. You were in good standing with the union then?—A. Yes, sir; up to March 1, when my dues ran out.

Q. Did you go to the union in response to these requests?—A. No, sir.

Q. Why not?—A. Because I did not intend to let them settle it. The city had held my license, and I do not think it is a union's duty to run the board of examining engineers.

Q. Is it not customary, when you are a member of the union, to appear before the union when requested to do so?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is one of the rules of the union, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were not the union then seeking to work in your interest, to reinstate you at Keenan Brothers?—A. They wanted to reinstate me and I did not want to go there, because I had a better situation at the Steel Ball Company.

Q. Which you had secured in the meantime?—A. Yes.

Q. Would it not have been much better for you to have got that matter straightened up by the union than to have refused their assistance?—A. I got the worst of it anyway.

Q. Did you have any disagreement with the union up to that time to amount to anything?—A. You are not allowed to take another situation of a union man.

Q. Then you violated one of the rules of the union in doing that?—A. Yes; but it was a nonunion shop that I went to work in.

Q. You knew it was a nonunion shop?—A. Yes; I knew it was a nonunion.

Q. So you deliberately violated one of the rules of the union?—A. I did not ask the engineer whether he was a union man; I heard so afterwards.

Q. You knew it was a nonunion shop?—A. Yes.

Q. And you were prepared to accept the consequences?—A. Yes.

Q. You did it knowingly and deliberately—that is, you went to work in a non-union shop knowingly?—A. Yes.

Q. And that was contrary to the rules of your union?—A. It is not contrary. There are a lot of union engineers working in nonunion shops.

Q. You are permitted to work in nonunion shops?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that you did not violate any rule of the union; is that correct?—A. Yes, as far as I know of, except not appearing to let them settle this charge for me.

Q. Why did you not appear to have that charge settled and cleared up?—A. Because I felt it was the city's duty and not the union's.

Q. Is it not a part of the policy of a union to defend its members from unjust accusations?—A. Yes; it is according to their laws.

Q. Is that what they intended to do by you?—A. The union had no business to settle that; they could refer it right away to the board of examining engineers. You see all the time they were trying to settle this was about four weeks. There were no charges presented to the board of examining engineers. Mr. Doyle prevented me from getting this license, being president of the union and president of the board of examining engineers.

Q. And you feel that it is by reason of Mr. Doyle's animus toward you that you are prevented from getting your license?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you ever talked the matter over with Mr. Doyle?—A. I have been up there to see him several times, and I have done as he requested.

Q. What does he say to you?—A. The last time he told me to present an affidavit. I presented an affidavit, and he said, "That will not do; that does not declare the charge." He wanted an affidavit saying that this thing did happen and that I denied it. He wanted a kind of affidavit to implicate myself, and that I would not do.

Q. How do Keenan Brothers regard it; do they accuse you of neglect?—A. Keenan Brothers are sore on account of the union, and they turned me down, too.

Q. They are not members of the union?—A. It is a union shop.

Q. Is the watchman a member of the union?—A. Yes.

Q. Therefore he was a brother of yours?—A. He did not belong to the same union I did; he belonged to another one, the woodworkers.

Q. They are in sympathy with each other?—A. Yes.

Q. And you say the walking delegate also made a charge against you?—A. Yes; the watchman made the charge to Keenan, and Keenan made the charge to the walking delegate.

Q. Did the walking delegate come to see you about it?—A. No; he did not see me or anything about it. They tried to settle it in the union. I would not appear before the union, and they fetched it up before the board after I lost my situation, and I answered my charges before the board of examining engineers.

Q. Did any damage result to the firm from this neglect?—A. No, sir; no damage at all.

Q. Was there any risk attending it of explosion or anything of the sort, or injury to their property?—A. There is no danger, because there is a fusible plug in the back end of the boiler, right over the first row of tubes on the top row. If the water gets below that and you have got a fire under your boiler, it will melt the plug and the steam and water will escape. Then you have got to draw your fire and cool your boiler down, and unscrew the plug and put in a new plug.

Q. Did that plug melt?—A. No, sir; it did not.

Q. For that reason you say it is proved that you did not leave it open or the plug would have melted?—A. Or the plug would have melted. I should have known of it in the morning when I came, because I was keeping steam on in the building, and the watchman had to take charge of that boiler after I left it at night.

Q. And the simple facts are that you were charged with neglect, and without waiting to have the charge proved or disproved or for the union to act you simply quit; was that it?—A. Yes.

Q. Did they discharge you or did you quit?—A. I quit. I was going to quit, and on the request of Mr. Doyle, of the board of examining engineers, I waited till Monday, when he said he would send his business agent down there to

straighten it out. On Monday morning when I came to work they had another man for my situation.

Q. You were discharged?—A. I was going to quit anyway.

Q. But as a matter of fact you were discharged; is that not true?—A. Yes.

Q. And then you went to a nonunion shop and took a job that had been held by a union man?—A. Yes.

Q. And you consider that that is the basis of the animus of Mr. Doyle and of the union against you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Would not that be reasonable? Is not the union opposed to such actions as that?—A. Why did not Mr. Doyle take these charges up and let me come down and prove them and have this trial before letting it run so far?

Q. I understand you refused to go to the union.—A. I refused to go to the union, but I did not refuse to go to the board of examining engineers to straighten this charge out.

Q. You considered it was none of the union's business?—A. I considered it was none of the union's business.

Q. That it was a matter between you and the city board of examiners?—A. Yes.

Q. And Mr. Doyle, the president of the union, was president also of the board of examining engineers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So you were rather taking the worst of it in pursuing that course. And now your grievance is that you believe that the union through Mr. Doyle is depriving you of your certificate as an engineer, or license.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) How many other members of the board of examining engineers are there?—A. There are, I think, four or five inspectors. I do not know how many inspectors, but there are three examiners on the board.

Q. Do you know their names?—A. Yes; one name is Mr. Doyle; another one is Mr. Godding, and another one is Mr. Herlihy.

Q. Did you have any conversation with either of them as well as Mr. Doyle?—A. Yes; I went down before the board and faced these charges and proved that this thing could not happen; and then they wanted this affidavit, which I filed. After they got the affidavit Mr. Doyle said it did not clear the charge. He wanted an affidavit to implicate myself.

Q. An affidavit in which you confessed yourself guilty?—A. Yes, sir; and that I denied it.

Q. And that you denied it?—A. He wanted me to make an affidavit that this thing did happen, but that I denied it.

Q. Did you not misunderstand him?—A. No, sir.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) That you denied that it was your fault?—A. I denied that it did happen; I know it did not happen.

Q. You denied that it happened at all?—A. I stated that it did not happen at all; that everything was in good condition; that everything was in safe working order.

Q. Are the other members of this board of examiners members of the union?—A. Supposed to be a union board under the Democratic administration.

Q. Who appoints them?—A. The mayor of the city of Chicago, I believe.

Q. Is there any clause in the by-laws or constitution of your union which prohibits or does not permit a member to hold a political office?—A. That I do not know.

Q. And be a member of the union at the same time?—A. I do not know that.

Testimony closed.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 28, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. HENRY L. BLISS,

House Painter and Decorator, 7341 Vincennes road, Chicago, Ill.

The special subcommission met at 10.05 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 10.40 a. m. Mr. Henry L. Bliss, of Chicago, house painter and decorator, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your name?—A. Henry L. Bliss.

Q. Post-office address?—A. No. 7341 Vincennes road.

Q. Occupation?—A. House painter and decorator.

Q. Go on in your own way, Mr. Bliss, and state what you wish to bring before the commission in regard to the industrial conditions of Chicago from the standpoint of your business.—A. There is a condition of industrial anarchy. I have

belonged to the union. They say they do not allow an employer to work in our union unless he belongs to the union. He may employ men and look after the work, but if he wants to take hold and do any work he must belong to the union. At one time we did not have that regulation, and I did not belong to the union; but I joined it two years ago this summer. I had a contract—my partner was away most of the time outside doing some work elsewhere—of the calclimining of 8 schoolhouses, and also the painting. I employed union men. I got along all right until I got pretty near the end. When we started on the job a man came around and said, "We have got a grievance." "Well, what is the matter?" "Well, we will not work unless you discharge Hughes." I said, "What is the matter with Hughes?" "Well, Hughes has been running a brother." When I investigated it, I found Mr. Hughes had been working, and doing a good day's work, and trying to help the work along, and the man who was working with him could not hold up his end; and the others were disposed to take his part, and thought that a man should not do too much work. They felt that there was not work enough. There were a good many men out of employment, and they thought if they did not do so much work we should have to hire more men. I told them that I would not discharge Hughes, and that they could not work unless Hughes worked; and I paid them off. The thing went along 3 or 4 days, and I went and brought 2 men from an outside job, and set them to work. The walking delegate came around and found those men working, and said, "You can't work with that apprentice; he has not got a card." Well, the boy worked the summer before and last winter on a schoolhouse job; no objection was made; and when I first went to work, the delegate said the boy should have a card. I said, "All right; we will get him a card." We had certain papers made out, and the union had the form, but they did not get that printed. There would have been no objection made if this other thing hadn't happened.

There was another thing I may have omitted. I had a laborer when we first went to work, and he said, "We can't allow you to have a laborer to carry a scaffold, carry water, and work of that kind." I found out afterwards that others were employing one for their work, and the walking delegate did not object, but he claimed that where laborers were working on other jobs, they were simply carrying water to drink. I told him, "I am not employing men here simply to carry drinking water. I want him to handle this stuff, carry this scaffold, and do this rough work; and he was there for that purpose." Well, he objected to him and to the boy; however, they had been working before. I tried to get some other men. Of course that was in violation of the regulation, but I was under bonds to do this work, and I had some men come there, and they scared them off. Some of them started to work in the morning, and they went out at noon to get their lunch, and they didn't dare to work in the afternoon. Finally, I went down to headquarters, and the business agent acknowledged that the boy was entitled to a card, and they said that he could not have a card because charges were preferred against him. They preferred charges against him for working with this boy, and I had to knuckle to them; I had to let the boy go, the most faithful hand I had; he was better to me than any other man I had there. I got that job done, and I had one more schoolhouse left, a little one. After I let the men go I had to take the boy and do over considerable work, because they got a little full of beer and did not do it right; it would not pass muster. I went up to the other job, and we went to work, and the walking delegate came along and wanted to know if I was going to pay that fine. Let me tell you in regard to that. They notified me to appear before the painters' council; they misdirected the letter, and I did not get it until a day after the trial was set; but they said that I knew it, that I had heard it from the men, and I ought to have been there. I didn't consider I was called upon to appear unless I was properly notified. We went up on the job to work, and as I say he wanted to know if I was going to pay that fine. I told him, "You might as well fine me \$500. No, I am not going to pay it. I can't afford to pay it." "Well," he said, "you can't have any union men to work for you then." "Well," I said, "I do not know that I need them; I have got about through. I guess we can finish this little work here"—got about a day's work or so on the job to do at South Chicago. They put a picket on the job, one of the men that had been working for me. I went out and talked with him. He was there 2 or 3 days. We were getting along well. I saw another man staying with him a long time, and I asked him who he was—walked out that noon, gave him a cigar, and chatted with him; but he said, "He is some fellow that lives around here." About noon they came in there. We were stuccoing the ceiling, and we were working a few minutes over noon time. He came and said, "It is time to quit." I had links we picked up from the car track, coupling links, and he came and pulled down the scaffold and struck me here

[indicating]. It happened to strike me where the skull is heavy, and it did not fracture it, but they cut me pretty well. The boy started to run; he came back, and they threw a link and hit him on the hand, so he was disabled, and they cut the other fellow in the head.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You say they; who?—A. These men that came in there. The man that had been sitting with the picket was one of them.

Q. The picket was one?—A. No; the picket was not one. They don't send somebody that you know to do that kind of business; but he was the man that had been sitting there all the day before with him, and he told me that it was some fellow that belonged around there. There were three of them. That is the way they do business. To finish that work, I found it almost impossible to get anybody. They were all afraid to go to work. I finally got 2 men to help me, and we worked there with revolvers in our overalls ready to defend ourselves. The position to-day is that I can not do any work on a new job where they could call off the men of the other trades. Of course I could knuckle to them, and go up and pay them a \$100, and I could submit to any unreasonable demands that they might make. This demand in regard to a laborer was an unreasonable demand, because we had always been allowed them in doing skilled work the year before; but they found out that there were a good many men out of employment, and if they required us to employ union men to do all the work, to do even washing and cleaning up afterwards, we should have to employ more men. The delegate talked to me. He said, "This is public work, and the contractors ought to get a good price, so that we men can work here and not have to work so hard." But we have to compete; we have to give a good bond. A contractor that is not responsible can not do one of those jobs. They get their money; and the delegate acknowledged that my men were better treated than those on almost any other job; that they had better scaffold, because I had this broad, big scaffold. I needed that laborer; he could do that work better than they could. The men did not want to handle that scaffold, and they did not want to quit when they were called off, but they were compelled to. They did not dare work for me, because if they did they would be fined, and if they were fined they could not get work until they paid their fine.

Q. Before the assault or after it did you call on the chief of police and mayor or any other person in the city for protection?—A. I went around to the police station and told them the facts, and they said that when I wanted to finish it if I wanted a policeman there I could have one, but they did not exert themselves to try to find out who they were. I went to the headquarters of the police and told them the facts and wanted to have a permit to carry a revolver. They said they could not grant that; that it had been decided that the law did not allow them to do it, but they said, "If I were you I would carry it," and I did.

Q. Who said that to you?—A. A man down at police headquarters.

Q. Do you know who he was?—A. I do not know. It was not the chief. He was the man in charge there; seemed to be one of the officials.

Q. So you acted on his suggestion?—A. I did.

Q. Did you inform the district attorney or have you been before the grand jury to make any complaint about that assault?—A. No, sir; I did not.

Q. Why not?—A. I knew it was of no use.

Q. Why of no use?—A. Why, such things are occurring frequently; they do not do anything about it. I got out a warrant for this man that was on picket and brought him before a justice, and they asked for a continuance, and from what talk I had with the justice I found out that he would not consider that evidence enough to hold him on. It is a fact that this man was with this picket, but my lawyer finally said that there was no use, we could not do anything.

Q. Why didn't he think there was any use?—A. The justice would not hold him on what evidence we could bring. We could not identify those men. The only man I could show was that one man that worked with me, that sat there that day with the picket. He was not there at the time of the assault, and the very fact that he was not there after sitting there 2 or 3 days one after the other, and then after this thing happened, was evidence itself that he knew all about it.

Q. How do you know that the picket had anything to do with the man that actually made the assault?—A. I could not prove that he had anything to do with it.

Q. So far as you know, then, the man who made the assault came there?—A. There were 3 of them.

Q. Well, the 3 men; they came there as total strangers?—A. Yes.

Q. Not representing anybody, not having any privy whatever with the picket, so far as you know?—A. Except that he was sitting with the picket, and with him all the afternoon, pretty near the whole day.

Q. Had you seen the man who made the assault sitting with the picket?—A. Yes; the very same man that struck me.

Q. And you stated that fact to your attorney?—A. Yes; I did.

Q. And he still said it was no use?—A. The justice said as much. The fact is that the justices and the courts knuckle to the union.

Q. Do you know they knuckle to the union?—A. The policemen the same way. They would rather turn their backs when the thing was going on.

Q. How do you know it? What evidence have you of it?—A. I do not know that I could prove it, but that is the common understanding.

Q. Don't you make a mistake in stating the common understanding without knowledge of the facts on which it is based?—A. Perhaps, but I know that their sympathies are all with them. My sympathies are with them, too. There is not anybody that is more in sympathy with any purpose to help the workingman. I am a workingman myself. I do not believe that the majority, or even the minority, of men belonging to the unions justify any such thing, or favor it; but it is in the unions themselves just as it is in politics. The men who get to the front are often men that are not the most reputable, the wirepullers. The majority of the union men go to their unions only once in a while, when it is necessary to get out their card. There are a few men that go there. Those men are just like the few politicians. They run things, and it is through the neglect of the union men to look after things that they are not better managed.

Q. Have you any complaint to make that the city authorities do not afford adequate protection to men who want to work?—A. Oh, I don't know. I do not know that it is possible for them to put men on every job to watch. The police said that they would send a man over there. I think they would. As far as politics is concerned, one set of politicians are just the same as the other. They want the vote of the union, and there is a feeling among union men—now I know a great many of these things from talking with the men. They told these men that were working for me when we were down on this other schoolhouse that they had better not work; that they were liable to be sluggish and crippled; and they were afraid to work. It is very difficult to prove these things, of course. I can not prove that those were sent from headquarters; but we know that that thing is being done right along and that men are afraid to work. For that reason we draw our conclusions; that is all.

Q. You have said that the police turned their backs on offenses of a certain kind.—A. Well, I can not say that I have seen them do it. Of course, the police department and Mayor Harrison are not responsible for everything that a policeman may do because his sympathies are that way and perhaps you failed to see things, but I have seen cases mentioned in the papers where they did. I do not believe that they would arrest a man having a revolver for the purpose of defending himself for having concealed weapons, and let the other fellows get off.

Q. Have you any knowledge of the extent to which concealed weapons are carried by workingmen, whether union or nonunion?—A. I do not think they are generally carried. I regret that I did not have one.

Q. You did not have one, then?—A. I did not.

Q. Did you afterwards carry one?—A. I did afterwards. I considered it necessary to do so.

Q. Did you consider that you had a license or permit to do it?—A. I had no license. I could not obtain one.

Q. And still you had advice from the official to do it on your own responsibility?—A. Yes. There is a disposition— Now, I heard some of the testimony here yesterday—the bricklayers and their relations with the bosses; that is, to a very few of the favored or large bosses. I noticed among the painters that they were rather desirous of crushing out the smaller contractors. In my conversation with a walking delegate, he said that one of the larger contractors—I do not know that I need mention his name—had signed the scale, while most of the others had not. I said, "You do not protect the bosses. I think that men that want to start for themselves ought to be encouraged and have an opportunity to do it, and not be discriminated against." It was shown in the testimony of the bricklayers that since they have had the trouble with the bosses one of them can start; but before, they could not. They could not carry on business themselves unless they belonged to the bosses' association, and the bosses' association seems to have been in a combine to put up prices, which the public has to pay. The school board will have to pay a great deal more for their work if things are managed the way they were last season. These men seem to think it is public work and we ought to have an easy time on it. They did not seem to have any feeling for the welfare of the public; that the school board had but a little amount of money; that it was cramped for money, and that the more the work cost the less seating could be

given for the children. They seem to be thoroughly selfish. I think that it is necessary, as long as these other combinations exist and put up prices, that the painters, or, rather, that the trades here, should have some kind of a combination; but I think that the men that seem to have control are really doing the cause an injury.

Q. Men who seem to have control of what?—what class, or what?—A. On the building trades.

Q. You refer, then, to the master builders—building contractors?—A. No, sir; I am speaking of the men that get control of the labor organizations.

Q. You mean the unions, which are in the building trades council?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

Q. You think they are more at fault than the contractors who are in the association?—A. Oh, I don't know. I think they are both at fault.

Q. Do you see any obstacles in the way of their still preserving their organizations and getting together and establishing a workable basis?—A. Well, I don't know. The contractors, as far as I have talked with them—I do not belong to the contractors' association. I do not believe in combinations of any kind. I do not believe that the trades union organizations are right in principle. I only defend it as I would war. When you are attacked you have got to defend yourself. When combinations are formed to put up prices and limit production, the workmen are compelled to do the same thing. A great many of them feel that in the disturbed condition of things almost anything is justifiable. I do not believe such methods as knocking men down are justifiable—send three burly men there to knock down a man of my age and a boy. The most of the men I have talked with say it is shameful, and it is. I asked nothing of these men but what was right. We—I and the boy—could get on the plank and do as much work as almost any of them could, and did it.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Have you been familiar with labor unions and labor organizations?—A. More or less. I have been carrying on the business for years. When we had a strike here in 1893 and 1894 I was one of the first to sign the scale, and I took a lot of work when some of these other fellows that they are sticking up for to-day were fighting them, and I set men to work.

Q. Had you had any clash with the union labor prior to these instances that you have stated?—A. No, sir.

Q. Had you been a member of any union before that?—A. No. They did not allow a man carrying on business to belong to a union until recently.

Q. How long have you been an employer of labor?—A. In Chicago for twenty-five years, but I lived mostly outside in the suburbs, and until recently most of the work was done outside by nonunion men. It was not inside the city limits, and it was almost impossible for us to employ union men or to belong to the union at all.

Q. From your observation, what are the relative conditions of laboring men generally to-day as compared to the conditions that existed prior to these organizations?—A. The painters' wages to-day are little higher than they were in 1872. It is pretty hard to take just a person's observation, but statistics collected by the Department of Labor—

Q. I would rather have, if you please, your own personal knowledge. You have been employing men and live right here. I would rather have your own statement from your own knowledge.—A. Before the fire the wages were about \$3 a day. Of course, it was in greenbacks, and there was a premium on gold of about \$1.10 in 1872. The rates of wages two years ago were \$2.80. Last year it was fixed at \$3—that is, 37 cents an hour. They are asking now 40 cents an hour. While that is the wages fixed, there are a great many of them, I am confident, working under the scale. The men are not fair with themselves; they are not fair with their bosses. A boss that is honest and pays the scale must compete with the boss who has some arrangement with the men by which, though the money may be put in their envelope, it is paid back to him. When they can get steady work they often, undoubtedly, receive less than the scale of wages. The unions recognize that fact, because very often when they are suspicious of a man, and in some instances when a new man comes into the business, they won't allow him to hire the old men, men he is acquainted with; he must hire other men. It is for the purpose of protecting the union against that very thing, which is undoubtedly practiced, particularly in the dull season. In the busy season, of course, the wages are paid—you have got to pay it. Demand and supply compel it. In the dull season it is undoubtedly practiced. I think that most of the union men will acknowledge that it is true to an extent, but how much it is impossible to say.

Q. Does the condition of the laboring man improve with the organization of labor?—A. I think we do not have as steady work as we used to have; larger

wages, but less work during the year. Now, while the conditions may not be greatly improved, that does not show that without the unions they might not be a great deal worse, because, as a rule, all over the country wages are falling.

Q. Are falling?—A. Yes; wages are shown by the records of the Massachusetts census statistics of manufactures, and also by the Pennsylvania investigations—show wages in 1898 lower than in 1897; lower in 1897 than in 1896, and lower in 1896 than in 1895. They were higher in 1895 than in 1894; that is, the average in these industries.

Q. Are the masses of the laboring men, so far as your observation extends in your own experience, enjoying better conditions socially and in other directions than they were before the formation of labor unions?—A. I do not think there is a great difference. They fix a scale of wages that is a minimum. The skillful man, the young man, the vigorous man, he will have the preference. When a man gets old—if I wanted to get a job as a journeyman, I could not get it. They would look at my gray hairs, and would not give me a job, unless in a time when there was a great demand for labor. There are a great many unemployed a great part of the time, and these, of course, are the least skillful; but taking in our large shops, the better class of workmen do have reasonably steady work, and their condition is undoubtedly better than it was formerly.

Q. You speak now only of the more skillful of them?—A. The more skillful.

Q. Has it not always been true since men have worked at all that the more skillful man has enjoyed an advantage over the less skillful?—A. Not the same advantage. Where there were different rates of wages paid, I might hire you and pay you \$3 a day because you are worth it. If I have to pay this man \$3 a day I will not hire him. If I can hire him for \$2.50 I will give him a job.

Q. The effect of unionism is to equalize the men irrespective of their skill and ability?—A. They have a minimum wage, and it is very seldom that anything is paid over the minimum.

Q. The poor man under the union system gets as much as the good one?—A. He gets as much, but he does not get work; that is, he does not get work in dull times; he would be employed in the busy times and get as much as the good one.

Q. Can an employer discriminate against a union man? Can he discharge a union man and employ another union man?—A. Yes.

Q. No limit; no restriction?—A. The unions are not all alike. In our unions, and I know in others, the boss could hire and discharge a man.

Q. The union does not attempt to coerce them into the employment of a man or prevent his discharge?—A. Not all of them, anyway.

Q. In your judgment, is the condition of the masses of the people generally improving with the years, or are they going the other way? Do they enjoy more of the necessities and luxuries of life? Are they more intelligent, better educated, more comfortable?—A. I think, undoubtedly, their opportunities of education are better, but in many respects the conditions are growing worse.

Q. In what respect, please?—A. If a man is out of a job it is almost hopeless to look for one.

Q. Is that due to unionism?—A. No; it is not.

Q. In spite of it?—A. You were asking generally; I did not suppose you were confining your question to union labor.

Q. Is that fact due to the existence of the unions?—A. No.

Q. Or without reference to them?—A. It is not due to the existence of labor combinations, but due to the existence of other combinations which destroy competition, which limit opportunities for employment. It is harder for a man to employ himself; and as I showed before, the tendency here among the union men is rather to favor the larger shops, and think if they can have a few big bosses it is better.

Q. This condition, that it is harder now for a man to get employment, is due to the organization of industrial trusts? Is that what you have reference to—combinations?—A. Yes.

Q. Well, does not the formation of the union, then, in your own opinion, help the laboring man in that event?—A. It does.

Q. In the way of regulating the hours of labor and shortening them?—A. It undoubtedly does. I hate to see the labor unions crushed out; I should like to see them crushed out when the others are crushed out, but not before.

Q. You recognize in the labor unions, as organized to-day, a necessary condition in order to offset the formation of industrial combinations and trusts?—A. Exactly; but they are at a disadvantage. They enjoy no special privilege. That is the very reason that while they have no laws that compel them, they are often disposed to violate the law, and a very great many of them feel as though, under the conditions, they were justified in doing almost anything to maintain their

unions and to maintain their organizations. I feel a good deal that way myself, but I feel they go a little too far.

Q. How could labor protect itself and defend itself and advance its own interest except by organization?—A. By voting to do away with the conditions that make labor organizations necessary.

Q. Can they not do it more effectively by organizations of their own, if conducted within the law?—A. No; it is only a palliative. It is like putting a poultice on a sore. You have got to get to the root of the matter if you are going to cure it.

Q. Would not the labor element of the country be entirely at the mercy of the organized capital of the country if labor was not organized?—A. Yes.

Q. Absolutely. Then its only defense is organization?—A. Its defense—it is justifiable in that way and in no other way, just as you are justified in organizing an army when you are attacked, to defend yourself.

Q. Then we understand you are not opposed to labor organizations, but simply opposed to their methods?—A. I am opposed to the methods employed by them. I know there is a good deal in the complaint of the contractors as to their way of doing business. Here in a building are two sets of stone-cutters quarreling about who shall cut the stone, and finally settling their difficulty and each one cutting off a half inch when an inch is to be cut off, and the man who wants the building and the contractor being bothered by that sort of regulation. Here is iron being put into a building by one set of workmen. They are quarreling among themselves and saying the others shall set that work, and compelling them to take that iron out and put it back. Men won't build under those conditions. It is not true that the reason building is not going on is altogether because of labor difficulties. The price of material has been put up by combinations of every kind, and when the workman asks a slight increase to offset increased prices he has to pay for everything, he can not get it. He maintains his organization, but he is going to be beaten in the end, either one way or the other. The increased cost of building is going to compel him to pay increased rents, and it is going to give him less work. He is not going to be able to have steady work, except at decreased prices, as long as these combinations are able to keep up the prices of things, because it is all divided between capital and labor and the landlord.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You have referred to certain statistics in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania in regard to a decline in wages. Don't you know that that decline was during a period of depression which was general all over the country?—A. The decline occurred in 1893 and 1894. There was a reaction in 1895 in which there was a considerable increase of wages, but since 1895 they have been falling.

Q. Do you not know that since the present period of prosperity ensued these wages have been restored?—A. No; I know that the reports of Massachusetts of the average annual wages, earnings, shown by the Massachusetts report of 1898, are 98 cents less than they were in 1897, and 2.23 days in their working time.

Q. Do you not know that the wages in Massachusetts to-day in the factories are as high as they were in 1892, which was a time of great prosperity?—A. No; I know that they are much lower.

Q. Do the statistics there show that?—A. Yes; they do show that.

Q. How do you account for that?—A. I am not accounting for it. I am only stating the facts. The average annual earnings as reported by the Massachusetts bureau census in 1895 were \$446.41; in 1896, \$426.66; in 1897, \$422.26; in 1898, \$421.28.

Q. All that was during the period of depression, was it not?—A. I do not happen to have the figures right here of 1892 or 1893. They were higher in 1892 than they were in 1895. They fell in 1893 and 1894, but they recovered considerably in 1895; but they have been falling ever since.

Q. You know, I suppose, that the wages in Massachusetts are very largely wages in cotton mills?—A. Yes.

Q. And do you know that there has been a very great and increasing competition in their business by mills in the Southern States, where wages are very low?—A. Well, they are largely cotton. I know there have been mills built in the Southern States, but I do not know that that competition has been particularly injurious.

Q. I see you do not understand the situation. I wanted to find out how far you had investigated the causes of that depression.—A. Well, we will take Pennsylvania, as reported by the commissioner of internal affairs. Taking the total wages paid, divided by the average—not the total number of employees—dividing by the average number gives practically the wages, not the average earning. It gives for 1892, \$489.14; for 1893, \$462.50; 1894, \$412.07; 1895, \$443.52; 1896, \$430.36; 1897, \$428.75. I have no figures for any later than 1897.

Q. Have you got the figures prior to 1892, everybody knows that was a year of great prosperity?—A. Not for Pennsylvania.

Q. Then the figures you have given cover a depressed period.—A. 1892 was not a depressed period.

Q. I say that was a year of great prosperity; and then the time that followed was a period of great depression, was it not?—A. No; there was an increase in 1895, very considerable over the year before—an increase of \$33.

Q. Was it an increase over 1892?—A. No; but there has been a decrease in 1896, and again in 1897.

Q. Do you think it is quite fair to give the figures of what everybody knows to be a prolonged period of depression, as an indication that wages generally throughout the country are declining?—A. Take the data of the Aldrich report. They show that the wages were lower in 1891 than they were in 1872. As summarized by the statistician of that report, it shows an increase of 6 per cent, but that is a juggle. They put the foremen and overseers of departments each in a class by himself, and his increased wages, which do not represent increased pay for the same work, but increased pay for greater efficiency in a position of greater responsibility, seemed to have the same weight as the increase or decrease in wages of classes having large numbers. A fair analysis of those data shows a decrease since 1872 of about 20 per cent. Colonel Wright, in his report on machinery, shows one establishment in making a farm wagon—

Q. (Interrupting.) I do not believe we want to go into an examination of Colonel Wright's statistics.—A. All right. You asked me the question. Now, the same statement as to the Aldrich report. There is a pamphlet, a contribution of Professor Bullock, of Cornell University, which he sent me. It shows the same things I have stated in regard to the Aldrich report, and in which it was summarized.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) The purchasing power of the average wages, as stated by you here, would be a great deal higher, would it not, than it was at the other period you named?—A. If you take clothing and food; yes.

Q. Taking everything that men need?—A. No; I do not think so.

Q. Take it all around, the average?—A. The rents are higher, and in the large cities, where particularly the advanced wages obtain, the expense of living is increasing. The workman has to pay one or two car fares a day, which is a thing he did not have to pay in earlier periods in small places. It is a fact that a workman to-day in Chicago with anything like a family can not earn a living for them without sending his children out into our department stores and factories. These are the conditions that exist to-day.

Q. Are living expenses higher or lower?—A. You must consider that what is a necessity now was not a necessity years ago. A girl in a store has to dress better. You may quote figures to show that certain kinds of clothing are worth less to-day; but they can not wear the same kind of clothing to-day; they have to make a different appearance. When you take the necessary expenses of people, I do not think they have decreased. I am rather inclined to believe, since prices have been going up within the last year or two, that there has been an increase.

Q. Is it not a fact that what is a necessity to-day was regarded nearly as a luxury many years ago?—A. Yes.

Q. Then people live better; dress better?—A. The working girl that has to go to the department store has to dress better. She did not have to work that way then; it did not make that difference whether she did dress better.

Q. She does dress better? Everybody dresses better—lives in better houses and eats better food?—A. It is an acknowledged fact, and it was shown by a young lady that went into one of these department stores, in an article written for the Journal of Sociology—the girls acknowledged and talked among themselves, lots of them, that they have to depend on some friend, some gentleman outside, to support them. That is the condition existing in Chicago to-day.

Q. Do you make that statement as a wholesale proposition with reference to the girls working in the department stores in Chicago?—A. I repeat what a young lady who went there and found employment wrote in the Journal of Sociology.

Q. Did she speak for herself or for all the other girls?—A. She was not speaking for herself, but about the fact that the girls talked it among themselves, and it was a common thing.

Q. Do you believe that is true?—A. I believe it is true, and I think they are a great deal more honorable in the thing than are the ladies that marry for diamonds and riches; than these people who support the conditions in which these things exist. It is not different in Chicago from what it is elsewhere.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 28, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. LEWIS P. LE VIN,

Detective, Chicago.

The special subcommission met at 10 a.m., March 28, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 12:30 p.m. Mr. Lewis P. Le Vin was sworn as a witness and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Will you give your name, post-office address, and occupation?—A. Lewis P. Le Vin, 901 Kedzie Building, Chicago. I conduct a private detective agency.

Q. What statement do you desire to make to the commission?—A. In the first place, I want to take exception to some of Mr. Gubbins's remarks of yesterday. He stated that I wanted him to engage in getting hold of that bus load of people and beat them up. I do not believe that Gubbins would personally tell a falsehood. I think he misconstrued the remark I made. I met Gubbins Sunday. At that time I was not aware that I should meet him. I met him at my father's, who is the president of the Underground Electrical Workers' Union. The day before I had resigned from the master masons' work. I held a portion of their detective work. I resigned there because I had a reputation here in Chicago to keep up, and I could not very well do the work they wanted me to do. Gubbins made the remark that he had to carry a gun. Well, that was right. It is necessary for him to carry a gun, because there are certain ones of the contractors' association that tried to get me to have my men slug him—that is, beat him up—and, if possible, put him in the hospital for 6 or 7 weeks. That conversation took place in a purely friendly manner. I went out to my father's for dinner. I met Gubbins and some gentlemen out there; that is, they came while I was eating dinner there. We simply had a friendly talk. I presume the reason Gubbins said I wanted that wagon load beat up was that in the conversation my father asked me to withdraw from that contract. I told the three of them there, "I only have 2 more men employed." I said, "As soon as I can get to those men there to-morrow I will withdraw them." It was impossible for me to state—if I had said in the evening it might have been right. In the morning there were from 10 to 15 men guarding the bus. Now, I think that is all the statement I wish to make. However, if there are any questions to answer I am willing to answer.

Q. Did you make any statement whatever to Mr. Gubbins that indicated a purpose on your part to convey information to him that there would be any opportunity for any assault?—A. No; none at all. It was very guarded that way.

Q. Did you have any intention, any purpose in your mind, of withholding any support or any guardianship?—A. Why, no; none at all. I made up my mind to have my men do their duty as long as they continued working for these people, but, as I told them there, I did not intend to let them work a moment longer after I could get at them. I could not very well put them off in the morning, because I did not believe it would have been policy to let those men go out there without my men adding to the number. At 12 o'clock that day I called my men in—12 o'clock last Monday—and paid them off, and told them I did not want that contract any more, and notified the contractors' association that I had withdrawn from the work.

Q. Why did you withdraw from the work?—A. Well, as I have just stated, I have a certain amount of prestige I want to keep up, and I don't think a private detective agency is the place to get a slugging committee to come from.

Q. Had anybody tried to get you to have your men act as sluggers?—A. Why, there are at least five, if it were absolutely necessary, could be proven that they tried to engage me to have the men beaten up, principally Gubbins.

Q. Have different people tried to get you—to beat up who?—A. Gubbins, for one.

Q. And other union men?—A. Well, they had it in for about three; one was McGinniss, the other was Murray. Murray they were very sore at, but the principal one was Gubbins.

Q. Who was McGinniss and who was Murray? What were their positions?—A. Murray was with the metal workers. They wanted me to have Murray beaten up. It seems that Murray had a fellow named Jennings beat up out on Erie street, and they wanted—the way the gentleman gave me my orders he said they wanted to get back at Murray for the Jennings assault.

Q. Now, who sought to have you beat up these people?—A. As for that, if the time ever comes that it is necessary for me to go before the criminal court, it

seems to me it would weaken my testimony, and I should infinitely prefer not to give those names now.

Q. Would you state in a general way?—A. They are in authority.

Q. In the contractors' association?—A. Yes; and in authority.

Q. They were?—A. Yes.

Q. You declined to enter into it?—A. No; I have Mr. LaComp, who is my superintendent. I preferred to lay it before him. I could not afford to do the dirty work, and any time anyone would try to engage me to do it I preferred to have as many witnesses as possible to such a proposition. I immediately gave him orders therefore to lay witnesses, and, anyway, they made an out-of-the-way proposition to have the witnesses catch on to it. Another time—St. Patrick's Day—we anticipated a little bit of trouble, principally at the Ogdensburg docks. I was given orders on St. Patrick's Day to place six or seven Winchesters in the bus, and in my absence they told Mr. LaComp, my superintendent, if he could not get trouble—if he could not get into a fight with the pickets and the strikers—to get the men and go out and look for it.

Q. Who told him that?—A. He is here; if he can be called to the stand and is willing to give the names, that would rest with himself—people in authority and members of the contractors' association.

Q. How many detectives do you have in your employ?—A. I range all the way from 10 up to 50; all depends on the kind of work I have.

Q. Do you arm them?—A. I arm them under certain conditions; not myself; as a rule they are all armed; I have them sworn in.

Q. Who arms them?—A. They, as I suppose, arm themselves.

Q. Are they authorized to act as officers by the city?—A. When the time comes; yes.

Q. Do not have it as a regular appointment then?—A. No.

Q. Do you have to get them specially authorized for every job?—A. For each certain job; yes.

Q. Are you able to do that always?—A. No. You see this is about the first strike that I have been engaged in, because I do not like it; I have not looked into it far enough; it is going to be the last if other people are going to be like these; so I could not say whether I should have them sworn in again; I should not want to, anyway.

Q. Have you ever had them employed in labor difficulty?—A. No.

Q. Have you ever had them employed in any capacity where they needed to go armed?—A. You see, I control a certain amount of the lynching cases in the South, and it is absolutely necessary for some of them to be armed.

Q. What do you mean by controlling cases?—A. I generally get them from this city.

Q. Get an opportunity to investigate them and get evidence?—A. I get orders to go out and investigate them.

Q. Get evidence against lynchings?—A. Yes.

Q. In all such cases your men go armed?—A. Yes; that is absolutely necessary.

Q. Have you been engaged by anybody to go and protect property in case of anticipated disturbance?—A. You see, ever since I have been on this work over there they have anticipated trouble, and I have been sent out to protect the property and the men as much as possible. Only in that instance; as I say, that is the first labor difficulty I ever had any work in.

Q. You have concluded you do not like the business, and therefore won't follow it?—A. No; not that way. I am putting in a saving clause; I say, if the people who are desirous of my doing their work are of the same caliber as these people, I don't want it; so possibly I might have other labor work.

Q. So you draw the line at their requests for improper detective work?—A. Why, not only improper, but if I had participated in it, I suppose myself and all of my men would have been headed for a little journey down to Joliet. That was my way of thinking.

Q. You think, then, they asked you to commit an offense?—A. They deliberately went into a conspiracy, it seems to me.

Q. Several of them spoke to you about it, did they?—A. It takes two or more to make a conspiracy, I believe; there have been at least two of them.

Q. Have you appeared before the grand jury and complained of this?—A. No.

Q. Have you informed the district attorney about it?—A. No. The last time I was over to the district attorney's I received orders to go over to Mr. Dineen and see if indictments could be secured against certain people, and he very wisely refused to let me. It seems he knows something about how they have been carrying on their proceedings before—the indictments against them—and I do not know that he would be willing to take this up just now.

Q. Are you familiar with the management of the police force in this city?—
A. Fairly well.

Q. Do you consider that the police force is inadequate or unwilling to preserve order?—A. No; I think that the police force—I say this from experience, going around from the different buildings—I say that the police force have acted splendidly. However, I will say that the police force have not suited the contractors because they would not break their clubs over the strikers' heads. That is where, it seems to me, the trouble arises from the contractors' standpoint.

Q. Do you know whether the contractors asked them in any instances to break the heads of those opposed to them?—A. No; they have not asked them, but they have criticised them quite severely for not going out and taking the pickets and using them up a little bit rough.

Q. Do you think they have been asked to use the pickets roughly?—A. No; I believe the contractors draw the line sometimes.

Q. Why do they draw the line, and how?—A. I do not think they would be foolish enough to ask the policemen to do that.

Q. What gave you the impression?—A. From their criticism down at their association rooms—their criticisms of the police.

Q. Are you familiar with that criticism?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you know that they felt they did not receive adequate protection from the police?—A. It seemed that way from their talk.

Q. Is that why you and your men were engaged?—A. No; I was not really engaged for the protection of the men; I was engaged to obtain evidence against the unions.

Q. You consented to that service?—A. Why, certainly; that is legitimate detective work.

Q. Did you get evidence?—A. I got evidence which I am afraid could not have stood in the criminal court. It was hardly possible to obtain any evidence excepting simply hearsay evidence.

Q. Then your conclusions were that there was no evidence against them?—A. Of course, there are certain breaches that the unions are making, but it is very hard to obtain the evidence against them.

Q. How do you know there are certain breaches if you have not any evidence on it?—A. Sometimes we can bank on evidence, yet it is not competent to introduce it into a criminal court.

Q. Then, do you confess that, as a detective, you are not able to get evidence of the facts?—A. No; but I will confess this, that the people who are responsible for these breaches were too wise for me; that if they entered into any contract with the sluggers it was made behind closed doors, where there were at least two or three in session. The fact that a man might see another in a saloon with John Brown would not prove that he hired him to beat that fellow up; that is not going to affect John Brown. We may be perfectly satisfied that he did, but unfortunately we were not able to get behind those closed doors.

Q. You are not able, then, to ferret out conspiracies to do bodily harm?—A. Well, you see the days of Sherlock Holmes have not quite reached us. There are cases that it has been possible for us to obtain evidence in.

Q. Have you ever succeeded in detecting or preventing a crime that was contemplated?—A. In this particular instance?

Q. Anywhere?—A. Yes.

Q. Where and when?—A. It all depends; quite a number of cases; could not recollect them.

Q. Ever succeeded in the South in exposing lynching conspiracies?—A. Well, I had the Sam Hous affair. The only reason we were never able to convict them out there was that the courts and the district attorneys would not bring in the case.

Q. You think you had the evidence?—A. In fact, we know we had it.

Q. You were able, then, to develop evidence in those cases away off at a distance, among strangers, but not able to develop cases which you know by hearsay existed in Chicago, where you are acquainted?—A. Well, I will put this proposition to you to explain the reason why: When they go out to slug a man it is done by one or two men at the head. They will hold a consultation and decide which ones they want. Now this slugging committee is composed of one or two or three. They make up their plans, and they carry this fellow into the union hall—that is, upstairs, where it will be next to impossible—we would have gotten into the union halls, and we have got onto quite a good deal of hearsay, but my men could not get in and mingle with the crowd.

Q. So you know then that slugging has been carried on and worked in union halls, and plans laid for it in union halls?—A. I say I only hear of that by hearsay.

Q. Your men got in there?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you hear from your men?—A. Yes.

Q. Why could you not prove it?—A. Because my men were unable to get hold of those fellows that planned it. We certainly could arrest the fellows that did the slugging, but they were not the ones we wanted.

Q. They were not smart enough to find out who the fellows were?—A. Not exactly that; the others were too smart to let them.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Did the contractors who employed you ever ask you to slug nonunion men and have the suspicion cast upon union men as having done that work?—A. No.

Q. Did you know whether there is that sort of work going on?—A. It is going on from the union side. The unions are slugging the nonunion men.

Q. If the contractors would employ you to slug Mr. Gubbins and others, wouldn't they be as apt to do the other thing?—A. No; because these nonunion men are right on the fence now, and if there was any stuff like that they would lose what labor they have.

Q. Do you think they will, if they desire, succeed in finding a Chicago detective agency which will furnish them sluggers to slug Mr. Gubbins and others?—A. Oh, I think they have got the men right over there now.

Q. The detectives?—A. Yes.

Q. Are they Pinkerton men?—A. No.

Q. Are the Pinkerton men mixed up in this matter?—A. I say no; not to my knowledge.

Q. You think Mr. Gubbins is justified in carrying a pistol?—A. Yes.

Q. Does Mr. Gubbins know these things?—A. Gubbins was a sort of a friend of mine; I always thought so until I read this paragraph in the newspaper.

Q. Did you tell him of the danger he was in?—A. Certainly I did, as I would do to any one, friend or not; I told him he should go on.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) You say your father is the president of the Underground Electrical Workers?—A. Yes.

Q. Then he is on the union labor side of the controversy?—A. No; he is sort of on the fence; but he does not consider that it would look exactly right, when it was not necessary, for me to take the work.

Q. Of course his sympathy is with the unions?—A. Oh, yes; naturally.

Q. Are you and he closely associated?—A. Yes; but excuse me for interrupting you; I remarked that he belongs to a union; but I went in for this work dead against the unions. I say it is the greatest educator for a man's sympathy to feel with the unions. The fact of my father's being a union man had no effect on me at all.

Q. Do you live together?—A. Nearly, I might say. At times I stop down town at hotels and out of town.

Q. How long have you been in the business, conducting a detective agency?—A. I guess about 11 years.

Q. You were hired by the contractors?—A. Yes.

Q. To furnish evidence against the union men?—A. Yes.

Q. What are these busses you speak of?—A. The busses were for conveying the nonunion men from the Ogdenburg docks to their destination.

Q. You furnished a guard to go with them?—A. I furnished a guard at the building and was ordered to proceed with the busses; but after the busses left the building, as I informed them, my men had no authority. My men have authority only on the building. They are sworn in as building police, and leaving that ground places them as any of the rest on that bus.

Q. You performed that work for them, furnishing the guard for them, did you?—A. Yes.

Q. By reason of the fact of their employing you, you got into their confidence?—A. Yes.

Q. And now you are betraying that confidence?—A. Betraying it; no.

Q. Are you not giving away matters confidentially intrusted to you?—A. Why, no. If you can get the rest of them over there to go on the stand, you will find there are 50 of them over there that know the facts I do.

Q. Then there is nothing private about this private detective business?—A. Nothing.

Q. Really a public detective agency? Is that the rule, you think, for the employers on one side to hire men to slug and beat men on the other side; is that true to any great extent, to your knowledge?—A. The only reason it has not been practiced on the contractors' side—it has so far been practiced on the union side—the reason it is not on the contractors' side is that, as a rule, the men they have over there have not the sand in them, or they have some principle left in them, one of the two.

- Q. You can not hire men to do it?—A. You can not hire every man to do it.
- Q. But can they hire men?—A. Yes; they could hire men.
- Q. From other private detective agencies?—A. Unfortunately, from some; yes.
- Q. Do the union men hire men from detective agencies to slug?—A. No; they have men of their own.
- Q. Then they do the slugging, do they?—A. Yes.
- Q. Are you speaking now of actual knowledge?—A. Yes.
- Q. Then you state positively that the Chicago labor unions do enter into conspiracies to slug and beat nonunion men for working?—A. Why, there is some of it going on.
- Q. You state that of your own knowledge?—A. Yes. I am going to state this, though: As far as the heads of it are concerned—of those orders—that is only by hearsay. The other has been witnessed by me.
- Q. You have witnessed union men slugging nonunion men?—A. Yes.
- Q. Because they were working?—A. I judge that. They were never slugged on the work, but they were slugged going away from there.
- Q. And the contractors and employers endeavored, through you, to procure men to slug and beat the representatives of the union?—A. Yes.
- Q. Then it is a sort of slugging match?—A. It has not developed into that, for the reason, as I have stated, that they have either found men that have principle or have found men that have not the sand.
- Q. Have they done the slugging on that side?—A. Not to my knowledge.
- Q. You have withdrawn from the employ of the contractors?—A. I withdrew last Saturday.
- Q. Because you thought they were engaged in an unlawful, disreputable business?—A. Yes; I thought I did not want to see any of my men or myself placed under arrest for conspiracy.
- Q. You were afraid of personal results?—A. I was afraid of the loss of my personal reputation.
- Q. And the penitentiary?—A. Yes.
- Q. Have you ever been engaged in work of that kind, furnishing guards, that resulted in personal violence?—A. No.
- Q. You came here of your own volition to testify?—A. Well, I came here to contradict some of Mr. Gubbins's statements and to corroborate others.
- Q. And to disclose this state of facts with respect to the attempt to get you to procure men to slug labor men?—A. Slug representatives; yes.
- Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have you had any financial disagreement with the contractors?—A. None at all.
- Q. Do you believe Mr. Gubbins to be a peaceable, law-abiding man?—A. Why, I do not really think that George Gubbins would do anything to break the law.
- Q. Did you, by word or in any other way, try to induce Mr. Gubbins to have those men in those busses attacked and slugged, with the idea that you would thereby find employment for a large number of your men?—A. No.
- Q. No such conversation as that?—A. No; in fact I would consider that I was planning for a murder if those busses were attacked, for some one certainly would have been killed, and I do not think I should have liked to have it on my conscience.
- Q. You did not insinuate in any way to Mr. Gubbins that if these busses were attacked it would be a good thing for you, and you could have more of your men put at work?—A. No; when I saw Gubbins, my connections had ceased with that concern.
- Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Did you inform Mr. Gubbins that you would have a smaller number of men on a bus at any time than you had had?—A. I informed Mr. Gubbins that I had 2 men left that would be on the bus in the morning, whom I intended taking off as soon as I could get to them.
- Q. What was your object in giving that information?—A. That information was given more to my father. The three of us were talking together. I told him I was going to cease my connections as soon as possible. I had ceased my connection; but I had not given orders to the men to stop that work. The other thing was as I stated before; Gubbins states that I said in the morning there would be only 2 men guarding the bus going over to work. Now, as a fact, I do not know how many men guarded those fellows going over to work; I should judge at least 10, and maybe 15 or 20—I do not know how many.
- Q. You did tell him there would only be 2 men on the bus at a certain time?—A. Oh, no; I told him I had 2 men at work over there still.
- Q. What was your object in telling him that?—A. Simply to let them know or let my father know I was pulling my men off as fast as possible; although every time I pulled 1 of my men off they would put on 2 of their force.

Q. Did you state to Mr. Gubbins that if anything happened it would be a good thing?—A. No.

Q. Did you intimate that if anything should happen it would be to his advantage or that of his associates?—A. If anything happened after my talk to Gubbins—if murder had resulted, I should have considered that murder was on my conscience; that I was entirely responsible for it.

Q. Because you intimated to him the opportunity?—A. It was purely a friendly talk.

Q. Did you make any talk to him that would indicate there was an opportunity?—A. No, I did not.

Q. You therefore positively deny that you had any such conversation with Gubbins as he has testified to?—A. Yes.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You believe that you would have been responsible for murder in this case, and conspiracy at least, and that you and your men would perhaps have been headed for Joliet? You say also that the contractors have men employed to do that work now?—A. Yes.

Q. Evidently, then, there are detectives in Chicago who have not this fear of Joliet?—A. There are plenty of them.

Q. For themselves and employees?—A. Plenty of them.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Did you discuss these matters with your father?—A. Which?

Q. These questions of your employment.—A. Why, the only questions were—he just asked me to pull off.

Q. Was he in your confidence during your employment by the contractors?—A. That is, everything? No.

Q. You discussed your business matters?—A. Partially, not all.

Q. He knew you were employed by the contractors?—A. He did; yes.

Q. Did you consult him with reference to the advisability of complying with the requirements or requests of the contractors?—A. It was not necessary. That rested with myself.

Q. Did you talk it over with your father?—A. No.

Q. He was not aware of what was contemplated?—A. No.

Q. You did not advise him of what you were doing?—A. No.

Q. Did he advise you to get out of it?—A. Yes. He did not advise me; he asked me as a favor to him.

Q. To quit them?—A. Yes.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 28, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. C. L. HARRIS,

Polisher and Buffer, Kenosha, Wis.

The special subcommission met, pursuant to recess, at 2.10 p. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At that time Mr. C. L. Harris, of Kenosha, Wis., a polisher and buffer, was introduced as a witness and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

The WITNESS. If it will be agreeable to the commission, I had rather act simply as a representative of the organization instead of giving my name, for good reasons.

Mr. CLARKE. We can not receive testimony from a witness who does not give his name.

The WITNESS. There is such a thing as a blacklist system in this country.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your name?—A. C. L. Harris.

Q. Your post-office address?—A. 330 South Oak street, Kenosha, Wis.

Q. Occupation?—A. My occupation is polisher and buffer.

Q. Do you come here as a representative of the union of polishers and buffers in Kenosha?—A. I do.

Q. You may go on in your own way and state what you wish to.—A. I see by the papers that some day last week Mr. Charles H. Sieg, formerly of Kenosha, testified before this commission that he abandoned a plant in Kenosha, and I believed he claimed that the value of said plant was something like \$200,000, for the simple reason that the organization of the men that were working in the factory allowed the men to do only a certain amount of work, and also demanded such prices for the work that he could not compete with other firms. A little over a year ago the firm did have trouble with two organizations, and one of them was the metal polishers. That trouble arose on account of a superintendent

whom he had had, who reduced wages in some instances 33½ per cent from what they had formerly been, and also discharged several men for no cause or reason. The men were called out or went out on a strike, and Mr. Sieg himself personally settled the trouble with the organization. He settled it in a way perfectly satisfactory to them, as he claimed, and prices were fixed by the firm on all the work, and were accepted by the organization; and later on, to show their good will to the firm, the organization found that some of the prices were better than they anticipated, and they gave the firm a revised list of certain parts of the work, which was lower than the scale which he had given. I myself personally have had conversations with Mr. Sieg at different times while he was in Kenosha last season, and after the close of the season, and he told me distinctly that he never was so well pleased with the way his factory was run as he was after it was organized; that if he had known the way organization would affect his factory he would have had it organized long before; and that if he ever ran a factory in the future and had a gang of men working under him they would surely have to be union men. And after the shop ran a certain length of time he found that the men were working so harmoniously that he even discharged the superintendent and ran the factory without any the rest of the season to reduce the cost. He did not need any, the factory ran so harmoniously and smoothly. That is about all I have to say.

Q. Is business in Kenosha generally good now?—A. Not in the bicycle business.

Q. Is it in other business so far as you know?—A. It is very good in some branches of business. Just now is the dull season in some of the factories. Of course you are aware some factories run by seasons. As far as I know business is as good now in the factories, and in some factories better, than it has been since the panic.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Did you ever work for Mr. Jeffery?—A. I did not, no; I never worked in Chicago.

Q. Have no knowledge of Mr. Jeffery's difficulties with the union?—A. Not personally; only through other sources.

Testimony closed.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 28, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. S. J. WORKMAN,

Bicycle Worker, Kenosha, Wis.

The special subcommission met, pursuant to recess, at 2.10 p. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 2.30 p. m. Mr. S. J. Workman, of Kenosha, Wis., a bicycle worker, was introduced as a witness and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name?—A. S. J. Workman.

Q. Post-office address?—A. 900 Market street, Kenosha, Wis.

Q. Occupation?—A. I was a bicycle worker.

Q. What are you doing now?—A. I am working at the bed works at present-iron-bed works.

Q. We will hear your statement in your own way.—A. I will not go over what Mr. Harris has gone over. I will just state that a year ago the 1st of last December I was president of what they call the bicycle workers, when the organization was in existence at the Sterling Bicycle Works. Some of the members from the Sieg factory sent word over that they wanted to be organized, wanted to become members of the organization. We called a meeting and got a number of them, about 47, and within a week or so some more came up voluntarily. They were not requested to come; it was all of their own choice. They stated that the reason they came up there to join the organization was that they had a new superintendent who started in there and began cutting wages to such an extent that they could not make a living. We took them in as members of the organization, and three weeks after they had become members we sent a committee to visit the officials of the company and request them to restore their wages so that the men could make their living. They would not accede, and finally the men went on a strike and were on strike for two weeks. We could not make a settlement with the superintendent, so Mr. Sieg was called upon. We met Mr. Sieg at the hotel in Kenosha, and we finally agreed to a settlement as Brother Harris stated; he made up his own price list, which was accepted, and later on, when the men at the factory saw that the price was too high on certain work, they cut

down the price. Personally, three months after the settlement, I visited Mr. Sieg at his office with Mr. Mulholland, international president of the Bicycle Workers' Union. He stopped here on his way from Racine, and we visited the Sieg Manufacturing Company to see if they would not adopt the label on their wheel, the joint label that belongs to the bicycle workers and metal polishers, buffers, platers, and machinists' organizations. Mr. Osborn and Mr. Thompson, members of the firm, were present at the time, and they stated that they would willingly adopt the label; and they signed agreements at that time to adopt the label on their wheels. They all three stated at that time that they were never more pleased than they had been since the shop had been organized. The men were working and working hard, and the wages they were getting were good, and there was no trouble, because if there was anything, if the local committee would come to the office and explain it, it would be settled; and he stated also, as Mr. Harris said, that if they should run the factory, or had a gang of men under them, he would see that they were organized and belonged to a labor organization.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY). Is that abandoned plant worth \$200,000?—A. Not according to the way it has been sold this week.

Q. What did it sell for?—A. It sold for \$65,000—or \$56,000.

Q. Have you a pretty good idea of what the cost of it was?—A. I could not say what the cost of it was; but as far as machinery is concerned, it is all old machinery.

Q. What was the real cause of shutting down the factory?—A. I can not say.

Q. Was it shut down before the other factory went into the trust?—A. No; shut down later.

Q. Later than that?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you suppose that other factory going into the combination had any effect on this one of Mr. Sieg's?—A. I do not think so.

Q. The Sterling works are in the trust or combination?—A. Yes.

Q. What effect has that had on labor in those works?—A. It has not had any effect so far as the Sterling factory is concerned, with the exception that there are less men employed.

Q. Less men employed in that factory?—A. Yes. Last year there were as many as 40 polishers in the factory and this year 6 to 8. In all the years before there have been from 40 to 45 polishers.

Q. How has it affected the wages of those who remained at work?—A. It has not affected the wages to my knowledge.

Q. They have not been reduced or increased?—A. They have been neither.

Q. What is the total number employed in the factory?—A. I do not believe there are over 150 now—about 160 men where they used to employ between 300 and 400.

Q. You think the combination or trust has no influence on shutting down this establishment of Mr. Sieg's?—A. I hardly think so. I think, according to the statement in the paper there, that it was closed on a mortgage. The factory was sold by Morgan; it was not sold by Mr. Sieg or the Sieg Manufacturing Company.

Q. It demonstrated that the business was not profitable for Mr. Sieg then?—A. I do not believe that the business has been profitable for the last 2 or 3 years.

Q. Is the bicycle business going backward?—A. It is, in my estimation.

Q. That would account in some degree for the decreased number of men in the Sterling works?—A. Yes; I think so. They are not making as many wheels as they made.

Q. Popular wheels, too, are they?—A. Yes. As far as the Sterling is concerned the trust had a good deal to do with that, because they used to sell a lot of wheels down South, and I understand from the men that are working in that factory that there are very few going down South at present.

Q. Have the trust anywhere shown any opposition to organized labor?—A. No; they have not.

Q. Did you ever work for Mr. Jeffery?—A. No; never worked in a bicycle shop in Chicago.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Has the bicycle business become unprofitable?—A. I do not know; I can not say.

Q. Is there a disposition on the part of organized labor to meet the unprofitable position the bicycle business is in?—A. There certainly is; yes.

Q. Did they reduce the scale of wages in the factories?—A. I think they do as far as they can. A man is making a fair day's wages for a fair day's labor.

Q. How large a reduction has taken place?—A. I can not say from personal knowledge; as I say, they have not made any reduction in the Sterling factory; what they have done in Chicago I do not know.

Q. No reduction in the Sterling factory?—A. No; they have not.

Q. No reduction in the other factory?—A. The other factory is shut down.

Q. Well, up to the time it closed up?—A. No; that is, only the time after the trust had been in effect.

Q. Organized labor, then, did not meet the unprofitable conditions that surrounded the proprietor?—A. I do not know whether there was any need of it; there is but one organization in existence at the Sterling at the present time.

Q. Well, but before, when the two were running?—A. There has not been since the trust has been in existence at the Sterling factory.

Q. I think it has been stated that there was a disposition on the part of organized labor, where business was not profitable, to meet the conditions?—A. I think there is enough profit in it to meet the conditions of paying the men the wages they do.

Q. The whole business is unprofitable now, is it not?—A. I can not say whether it is unprofitable or not. I suppose there is a profit in it; there certainly must be, or they would not be running the factories.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Do you believe that Mr. Sieg's business would have closed up in Kenosha when it did, even if no union had been in existence?—A. Yes, I do.

Q. His business methods were such as would bring that about?—A. Yes; I think the business was on a very slim scale when they started their business a year ago last fall, on a very small scale.

Q. What do you mean by on a very slim scale?—A. They had no money to advance in the business. Morgan, the rubber-tire man, advanced money for them; that is, when he took an interest in the concern.

Testimony closed.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 28, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. EDWARD CARROLL,

President of the Chicago Building Trades Council.

The special subcommission met pursuant to recess at 2.40 p. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 2.30 p. m. Mr. Edward Carroll, of Chicago, president of the Building Trades Council, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. Edward Carroll.

Q. Your post-office address.—A. 6022 South Carpenter street.

Q. Occupation.—A. My occupation is president of the Building Trades Council of Chicago.

Q. Will you, in your own way, make such statement concerning the Building Trades Council and the industrial conditions here, from your point of view, as you may wish to make to the commission?—A. Yes. I should like to ask before I proceed whether any of the contractors in the building line have been before the commission.

Mr. CLARKE. They have not.

The WITNESS. Has this commission sent them an invitation?

Mr. CLARKE. We have, and we expect some of them to come.

The WITNESS. Have they replied to the invitations?

Mr. CLARKE. Not by letter; but this morning, just as the session was closing, two came here and said that they would be prepared to testify, and they sought for a time. We looked over our list and told them that if they were ready we might hear some of them this evening, but that seemed to be a little before they would be ready, so it is hardly probable that we shall hear any before to-morrow evening.

The WITNESS: I asked because I know the laboring people of Chicago are anxious to have the contractors present their side of the present difficulty before this commission—that is, the laboring men on our side are anxious that the contractors should give you what information they have in reference to the present lockouts.

Mr. CLARKE. Our present understanding is that they will do it.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) To-morrow night.—A. To-morrow night. I have prepared a written statement, and when I get through, if there are any questions you wish to ask, why I will answer them.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Go on in your own way.—A. This is a statement of the objects and aims of the building trades council in the city of Chicago:

"PREAMBLE.

"The object of this council is to construct a central organization which shall subserve the interests of all the labor organizations engaged in the erection or alteration of buildings for the purpose of assisting each other when necessary thereby removing all unjust or injurious competition, and to secure unity of action for their mutual protection and support.

"SEC. 2. When trouble occurs on any building or job, affecting any trade represented in this council, it shall be the duty of the business agent to immediately endeavor to settle same with contractor or owner, in accordance with the trade rules and to the satisfaction of the trade involved. Failing in this and a strike being necessary, the business agent shall have power to call a general strike, but before doing so he shall lay the matter before the council or board of business agents at their next meeting and be governed by their action or decision, which shall be equally binding on all trades in this council engaged on the job or building."

For three months the building trades council has been held up to the public as the cause of the paralysis in the Chicago building industry, and the claim has been made by the press agent of the Building Contractors' Council that there will be no more work done in this city until the building trades council is destroyed and the walking delegate driven off the earth. Grave charges have been made against the council, but their authors have studiously avoided becoming specific. In fact, during the six or more months that have passed since the conspiracy to crush trades unionism first began to publicly exert itself there has been nothing too vile or radical for the contractors and their backers and sponsors to say of labor.

We are willing to submit our cause to the public, as the people of Chicago will be gainers or losers by the outcome of the present war on the building trades unions. Malicious misrepresentation has led the public to believe that the building trades council is an all-powerful organization. We are unfortunate in Chicago in having newspapers which are as unfriendly to labor as the contractors are. They gleefully print any libel against labor that the press agent of the employers or anyone else may furnish. Such rot as the following can be read almost any day in the newspapers, and although the editors have been informed of the facts they persistently ignore them and continue to malign and deride the workmen:

"For the present it is necessary only to understand that the Chicago Building Trades Council claims a power more absolute than that accorded to any ruler on earth. This is not a figure of speech, nor an example of rhetoric. Until the contractors' council made the stand, which will for all time leave February 5, 1900, a red letter day, the building trades organization not only claimed but exercised that power. No man who employed labor in Chicago had any right which that organization felt bound to respect. Furthermore, no workman, no matter how excellent a proficiency he had attained in his craft, was permitted to enjoy even so much freedom as was accorded to the blackest negro in the South before the war."

The power of the building trades council is limited. In the first place, it does not make agreements with employers, nor does it dictate what agreements the individual unions may make. It is simply a central body which strives to keep the organizations in the building trades together in a manner that will be a benefit to all.

Before the council was organized the individual unions were always at the mercy of the employers. An employer or an association of employers would sign agreements one day and break them the next, and when a protest was made by the workmen, they were asked "what they were going to do about it." When an employee protested to his employer that the latter was not acting fair, the workman in nine cases out of ten was discharged.

To protect the members, the office of walking delegate was inaugurated by first one union and then another, and sometimes at the request of the bosses. As the unions were still often powerless to compel employers to live up to their agreements, it was deemed advisable to form a central council through which united action could be obtained. The present building trades council dates from January 10, 1891, 9 unions joining in its formation. It continued to grow, until at the present time it is composed of 84 unions. Each union has perfect autonomy, although if it makes a rule contrary to the rules of the council it can not obtain the assistance of the latter to enforce it. The council has always opposed the making of agreements which provide that the members of any union shall work exclusively for members of the employers' association of that trade.

Nearly every union has at different times made such agreements, but when it was discovered that the unions were being used to drive contractors into the various employers' associations and that these agreements also aided in the formation of combines between the material men and contractors, the unions gradually broke away from such alliances. The last to do so was the hod carriers' and building laborers' union, whose members were being continually ordered on strike to enforce combinations between the masons' and builders' associations and the brick and lime trusts. The union was also frequently ordered on strike because the contractor who employed them was not a member of the masons' and builders' association, the initiation fee to join which was \$200.

The council never approved of the limiting of a day's work, nor has it ever placed an embargo on material from outside the city. These things have been done at the request of the contractors themselves, and enforced by the individual unions with which they had agreements.

The truth is that if the council had more power delegated to it by its affiliated unions the contractors would be greatly benefited. The council is the most democratic of institutions. No question of importance is finally acted upon until it has been submitted to the rank and file of the thirty-four unions. The officers of the council are not the leaders of the unions. They are the servants and must give close attention to their duties or retire from their positions. The council has no walking delegate, or business agent, as he is now called. Each union selects a business agent by popular vote. Some are elected for three months, others for six, and still others for a year. This official is expected to act as a "buffer" between the employer and the employee. An employer may violate the agreement he signs with the union. If an employee calls his attention to the violation he is likely to discharge him. Therefore, the workman informs the business agent and he calls upon the employer to explain his action. If it were not for the walking delegates and the sympathetic strike not 50 per cent of the workmen in the building trades would be able to secure the wages which the employer agrees with the union to pay. That fact is back of all the charges that are so maliciously made against the business agent.

The fact that the building trades council took such a firm stand against agreements for union men to work exclusively for members of the employers' association is the alpha and omega of the desire of the contractors to destroy the building trades council. The contractors believe that when that is accomplished they can make arrangements with the individual unions and through them form combines with material men that will permit them to rob the general public.

All labor wants is a fair day's wages. The workmen are never participants in the profits from the combines, but are used as the club to make them successful. It required several years to discover the extent to which this has been carried on, and we have done what we could to rectify the abuse. The public is the loser by these combines.

The following is another gem from the pen of the contractors' press agent, who is paid a large salary for thinking of scurrilous things to say against labor:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Is that a clipping to which you refer in the paper?—

A. Yes.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) What paper is that from?—A. I can not tell you just which it is from.

"There is not an employer in the city who can make arrangements with the men he employs as to the amount of work they shall do unless the walking delegate supervises and approves that arrangement. The number of hours which a man shall work in a day, the precise amount of work which he may do, the number of men on any given piece of industry, the materials to be used, the place from which they come, the very tools and machinery by which those materials are produced, and even the hands by which they are transferred from boat or car to the place of work; all these are subjects which the walking delegate claims the right to pass upon."

All these charges are "tommy-rot," pure and simple. The walking delegate does not make the laws for the union. The union makes the laws and he is instructed to enforce them. It is natural to believe that a dishonest contractor hates the union official who is shrewd enough to force him to live up to the agreement he has signed. For that reason the dishonest contractor wants the business agent "eliminated." Eliminate the building trades council and the business agent, and the trades unions in the building line may as well disband. In that event the contractor could return to the old slavery days when workmen could be compelled to work for a dollar a day. The price of material could then be increased and the contractor could secure a much larger "rake-off."

The cards in the street cars showing the amount paid the workmen are attractive, but most deceptive. Up to the declaring of the lockout, it required all the strength of the building trades council, the individual unions, the business agent, and the sympathetic strike to compel employers to pay those wages. Without such influences I should pity the poor devil who went to work under such promises. Much has been said of police protection. Some of the newspapers, in their efforts to aid the contractors in destroying the unions, have created a fictitious state of anarchy in Chicago. An outsider would believe that the streets of the city were red with blood and that the drainage canal had taken on a crimson hue. There were never so few cases of assault as at present. Men will quarrel and men will fight, and neither the churches, the clubs, the police, the press, nor the unions can stop them, nor should they be held responsible. If there is any trouble in Chicago, the contractors are the ones to blame. They locked out the workmen and then, through the press, frightened prospective builders so that the industry has been practically killed, at least for the present. The contractors met and decided that the building trades council should be destroyed. The council is incorporated under the laws of the State, and if it is such a terrible affair as the contractors say it is, they can have it dissolved by the courts. Instead of doing that they declare a lockout, and then ask Mayor Harrison for police assistance to starve workmen into subjection and crush the building trades council. What right have they to do this? The council is anxious that there should be no trouble in the labor field. A committee from the council has urged Mayor Harrison to instruct the police to arrest and prosecute any man who breaks the law. But we do most emphatically insist that the contractor has no more right to declare a lockout, and then ask the aid of the police to destroy the building trades council, than labor has to order a strike and expect the police to aid them in whipping the building contractors' council. The whole situation is absurd, but labor is in the right, and it also knows that right always triumphs in the end.

The real estate board joined in the hue and cry against labor. Chicago was overbuilt during the World's Fair, and during the panic so many buildings were thrown on the market that real estate values and rents decreased amazingly. According to Adolph F. Kramer, of Draper & Kramer, agents for 800 flats fringing the Alley L, rents will have to be increased because of labor troubles. He said recently in a public interview: "Flat rents have been on the down grade for several years, owing to the yearly influx of new buildings."

There were 3,894 new buildings erected in Chicago last year at a cost of \$20,850,570. Several hundred were remodeled. The contractors complain that there were not enough new buildings erected; the real estate man says that there were too many. Notwithstanding the complaints of the contractors the workmen did better last year up to the time the conspiracy developed against labor than during any year since the World's Fair.

Several years ago the subcontractor began to realize that something was the matter. He saw business gradually slipping away from him and getting into the hands of the general contractor. The great evolution that has been going on in the industrial world has at last claimed him for a victim. Centralization is the order of the day. He first laid his troubles at the door of the general contractor and began to fight him, asking the labor organization to aid him. Their help was not forthcoming, and consequently the subcontractor lost his fight. He now turns against labor. He is sure to lose. In ten years, if the centralizing forces continue as in the past, the subcontractor will have disappeared into the position of superintendent or fallen back into the ranks of the workman. The process of centralization is acting upon the middleman as machinery acts upon labor. He is being displaced. Labor is told not to stand in the way of progress. Why should not the subcontractor take his medicine in the interest of progress?

Much has been said of arbitration. Only one plan can be followed in the settlement of the present strife, and that is for each union and the employers' association of the trade to get together and agree upon a basis of settlement. No set of arbitrators can lay down rules that will be acceptable. Only the employers and workmen in a certain trade can tell what is best for each of them. When the contractors feel satisfied that they can not destroy the trade unions, then they will meet the unions, and not before. As long as the press continues to indorse the starving of workmen and the destruction of labor organizations the contractors will hold out. Let the press tell the truth about the trouble and the struggle will end in a week. Arbitration as practiced by the building trades council has been the most perfect in existence. When a grievance is reported to the union the business agent is instructed to investigate and settle it if he can. Failing to do so, after interviewing the contractor, architect, and owner, and not till then, he calls a strike of the members of his union upon that building. Then

he reports the case to the board of business agents, and they appoint a committee composed of one for each trade at work on the building, and the same proceedings are gone over. Every means is used to get a settlement without more trouble, but when the failure is complete a sympathetic strike or reciprocal strike is called. There is never a sympathetic strike called, nor any kind of a strike, that has not been brought about by the failure of some employer to live up to his agreement.

Several nonunionists have appeared before you with typewritten attacks (and extra copies for the press) on organized labor. These attacks have been so outlandish, so devoid of truth and extravagant in generalities, that I do not care to answer them. I believe the members of this commission are intelligent enough to know who wrote them, and also realize that it is easy to make general charges against any individual or association. As the statements made by these misguided individuals contain nothing of a specific nature, I do not believe you expect any answer to them, and I shall be surprised if they appear in the printed report of your investigations.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) What is your own trade?—A. Plasterer.

Q. Can you tell us about the growth of the building trades council and the membership, and what percentage of the men who work at the building trades in Chicago are members of the trades that are in the building trades council?—A. I can not say that the building trades council has increased any in the last 3 years.

Q. Do you know whether the trades in the building trades council pretty generally control the labor market?—A. They do.

Q. Take your own, for instance: what percentage of the plasterers in Chicago are in your union?—A. I should judge 90 per cent.

Q. What is the total membership of your union?—A. I think it is about 320; I do not know the exact number.

Q. Less than 400 plasterers in Chicago?—A. Yes. We had 2,700 here at one time.

Q. During the World's Fair?—A. Yes; and always before that we never had less than 1,000 here.

Q. Do either the building trades council or the unions making up that body countenance slugging and resort to violence, of which we have heard so much? Do they encourage it?—A. No; they do not.

Q. Do they discourage it?—A. They do.

Q. Would they go to the extent of protecting property that was endangered in times of trouble?—A. Yes, they would.

Q. Do you ever employ detective agencies to help you in your cause?—A. No.

Q. Do you know anything about the charge that the other side have done that?—A. I have no positive proof.

Q. Do you claim that the right or the wrong of this labor controversy is on one side or the other?—A. I claim that it is on the side of the contractor.

Q. The wrong?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you claim that their side is entirely wrong and your side is entirely right?—A. Well, no; I claim that the contractors are more to blame for the present difficulty than the men are themselves, because the different organizations affiliated with the building trades council, that have any grievance of any kind with the employers, are willing to arbitrate the matter, but the bosses have absolutely refused to arbitrate anything until, as I have stated, the building trades council is wiped off the face of the earth.

Q. I believe you said that the only arbitration that could be entertained is that of each trade arbitrating with the contractors or the employers of that trade?—A. That is the most effective.

Q. Are your organizations independent enough to take up the trouble and arbitrate it independently of the building trades council?—A. Yes.

Q. Could the bricklayers, for instance, enter into an arrangement with the mason contractors—I believe they call themselves—to arbitrate their differences? Are they not bound up in the building trades council—all stand together?—A. You mean without the interference of the building trades council?

Q. Yes.—A. They could arbitrate the difference between them independently of the building trades council.

Q. Could they go to work, then, to-morrow on the job, regardless of whether the other bodies of the building trades council had settled their differences with the contractors?—A. If there were any trouble on a job where any of the trades were locked out, and the bricklayers went to work, they would be violating their obligations as a member of the building trades council.

Q. What I want to understand is this, must there be concerted action in this

matter of arbitrating, or can each trade act as it pleases? Would an arbitration be effective with just a few unions; would it amount to anything; would it start the building industry in Chicago?—A. I believe it would, if both labor and the employers would get together at the present time and adjust the difficulty.

Q. All or two or three of the unions?—A. I mean all.

Q. They must all get together to bring about a settlement of the difficulty?—A. They need not all act together; they can act as individual trades with the employers.

Q. I mean there must be an understanding in the building trades council that they are all to agree to the arbitration of each particular trade, must there not?—A. No. They can arbitrate independently of the building trades council; but if there were any other trade that failed to get an agreement with the employer the building trades council then would, if they could, keep the bricklayers off that building until such time as the other trade settled its differences with the employer.

Q. Would anything be gained by the bricklayers, for instance, going ahead and arbitrating their difficulties with the contractors if the other organizations in the building trades council did not arbitrate?—A. If the bricklayers had any grievance and they could come to some understanding with the employers, it would certainly be a benefit; it would be a benefit to the council.

Q. It would be a benefit as an example, I presume; but what I want to get at is this: If the plasterers or the other trades did not arbitrate, or would not arbitrate, because they were bound up in the council, would the bricklayers, because they had arbitrated, go to work? Would the building industry start up?—A. That I could not say—whether it would start up or not. If the bricklayers want to arbitrate, the council could not stop them from arbitrating.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) It could stop them from going to work unless all other differences were settled?—A. The council would request them to keep their members from going on the building until the other trades settled their difficulties.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Do you know whether all the trades in the building trades council are willing to arbitrate in the way in which you say they are?—A. Yes.

Q. That is, select arbitration committees from each side, and then have an umpire to settle the points upon which the two committees can not agree?—A. Yes.

Q. Are the men in the trades in your council willing to submit to the hands of those arbitrators all points in controversy, and to abide by the decision of those arbitrators who may be selected by them?—A. I believe they are; yes.

Q. Do you not believe that is the only proper spirit in which they can approach arbitration?—A. Yes. The trade that there seems to be the most charges against is the plumbers' organization; and the plumbers have written a letter to the contractors' organization, besides informing them verbally, that they are willing to arbitrate the differences between the journeymen and the employers; and I have been informed—I do not know whether it is so or not—but I have been informed that the employing plumbers referred it to the building contractors' council, and the building contractors' council has refused to allow the employing plumbers to arbitrate with the journeymen.

Q. Does your council get information as to the condition of the building industry in all other cities of the country where they have building contractors' councils; are you pretty well informed as to the state of the trade in other parts of the country and Canada?—A. Through communications, yes.

Q. Is the building industry in the other cities of the country in such a prosperous condition now that the contractors of Chicago will not, perhaps, be able to get men to come here from abroad to take the places of the strikers?—A. I believe it is.

Q. Have you information to that effect from the building trades councils of other cities?—A. Only in a general way; not directly from the councils. My information comes from different mechanics who are dropping in here once in a while from the East and from the West; and they tell me that the building industry in the East is fair at the present time. Still it is not sufficient to keep all the men in those districts employed. Another thing, the people who work in the building line are not employed more than six months in a year. Take, for instance, the plasterers' organization; they get \$4 a day when they work. I was making inquiries a week ago Saturday night of the members as to how much they averaged in 1899. The highest average that was reported was \$1.63.

Q. Do your unions ever resort to coercive methods to force growth of membership?—A. No.

Q. Do you know of any instances of anything of that kind?—A. No.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) I should like to understand a little more about arbitration. As I understand it now, you have thirty-four different trades in the

building trades council. Now, each one of those trades must consent to arbitration?—A. Acting as a whole for the council.

Q. Each trade has a voice in the arbitration?—A. Certainly.

Q. Suppose you are going to arbitrate your differences between the trades council and the contractors' council, how would you go at that? Suppose you are going to select five men to arbitrate the differences, how would you select those five men on your side, for the trades council?—A. It could not be done; I will tell you why: Here a few months ago Mr. Madden submitted a plan of arbitration to the building trades council. Some of the delegates in the building trades council at that time—I believe nearly all of them—were in favor of the plan submitted by Mr. Madden; but before the council could adopt it it had to be submitted to the locals affiliated with the council. I do not think there was one trade affiliated with the council that was in favor of the Madden plan of arbitration; they did not want to deviate from the old established plan that had been in existence for years, and that is, whenever there is any difficulty between the employer and the employee in any particular trade, it is the duty of the employer and employee in that trade to get together and arbitrate the differences, whatever they may be. That is why it would be impossible for the building trades council to appoint a committee of five, or any number, for arbitration, on account of its being voted down by the rank and file of the building trades council.

Q. Do I understand that on account of the thirty-four trades being in this building trades council you have no power to arbitrate?—A. No.

Q. Well, then, let me understand how that arbitration can be had. Does it have to be done by each individual trade by itself first?—A. Yes.

Q. And if half of the trades succeeded in arbitrating and adjusting their differences and the other half did not, then it would amount to nothing?—A. It would be impossible for the other half not to adjust their differences. If one-half was successful the other half would have to be successful also, because there would be probably a committee of 3 from both sides, from the employer and employee, and in case they failed to agree they would call in some disinterested party, and his decision would be final.

Q. Then if a large portion of the trades arbitrated, the rest would be compelled to consent; is that the way?—A. They would be compelled to consent, certainly, according to the agreement entered into between employer and employee.

Q. Now, suppose we go back to the agreement that is entered into. Would each one of the 34 trades have something to say in regard to that agreement?—A. No.

Q. Before the arbitration could take place some kind of an agreement for arbitration would, of course, have to be made. Does that have to be agreed upon by each one of the 34 trades in the building trades council?—A. Each individual trade that has an agreement now with the employer has a clause in the agreement which says they shall arbitrate all differences.

Q. I do not understand how that can be made practicable when there are 34 trades all standing or falling together—how you can arbitrate singly. It seems to me you would have to arbitrate collectively.—A. No. They must arbitrate singly before they can bring it into the council at all.

Q. Is that practicable?—A. Yes; always has been.

Q. It is practicable, of course, with each trade. Now, here are 34 in one organization?—A. Yes.

Q. It looks to me as though it were impracticable for the 34, while entirely practicable and feasible for each trade to arbitrate its differences with its employer. What I want to get at is the practical way by which arbitration could be brought about.—A. As I explained before, that is the only practical way I see.

Q. Is that really practicable—for the 34 trades, being in one organization, and each one undertaking to arbitrate separately, and that central organization being so constituted that all will stand or fall together?—A. Whatever agreement the individual trade comes to with the employer is accepted by the council.

Q. That is accepted by the council and by each one as it comes along; but suppose 10 should consent and arbitrate their differences, and the other 24 still might have differences, then what would be the result?—A. Those 10 that have already settled their differences would go to work.

Q. Well, could they go to work?—A. As fast as the others settled theirs they would drop in also.

Q. I may not understand the situation, but if I do understand the situation, if there are 10 trades that are ready to go to work, and there is one trade that has not adjusted its differences with the contractors, and that trade has a part of the building, the building could not go on until that trade also has adjusted its differences.—A. There have been a few cases of that nature, where you might see all trades in the building line working, except one which had not adjusted or

come to any agreement with the employer; and though the employer put people into the building following that trade that had not settled the differences, the building would go right along; there would be no stoppage of that building whatever.

Q. I admire the principle of arbitration that each trade has, and I think it is the true plan of settling difficulties, but from my standpoint it looks as if it was almost impossible to arbitrate where an organization has been made up of these different units, all standing or falling together, unless there were some way by which they could arbitrate the whole difference for all; so with the contractors.—

A. As I said before, that proposition was voted down by the rank and file of the organizations constituting the council. They still want to stick to the old plan of arbitration. Where there are any differences between the employer and the employee, let them get together and settle it.

Q. Would not the most practical way be to arbitrate all differences, taking the building trades council on one side and the building contractors' council on the other side? Is there not a possibility of arbitrating all of the differences so that all could go to work at the same time without any further friction?—A. I do not think so.

Q. Could not be done?—A. I do not think so. I will tell you why. For instance, I do not believe the plumbers would allow me to come in and try to settle their differences, provided they have any, and it is the same way with my own organization—I do not believe the plasterers' organization would allow a plumber to step in.

Q. Is it not possible though for the 34 different trades to agree upon a certain number of men to meet a certain number of men on the other side, and, if necessary, let these men then select another man to adjust all differences that may exist between the two contending parties?—A. I believe that all trades would be willing to do that—appoint a committee of one from each organization affiliated with the council, and let the contractors do the same.

Q. How many different organizations are in the contractors' council?—A. All those in the building line.

Q. Would that be as many as are in the trades, or more?—A. Would not be as many.

Q. Would you ask for a vote for each trade on both sides? That would make more votes for the—

A. (Interrupting.) For the labor men than for the contractors.

Q. Yes, make more votes for the labor men than for the contractors.—A. I do not believe any trade would be willing to give up its vote.

Q. I rather admire the principle of each trade desiring to arbitrate according to its own constitution and rules and regulations, but after getting into this building trades council, in which 34 have gone into one organization, the difficulty that I see is in getting at some plan of arbitration that would be practicable. In other words, as I view it, it looks as though you had placed the whole matter beyond the possibility of being arbitrated.—A. No; as I said before, the most practical way to arbitrate—it is proved—the most practical way that has ever been suggested by anybody, is the plan of arbitration that is now in existence and has been in existence for years.

Q. That is, singly for each one?—A. Yes; and it has been satisfactory to the employers and the employees up to the present time.

Q. I understand that, but I am not able to make out how it can be done under the building trades council.—A. And the contractors' council?

Q. And the contractors' council. That is the trouble. I can understand how each separate trade can arbitrate its differences with the contractors, but now when you have come together and formed an organization by putting the several units together, each unit having a rule of arbitration, I am unable to see how matters can be arbitrated without some agreement to make it more practicable than the way it now stands.—A. I do not believe there would ever be a building trades council in existence if the contractors had lived up to their agreements signed at various times with the journeymen.

Q. Admitting that, here is a lock-out; now, won't there have to be some way of unlocking? It is hardly business-like for both parties to stand out and wait for one side or the other to fall.—A. We are not standing out. We are willing to submit to any feasible plan of arbitration.

Q. If you get a feasible plan of arbitration, one side or the other will probably have to make a start.—A. We have tried to make a start; the individual organizations have tried to make a start.

Q. What was the Madden plan of arbitration?—A. That was that there should be 5 members of the contractors' organization and five members of the building trades council, to arbitrate all differences.

Q. The contractors would select 5 members?—A. Yes.

Q. And the building trades council would select 5 members?—A. Yes.

Q. The 5 members of each to represent all of the different trades of each?—A. Yes, and if they failed to agree then the eleventh man was to have been called in, and his decision to have been final. That was where the kick came from the individual organizations, stating they would not allow somebody to settle their differences that was not a member of their own organization.

Q. In other words, it is setting aside one of the rules and regulations of this one body. Now they have all gone together, and the impracticable part of it, as I see it, is in getting arbitration.—A. I can not see it that way. I can not see anything impracticable about it from my experience and the experience of the labor organizations in this and other cities.

Q. I can see how it is entirely practicable for 1 organization out of the 34 merged together. It seems to be complicated to me. I am not able to see a practicable way of arbitrating it.—A. Well, the other 33 would not interfere with the employer in any way if he would always live up to the agreement signed by the journeymen; it is the breaking of agreements that has caused the trouble between the employer and employee.

Q. Have not the 34 trades that are in the building trades council confidence in each other, all representing of course one cause, substantially, and that is the cause of labor—have not the 34 different trades confidence enough in each other to be able to agree upon 5 men or 10 men who would represent them in arbitration?—A. They might have confidence in the people selected, but the 5 that would be selected probably would not be competent to pass on the difficulty that was up; it might be in some trade they never followed and knew nothing about. After you had appointed that committee they would say, Here is something we do not know anything about; we are not going to act on that committee.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) As a master of convenience and economy in carrying on building operations, the several parts of the work must go on somewhat together?—A. Yes.

Q. Supposing there should be an arbitration between the bricklayers and the master builders, and the bricklayers should go to work. In a day or two it might be necessary to have some carpenter work done, but the carpenters have not come to an understanding with their boss carpenters. Would not that practically render the settlement made by the bricklayers nugatory?—A. No.

Q. They would have to lay off, would they not?—A. No; not unless they put nonunion carpenters in there. The bricklayers would continue work.

Q. It would be necessary to have some carpenter work done at some stage, would it not, so as to have the work done as it ought to be?—A. It might be.

Q. Suppose the bricklayers failed to settle their difficulties, but the carpenters have settled theirs, could the carpenters go on then and put in floor joists and all that sort of thing, unless the brickwork was advanced?—A. Could not go ahead if the brick wasn't up.

Q. Therefore does it not seem rather necessary, as a practical matter, that all the settlements should take place about the same time?—A. Not necessarily so.

Q. They could not work very well, could they, if half of the trades were out and half of them in?—A. No; not very well; but it does not necessarily follow that every organization should settle at the same time.

Q. Not immediately, but very soon.—A. But the journeymen, as I stated before, have been ready and are willing now to arbitrate any differences there may be. The only thing the contractors will do, so I have been informed, is to arbitrate with the individual locals when the Building Trades Council is dissolved. They seem to have a great grudge against the Building Trades Council.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) The effect of the existing arrangement is, in practical operation, that there must be an adjustment of grievances all through the 34 unions, or else building can not be resumed all through.—A. Not with the 34. I will state for my organization that we have no grievance whatever with the employers.

Q. You can not build without the cooperation of these 34 labor organizations. Each branch of building must come under some trade. If that trade has a grievance, that part of the work can not be done. Is not that a fact?—A. Not while the other men are working on the building.

Q. Let us suppose that of the 34 trades 33 have arbitrated their differences, and they are all at work, but the plasterers have not come to an agreement. That building can not be completed, can it, until they do?—A. Oh, yes; it can.

Q. Who will do the plastering?—A. They might get plasterers that were not members of the plasterers' union.

Q. Then would the other 33 labor organizations work on the building?—A. No; they would be off the building before the plasterers got in there.

Q. It would practically suspend operations, would it not? The union men would not work with the nonunion?—A. Providing the nonunion men went in there, the union men would not work with them.

Q. If 33 of the trade unions are working on that building and the plasterers fail to adjust their grievances, the other 33 unions would not consent to the nonunion men doing the plastering, would they? If they did, they would not be standing by the plasterers' union?—A. As I said before, the other trades would not be called off the building unless nonunion plasterers were put in there. If they were not put in there the other 33 trades would go on and build their part of the building.

Q. They could not build it until the plastering was done, could they?—A. Certainly they could; they could build all except the trimming.

Q. It would be rather an unusual proceeding, would it not?—A. Oh, no; it is done in this city.

Q. You could not paint it unless the plastering was done, and could not put on the molding.—A. Oh, yes; you could.

Q. The building could not be occupied, could it?—A. No.

Q. So that it would practically suspend operations on any building?—A. No; it would not.

Q. Suppose the plumbers failed to adjust their grievances, you must stop the building at some time, must you not, until the grievance is adjusted?—A. No. The other trades would go on and finish the building as far as they could.

Q. There is the whole thing in a nut shell; they would go on as far as they could.—A. They could go on and finish the building and not have the plumber working in the building; go on and inclose the building, put the roof on it, and everything else; do all the other work and let the plumber come in, the last trade in the building; put in nonunion men, if they saw fit, and there would be no union men on the job.

Q. Then the painters and decorators would have to come in after the plumbers, and of course they would not work where there were nonunion men working. What I am trying to get at is this: Under this system of individual, separate arbitration by the different trades represented in the trades council, there can really be no complete resumption of building unless every one of them has settled and adjusted its grievances.—A. Oh, there could be a completion.

Q. Well, it would have to be done by nonunion labor, would it not, in that case?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, let us suppose that condition exists, and the contractors then employ nonunion labor to complete the plastering or the plumbing, or the work of whatever trade it may be that has failed to adjust its grievances; what would be the action of the other trade unions with respect to other work in which that same contractor might be engaged? After he had engaged nonunion men would they continue to work for him on some other building?—A. No.

Q. That would suspend all operations by him, would it not?—A. Yes.

Q. So we come back to the original proposition I stated, that to go on and resume work in practice, there must be an adjustment of grievances all along the line, with every trade represented in the trades council.—A. There should be.

Q. And there must be, in order to effect a settlement and get to work and complete it, and have everything harmonious and agreeable. That is the effect of the arrangement?—A. Yes. We have been willing to go along and settle the differences, but when we refused to enter into an agreement with the employers to work for none but members of their association it broke up the trust that was formed between the master masons and the material men. I think that is at the bottom, really, of the whole difficulty at the present time.

Q. Your unions, now, will work for any contractor, whether he is a member of the contractors' union or not?—A. Whether he is a member of the contractors' association or not.

Q. So long as he complies with the union scale of wages and the hours of labor?—A. Yes; that is all we ask of them.

Q. That is what they object to, you say?—A. Yes.

Q. The contractors object to that?—A. Yes; they do.

Q. They insist or request that the labor unions shall only work for members of their organization; is that it?—A. Yes.

Q. You are the head of the building trades council of the city, are you?—A. Yes.

Q. What is the total membership of that organization?—A. I do not believe I could give you the total membership; it is between 50,000 and 60,000.

Q. All the 34?—A. Yes. We have had contractors that were members of the contractors' association, who always employed union men, and were willing to pay union wages and conform to all the rules of the union, and the contractors considered some of them in bad standing because they would not buy material from certain members who were in the material trust. Then they would fall back on the organizations that had their agreements; say, this man is in bad standing with our association, and you people will have to call your men out.

Q. They would demand that you should picket some man whom they did not get along with?—A. Who would not go and buy material from material men they wanted him to buy from.

Q. What you claim is that because of your refusal to cooperate with them along these lines they have instituted this lockout?—A. Lockout, yes.

Q. Do you know of any instances during these strikes and disagreements where members of unions have slugged and beaten nonunion men who were working?—A. No; I do not know of any. I am never around the building where there is a strike.

Q. Have you heard of such cases?—A. I have heard of them; yes.

Q. Do you believe it has been done?—A. I could not say—only what I have read in the papers.

Q. Within your knowledge, do the unions indorse that?—A. No.

Q. Any such thing as that?—A. No.

Q. Do you know of any instance where a member of a union has been suspended, or fined, or expelled, or disciplined for slugging or beating, or interfering by force with nonunion men in the performance of their labor?—A. I do not know of any.

Q. Do you know of any case?—A. No.

Q. Is it against the written rule or any clause of the rules or constitutions of the unions to attempt by force to prevent a nonunion man from performing his work?—A. No.

Q. Is there anything in the constitution and by-laws of the unions or the building trades council bearing upon that subject?—A. No; there is nothing in the building trades council constitution in reference to members of other organizations.

Q. Is there anything bearing upon the subject to which I have just referred?—A. No.

Q. What are the qualifications for admission to the unions?—A. In my own organization a man must serve 4 years' apprenticeship. If he is not a mechanic at the end of the 4 years they will probably give him another year.

Q. Must that 4 years be served within the union or under its jurisdiction, or may it have been served somewhere else?—A. It may have been served somewhere else.

Q. Simply must demonstrate he is a mechanic?—A. A mechanic.

Q. Are men excluded from joining the unions for any cause or reason?—A. During the World's Fair we refused to admit men into our organization because they were not mechanics.

Q. Because they were not skilled mechanics?—A. Yes; they were not able to do a day's work, nor near a day's work.

Q. Are men refused admission to the unions for having at some time been opposed to the unions or spoken against them?—A. No; not to my knowledge. We bar no one from our organization who is a mechanic.

Q. And the unions are entirely open, without restraint, to any man who is a mechanic, without reference to anything else? Is there no bar upon any applicant for membership except that of not being a skilled mechanic?—A. None.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Suppose a man came from a distant city who had violated the rules of a union there, and you knew he was under the ban of that union; even though he were a competent man, would you take that man into membership?—A. We would under certain conditions; yes.

Q. And the ban not removed by the sister union of another city?—A. Might not be able to remove that ban when he strikes another State.

Q. Supposing he had scabbed in Washington and was under the ban of that Washington Union, and then came to Chicago, and you knew of the trouble in Washington, knew he was under the ban in Washington, would you admit that man into the Chicago union?—A. We would under certain conditions.

Q. What are the conditions under which you would admit him?—A. That he would agree to comply with the rules of the Washington organization, whatever they might be.

Q. Suppose the ban were not removed by the Washington union, would you take him in?—A. They would remove that ban, whatever it might be, you know;

would not make any difference; they would not hold it. No organization holds anything against any union man, that I know of, for a lifetime. If any union man violates any of the rules of his organization and is disciplined for it, that is the end of it.

Q. Are there men in your trades who are very notorious as scabs, and who will nevertheless be taken into the union if they promise to reform and observe the rules, etc.?—A. Yes.

Q. No one so vile but he may come back again?—A. That won't be taken in.

Q. And the word scab will never be used in connection with him as a member?—A. I could not answer that. Some people might holler at him, even after he did come in. That has often happened and I suppose always will happen.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) It has been stated by witnesses here, I think, if not it has been by others, that the unions, or at least some of those who represent them, are mixed up in politics. Do you know of prominent representatives of unions who hold what are called political offices?—A. None of them; but I representative of the Building Trades' Council is holding any political office.

Q. One out of the entire council?—A. Two; that is, myself and another individual. The statements that are given out that the walking delegates are holding political offices are untrue. I should not have any objection to furnishing a list of every walking delegate connected with the Building Trades' Council. In the whole list there is only one walking delegate holding a political office.

Q. Will you furnish us that list by to-morrow night?—A. I will if the delegates will agree.

Q. All these matters are entirely within your trade?—A. I am telling you the truth of the matter. There is only 1 walking delegate out of the 34 trades affiliated with the council holding a political job.

Q. You said you were one of them.—A. I said only 1 walking delegate. I am not a walking delegate.

Q. What office do you hold?—A. Civil service commissioner.

Q. Is that a city office?—A. Yes.

Q. What are the duties of that office?—A. To comply with the law that was enacted by the State legislature, to see that all positions in the city government are filled by persons who have been examined by the civil service commission, and who are competent to fill the positions.

Q. That is, you pass upon the qualifications of applicants for positions?—A. Yes; through examinations.

Q. How many members are there in the Building Trades' Council?—A. One hundred and eighty odd delegates.

Q. How are they selected?—A. From the different organizations; so many delegates from each local.

Q. According to the membership of the local?—A. Yes.

Q. Do they receive compensation from the council?—A. No; only 1 officer of the council receives compensation, and that is the secretary.

Q. The business agents are all paid salaries, are they, by their respective local unions?—A. Yes.

Q. Do the unions, as organizations, ever participate in politics?—A. No further than to indorse some candidate.

Q. Do they, as organizations, by resolution in the unions, indorse political candidates?—A. Yes; they do; and condemn some of them, too.

Q. And in the event of a local union passing a resolution indorsing a certain candidate, is it considered binding upon all members of that union to support that candidate?—A. Not binding; no.

Q. Is not binding?—A. No.

Q. Every member is at liberty to go out and vote for whom he pleases after that?—A. Certainly.

Q. Is there any attempt made to punish the political action of the members of the unions?—A. No.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) I have one question. You have written rules and regulations governing the Building Trades' Council, have you?—A. Yes.

Q. Should you have any objection to furnishing the commission with a copy?—A. No, sir; I would not. I will send some around.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) When you had for years in successful operation a plan of arbitration, the Building Trades' Council and the Master Builders' Council and material trades had not been formed, had they?—A. No, sir; they had not.

Q. You think those things rather stand in the way now of successfully carrying out the old plan unless something new is done?—A. Yes.

Q. You think that the building material trust has a tendency to increase the cost of building, do you not?—A. Why, certainly.

Q. And that has a tendency to make trouble and to deprive labor of employment?—A. From our standpoint it has; yes.

Q. Do you think that interferes with the personal liberty of a citizen who may wish to erect a building and purchase his own material?—A. It interferes with him in this way, that he would have to pay so much more for the material than what the contractors could buy it for themselves; say for lime, for instance. If you were putting up a building of your own and went to buy your own material, you would have to pay 20 cents a barrel more on lime and about \$2 a thousand more for brick than what the contractor would have to pay.

Q. He would not, then, have the benefit of competition in the open market?—A. No.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) According to your statement, Mr. Carroll, the building contractors association men are levying tribute upon everybody who wants to build and does not build through their association?—A. They are in the way that I told the chairman.

Q. By that method they seek to compel people to build through them, do they not?—A. Yes.

Q. It has been testified here that the people who sell the material pay this difference into the treasury of the contractors' association. Do you know that that is correct?—A. I do not know it to be a fact, but I have received information several times that the 20 cents on a barrel goes into the pool and is divided up once a month between the contractors; the same way with the brick. Some brickyards on the South Side have been closed down, and the owners of those brickyards have been drawing their \$6,000 a year through the brick trust for keeping their yards closed.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you understand that this material trust, so called, is a local affair?—A. I do not believe it is a local affair.

Q. Have you any knowledge whether it embraces men at a distance from Chicago or not?—A. Not any positive knowledge; no, sir.

Q. Lumber is not grown in Chicago. It is dealt in here. Do you think this material trust embraces lumber manufacturers, say in Wisconsin or Michigan?—A. I have not any positive figures at the present time, but I did have last year on the difference in the price of lumber in November, 1898, and November, 1899. Lumber that you would have paid \$12 a thousand for in 1898 you had to pay \$18 a thousand for in 1899.

Q. But do you know whether the producers of that lumber from the tree are members of this trust?—A. That I can not say.

Q. Do you know whether brickmakers at a long distance from Chicago belong to the trust or not?—A. That I can't say.

Q. Do you know whether granite men or marble men at a long distance from Chicago belong to the trust or not?—A. Well, what I know is the Bedford quarries down here in Indiana where they were selling for 20 cents per cubic foot or 20 cents per linear foot, now I forget which.

Q. Selling what?—A. Bedford stone was reduced to such a price that the small quarry owners in that district could not compete with a certain quarry owner who was pretty well-to-do. The consequence was that the poorer quarry owners had to shut down their quarries, and they filled up with water and other matter that was around. After they were filled up this other gentleman stepped into the market with the Bedford stone at 35 and 40 cents per foot.

Q. Well, is the inference that he belonged to a trust, or only that he was strong enough to compete with the others?—A. No; I won't say it is. It simply showed he was strong enough to freeze out the other small quarry owners.

Q. It may have been bad for them, and it may have been bad for the public, but you do not know it was any feature of the trust?—A. No; I can't say that it was; no, sir.

Q. We should like to find out more about this material trust. I hope that those who have knowledge of it will give it to us. Do you think of any further statement, Mr. Carroll, that you would like to make?—A. No, sir.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 28, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. FRANK M. RYAN,

Bridge and Structural Iron Worker.

The special subcommission met, pursuant to recess, at 2.10 p. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 4 p. m. Mr. Frank M. Ryan, of Chicago, a bridge and structural iron worker, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. Clarke.) Please give your name.—A. Frank M. Ryan.

Q. Post-office address.—A. 187 East Washington street.

Q. Occupation.—A. Bridge and structural iron worker.

Q. Are you employed at the present time?—A. I am employed as a representative of my organization.

Q. What is the name of your organization?—A. The Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

Q. Do you come here to testify with their authority?—A. Yes.

Q. How long has your union been in existence?—A. It was organized in 1890 and reorganized in 1892, and when it was reorganized succeeded in gaining eight hours and joined the Building Trades Council. The wage scale at that time was 31½ cents an hour. In 1893 they increased the wage scale to 37½ cents, and that scale continued until 1895. In 1896 they made a demand for 45 cents and practically controlled the industry in the city so far as the men occupied in that class of work are concerned—and we had a cessation of work, you might call it, for one week. In the meantime we had held conferences with those who are directly interested in that class of work, and compromised on a basis of 41½ cents at the end of the week. The general contractors or largest contractors said that they had not been given sufficient time before the increase or they would have consented to it. It was formally agreed among us that we would remove that cause of complaint. We straightway notified them a month later, that the year following we should ask for 45 cents. It came around in 1897, and they consented to an advance at that time. At that time business was not very good, and I am positive that if it had not been for the organization they could not have attained that scale of wages. Business was practically flat; but they had made the promises the year previous when business was somewhat better and they had to carry them out, with one or two exceptions; they a little later consented. We work under a form of contract or agreement stipulating the number of hours that we work, price per hour, and certain other conditions. One of them is, that we agree with those who sign the agreement that we will not work for others who did not assist to put everybody on the same basis so far as the wage scale and conditions are concerned in that class of work. For the past 2 years we have had very little, if any, difficulty with any contractor. At the present time I have not found anybody that has any complaint or sign of any, but one or two that were made to the press committee of the contractors' organization, and I am satisfied that those two complaints were made to the press committee by one member of the contractors' association only.

Q. What work are your members engaged in?—A. The steel-skeleton structural work for fireproof construction.

Q. That means buildings as well as bridges?—A. And bridges also.

Q. And vessels?—A. No; no vessels. We send men all over this country and Europe, and one man is on his way to Japan to help erect a palace for the Emperor. We have men in South America and Mexico, and 18 men go out to-night at 10 o'clock, up northwest. We have had Chicago contractors take a squad of 30 men to New York City and pay transportation both ways, and pay from 30 to 40 cents an hour more than was paid the same class of men in New York and guarantee to pay their initiation into the New York union. I suppose their reason for doing that is that they get more money on the class of men that we have here.

Q. By reason of their great skill?—A. Skill and ability to do the work. We claim that there are the best men in that line of work centered here in Chicago, better than in any other section of the United States. We have had contractors from all over the United States concede that fact. We have sent men to St. Louis, a squad of 43, and they got the Chicago scale of wages, 45 cents an hour, and transportation both ways. The scale of wages in the same class of work in St. Louis, I believe, is 30 cents.

Q. Does your union belong to the Building Trades Council here?—A. Yes; it is one of the component trades of the Building Trades Council.

Q. Do the contractors who erect these steel frames belong to the builders' general council?—A. Well, a great many of them do; yes.

Q. Has there been a very large growth and development of steel, frame buildings and bridges within the past 5 or 6 years?—A. Yes.

Q. Has that called for the employment of an increased number in your trade?—A. Yes.

Q. Have new men been coming into the trade?—A. Yes.

Q. As the result of that?—A. Yes. I want to say further that while one of our principal objects is to better our wages, we also take care of members when they are injured by accidents. We pay an accident indemnity of \$5 a week, and a death indemnity; and the amount we pay amounts to several thousand dollars a year on accidents alone. We have at present 6 men in the hospital. Two of them were put in there last year, falling off the elevated structure. At the end of 12 weeks,

if a member is unable to resume his occupation, we take up a voluntary subscription on the different jobs. I received to-day by mail \$64 from a point in Iowa where some of our men are working, for one of our members who is now in the Alexian Brothers' Hospital; has been there for 12 weeks. On behalf of this man I waited on a contractor that had employed him for a number of years in our class of work, which is very hard work and very laborious, especially at the pace that they strike here in Chicago. This man was employed for a number of years. He is broken down in health; he is a physical wreck. We are sending men every day out to Arizona; have a large number of our men working out now—I should judge about 60 in all—in Arizona and Montana at different points. It would be the only salvation for him, as one of the physicians of the hospital told me. One member of the firm said he would take it up with his partner. I met his partner later, and he said that the man might just as well die here as die out there—he would die sooner or later anyway; and the man was one of his best employees at one time.

We have never attempted to limit the amount of work a man shall do in a day. We have oftentimes thought it necessary to do it for the reason that while the work is limited, we drive, I should judge, nearly double the amount of rivets in Chicago that they do anywhere else in the country by hand in the amount of hours worked here—8 hours. Now, these contractors, where they have 15 or 20 gangs of riveters, take two of the best gangs out of the outfit, two of the biggest and strongest and most robust fellows, and they give them 25 or 30 cents a day to set the pace for the others, and the others are supposed to keep up and drive the same amount of rivets. The result is that the strongest and most robust of them are not able to stand the pace more than 2 or 3 years, and they are broken down physically; and this man I mentioned is one of them. They post up in the street cars and have published and point out the high scale of wages paid here for our class of work, \$3.60 for 8 hours. They do not say anything about the additional amount of work performed in those 8 hours over the amount done in other points in 10 hours. And it is evident that we do more work and have a better class of men in this instance that I speak of, where they take them out in gangs of 25 and 30 and pay their transportation over the country.

Q. Do you impose any limit on the amount of work that shall be done by one of your members?—A. I stated that we do not, but we have often thought it necessary for the reason stated, that the men are driven by this indirect method to such a hard pace that it is only a question of time when they are broken down physically. That is one of the reasons why the compensation of that labor should be higher here than elsewhere, that a man can set aside a portion of it and guard against the time when he will be physically incapacitated for following that class of work.

Q. You think, then, that the compensation is higher in Chicago than it is in other cities?—A. I know it to be so, and it is brought about by the organization of the men here, and through that means only.

Q. On account of your industry being comparatively new, and there being a great amount of steel-frame construction in other parts of the country, your members who are out of employment here are able to get employment in other places considerably better than they are in the other trades here, are they not?—A. Steel is replacing wood more and more each year. Of course that makes more opportunities for more men, changing the conditions. The electrician has taken the place of the gas fitter. Of course their men are being more employed from year to year. So it is with us; we are replacing the carpenter; when the steel beams come in the carpenter is not employed.

Q. Do you know about how many members of your union are employed in Chicago at the present time?—A. Not a very large per cent of our members employed in the city.

Q. Would more be employed if the present labor difficulties were adjusted?—A. Undoubtedly, undoubtedly; but our organization does not depend altogether on the employment that is given our members in the city of Chicago. They can not build all the bridges in Chicago. As I say, they build them all over the country. A large percentage of our organization are bridge builders.

Q. Are you engaged by contractors who live outside of Chicago?—A. Yes.

Q. Is most of your employment through Chicago contractors?—A. Yes, I should say it is. I have furnished men for Minneapolis firms to build at New Orleans, 80 miles out on a sugar plantation, and they have tried to get men at Minneapolis prices, \$2.50, and we could not furnish them at those figures. We furnished them the men for \$3 a day, transportation both ways. They wanted 12. They took 6, and would have taken more, I suppose, if they could have gotten them at Minneapolis prices. The second day after they arrived there they sent me a telegram

for 6 more men, the same class of men. I do not know whether it was the second day; it was 3 or 4 days later.

Q. Aside from this local interference with business, is the business in your trade generally throughout the country as good as it ever was before?—A. So far as I can hear. We have reports from the Eastern cities. We correspond with our members. We have a large number of members. I spoke of sending the 30 that were taken down by the Chicago firm. Most of them remained in the East. One of the reasons for remaining there was that they do not have to work quite so hard there. They do not have to do the same amount of work in a day that they do here. The Chicago firm would give Chicago men the preference wherever it goes to do its work. They employ the better class of men, so they tell me, and that accounts for a great many of our men remaining in Eastern cities. We carry on a correspondence. They send their dues here in their letters and they give the condition of the trade there. And the latest reports we can get from the East and the southern portion of the country are that the industry is flourishing there.

Q. Is a large quantity of the structural steel upon which you work produced in Chicago?—A. I think the greatest portion of it is from Pittsburg—very little, if any, produced here.

I want to speak a little further about why our organization is beneficial. It is almost absolutely necessary to have an organization in our craft. As to the accidents and the accident indemnities and the treatment usually given the men by the contractors, the contractor considers his duty to an injured employee done when he calls the ambulance to take him to the hospital. Then this walking delegate that is spoken of so much through the press—it is his duty to go and see that he is cared for; if he has a family, he goes and sees that the immediate wants of the family are taken care of, and sees that he is given proper attendance at the hospital or at his home. The contractor relies solely on the casualty company; he carries a policy that insures him against loss through damages recovered for an accident to one of his employees. I have known of cases where that has been carried to this extent: That a man, after he was able to resume his occupation, was, at the request of the casualty company, denied employment, or the firm was discouraged from employing him, until such time as his condition should compel him to make what they called a fair settlement with the casualty company. I had a case over here on this Government building where a member was crippled for life, collar bone broken, right leg broken in two places. One leg is an inch shorter than the other now; a man who was capable of earning \$3.00 every eight hours he worked; one of the best men in his line. He was working on the third floor. There was a derrick on the same floor, a large, heavy boom derrick for hoisting heavy masses of material. Several men were on the derrick and he was driving rivets. That derrick was anchored to the second floor by several strands of wire cable. The cable was made taut by a lever passed through the strands and wound about as a windlass, and the lever was held in place at this time by a manila rope. The manila rope in some manner caught fire; this man called to his companion to go down and put the fire out. The companion not doing as requested, he ran over there and slid down the wire cable, and while he was in the act of putting out the fire with his gloves—the iron workers wear gloves—the rope parted, the lever flew around and struck him in the legs and side and threw him to the basement some 30 or 40 feet below. After he had lain in the hospital four months, and his indemnities had expired, he spoke to the contractor about it, and the contractor told him he had no business to go down there. The local ordinances require that temporary floors be laid to protect the employees. That ordinance was passed at the request of this organization; especially because we have had members that fell as far as six stories. There will be a plank here and there—but when we sought to have it enforced upon the Government, we found that the building ordinances of the city of Chicago did not apply—at least I was told so by the building commissioner. If it could have been made to apply, that man would not have been crippled to-day. He is now in such a condition that he can not earn his livelihood for himself and family. It has come within my knowledge—at one time I was chairman of this board of walking delegates or business agents.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Before you go on there, Mr. Ryan, I should like to ask you the question, why was the city ordinance not enforced?—A. They said that the city ordinance did not apply to the Government.

Q. Oh, the Government building.—A. They claimed jurisdiction to the center of the street, a hundred feet all around that block. We at one time did finally, after the accident, decide to take all our men off the building unless they did comply. There was another strike, you might say, inaugurated. We felt that we were

justified in view of the later facts in regard to how this man has been treated by these people. We felt we should be justified under such circumstances in taking all our men off the building until safety appliances were used. And we have many such cases as that where the business agents of the men, authorized by the men to take action of that kind, are considered arbitrary from the contractors' standpoint. Speaking about the coercion used by labor organizations, sympathetic strikes, etc., I can not see where the sympathetic strike and its effects are any worse than the sympathetic lockout. The contractors are now engaged in a sympathetic lockout, as near as I can understand it. I knew of a case, while I was chairman of this board of business agents, where they sought to use a labor organization to drive a contractor out of business here in the city of Chicago. The man had a contract, employed union men, wished to continue to employ them, and one of the organizations in the council had an agreement with the master masons with this exclusive clause in it which prohibited them from working for any other contractor except a member of their organization. Those contracts never have been approved by the building trades council. They had been tolerated in one instance and another, but no trade, so far as my knowledge goes, that had one of those clauses in the contract had ever submitted it for approval to the building trades council. The hod carriers were instructed by the business agent, I presume, or the executive committee, of the master masons, to call their men away from that contractors' work, and did do it. It was brought to the attention of the representatives of the other trades, and they instructed the business agent of the hod carriers to reinstate his men on that man's work and keep them there until the matter was adjusted. Then they appointed a committee to investigate the matter and see why the master masons saw fit to prohibit these union men from working for this contractor. It was done simply on the ground of his not being eligible to membership in their organization, because he was not a practical mason.

There are several instances of firms and men, all members of their organization, that did not comply with those conditions. This man tendered his initiation fee of \$200. I saw the certified check. They would not accept it. But the men, as I say, were ordered back to their work and continued on the man's job, and, finally—I do not know whether it is through their efforts or not—but the contractor went out of business. I am not one of those who believe that the contractors should not have an organization, but I am one of those who believe that the laboring man should not allow himself to be used to build up those organizations. The labor organizations have been built up through their own efforts—through their own sacrifice of time and money—and it is no more than fair to them that the contractor, if he wants an organization, should build it up for himself. I do not believe that the laboring man should place himself in a position to refuse to work for any contractor who consents to pay the union scale of wages and comply with the union conditions. A man is practically doing that when he agrees to work for a set of contractors as against a certain other contractor or set of contractors.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you believe that each trade should make its own arrangements and agree upon arbitration in case of differences, or should they leave it to other trades to determine the difficulty?—A. I am more familiar with my own organization and its agreement. We have a clause in the agreement which reads that where a dispute arises the labor union, on one side, shall appoint one disinterested party, and the contractor another disinterested party, and if the two can not agree they are to appoint a third, but no definite clause of the agreement is subject to arbitration. It would be the height of folly for a man to enter into a contract or agreement, and then a week later agree not to live up to that agreement, and rescind it, and then seek to get an arbitration about it. But if anything outside of the agreement should come up in the building season that was not clearly set forth in the agreement that would clearly be a subject for arbitration, and in all cases would be arbitrated.

Q. You say your union belongs to the building trades council?—A. Yes.

Q. If you had a difficulty with your contractors, would your union be able to agree with them to arbitrate the existing difficulty and go to work without referring it to the building trades council?—A. Our agreement is still in force and effect, and does not expire until May 1st. Everybody has signed it and everybody has been working under it for two years past, without any complaints that I have heard of. Now, we are expected, and those people are, to live up to that agreement until it has expired. If there are any changes in the agreement that is to go into effect May 1st, which there are, this year, we send them out in January to all the firms who signed the former agreement. If there are any objections to be raised to that we stand ready to meet them at any time and adjust those differences that may be between us. That is the procedure that is

gone through with in our organizations, so far as I am acquainted with their methods.

Q. Do you see any practical difficulty, then, in the way of each trade adjusting its differences irrespective of the other trades and of the Building Trades Council?—A. I can not see any difficulty in the way. I think the only possible way that the present difficulty could be settled, the only fair and just manner in which it could be settled, according to my idea, would be for those who have grievances with particular trades to meet them, the masters to meet the employees, the representatives of those organizations, and seek to adjust those differences. If they do not succeed, then let it be referred to the other trades. There are 34 trades in the council, and an agreement, before it can be enforced, must have the approval of two-thirds of the 34. Now, if it was sought to adjust the present difficulties by arbitration, by the different standing committees or arbitration boards of the different locals meeting the contractors interested in the particular parts of the work; and if, when any one or two or three trades could not agree upon a basis of settlement, those differences were brought before the 34; if the conditions laid down by the trade were thought to be too arbitrary by the other 34, they would soon be made acquainted with the fact, and they would be presented with this condition: If you stand on that proposition, each one considering it fair and right, you must go out singly and fight it out alone. I think when that point was reached a great many of these difficulties would be overcome. That has been the method, and I do not know of a more practical one or a fairer one. Certainly a contractor who is doing steel construction for bridges and buildings knows more about that class of work and its conditions than any other citizen could know. The man who does actually do the work knows what conditions should govern it better than any other class of citizens. When those two people get together and reason the thing out, it is possible that they may not agree. Then it is time enough for a third party to come in. That third party could be interested—he may not be interested in the other trades, as I spoke of, on the one side or on the other. When that plan is carried out, I do not see why the one side can charge the other with unfairness.

Q. Before these central bodies were formed, each trade settled with the contractor without calling in any body?—A. Yes.

Q. Unless they had to call in an umpire?—A. Yes.

Q. In addition to that settlement, the settlement which they agree upon has got to be reported to the central council and approved by two-thirds of it?—A. No; you do not get my idea clearly. When a trade is going about seeking new conditions—now, for instance, our craft expect a raise in wages May 1. The council's rules require that the organization shall submit the new agreement to the council between certain days to get the approval of two-thirds of the trades. It does not say that we shall, but it says agreements must be submitted between, I think, November 1 and May 1—between October 1 and May 1. We submit our agreements; they are voted on by the trades; two-thirds of the trades approving it, it means that we shall get the support of the whole council; in fact, it binds the whole council. We go to the contractors and they do not consent, for some reason, to the provisions of the agreement. Well, we meet them and discuss the matter and arbitrate the matter. We are at liberty to reduce our wage scale or change any conditions in that agreement without the consent of the council, but we can not adopt any higher scale of wages or any other new conditions except those that were laid down in the agreement that was approved by the council.

Q. Is this approval of the council—that is by two-thirds vote of the trades in the council—made before there is an arbitration or settlement between the separate trades and the contractor?—A. Yes. Sometimes it is done in both ways; some trades meet their contractors first and submit the agreement later on, especially a trade which has this exclusive clause in its contract.

Q. Then a separate trade can not conclude an arrangement with a contractor and go to work until it has been acted upon by the council?—A. It has been done.

Q. Is that legitimate; is that one of the rules?—A. I do not consider it so.

Q. Now, I want to ask you about the practical difficulty, as I asked Mr. Carroll. Since all parts of the building should go along somewhat with reference to the other parts, if all the trades were out and part of them came back in through settlement, could they work on until the others got a settlement also?—A. Only on condition that there were no other men doing the other parts of the work. The main, the primary object of unionism is that one man may assist another in his union. They carried that principle out in the union of unions, the central body; that one craft will assist the other as two individuals of the same craft will assist each other, and refuse to work on a job until the union conditions prevail.

Q. To have a settlement that will amount to much it has got to be along the old line, has it not?—A. Yes; for the reason that I should not feel safe in passing the affairs of my organization over into the hands of a paper hanger or a painter that knows nothing of them. While the paper hanger may have his differences to settle, he might be anxious to get back to work and he might be willing to waive a good many important rights in order to do so. And that is why I say, to be fair to the trade, you must meet the representatives of your trade and settle the differences there, if possible. If you can not settle it, then let the differences come before all the trades; and they will soon bring about a right solution of it, and one that will be fair to all concerned. That proposition was open before this lockout occurred; it has been open all the time since, so far as I am able to understand the conditions of the other trades or the stand they take in this matter; and I believe now that the contractors are mainly at fault because of their going out and violating the agreement before the time limited in this agreement. Some of these agreements have 2 years to run yet; some of them have a sliding scale at a certain time 7 or 8 or 9 months later. The scale would be advanced 1 cent or a cent and a half or 2 cents an hour, and the agreement run for possibly 2 or 3 years. They have violated all those agreements, and then they come around and want to arbitrate. They also come out and publish a list of prices in the street cars that they will pay; but as has been stated by Mr. Carroll here, it may be good evidence to the public that they will pay this scale of wages that they print up there, but they can not make the union men believe that they will pay it, because it is only the power that is concentrated in the organizations of 800, 1,000, or 5,000 membership that has kept them paying that scale of wages the past year. At no time have we asked an increase, but it was considered an arbitrary demand by the other side. It is always considered an arbitrary demand to ask for an increase of wages or to better your condition. It was an arbitrary demand when we insisted that the contractors should lay a temporary floor. They consider that it is cheaper to kill a man or cripple him than to protect him. It is, undoubtedly. We have men that are crippled and have families depending on them for support. In fact, our secretary and treasurer is a cripple; lost his limb by falling 5 floors; crippled for life on the Fair building over here; and that man has not been able to get a hearing in court yet, and it is over 3 years ago. They can bring him to a better settlement by starving. We have tried to find employment for him in order that he might support himself and family and not be a charge on the county and citizens here. Our recording secretary is a cripple. He is employed a few hours a week and he gets \$3 a week.

Q. You complain of the law's delay?—A. I do, most assuredly.

Q. Whose fault is it?—A. It is brought about a great deal. I think, by the shrewd attorneys of the casualty companies. I read in the press, that some attorney, who was heard here the other day, said that the judges should always be appointed, and not elected by the people. I should judge he was paying his way for a judgeship. A man who makes a pretty good corporation lawyer in time gets to be a Federal judge. It turns out that way. He is considered a safe man for the position, especially by the corporations.

Q. Is this suit in the Federal courts?—A. No; it has not reached there yet.

Q. Then all the delay thus far is in the State courts?—A. Yes.

Q. Whose judges are elected by the people?—A. It works to the advantage of the casualty company as against the laboring man.

Q. Then you are unable to give the reasons for the delay or to place the blame of it except on the attorneys?—A. Well, I do not know. The law might be remedied in some way. There might be more judges appointed to hurry those cases up.

Q. Have you investigated that part of it?—A. No; I have not.

Q. To know whether there are judges enough or not?—A. No; I only know these cases where these men have not been able to get a hearing in court. I know them to be actual cases.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) If 33 out of the 34 building trades would come to an agreement with the contractors, and the thirty-fourth trade should be the stone masons, for instance, and the stone masons and the contractors are both stiff-necked and would not come to an agreement and would not arbitrate, but continued in a state of war, what would be the result on large buildings; would the other 33 trades be able to go to work in Chicago?—A. They would not work with nonunion stone masons.

Q. Well, then, there is no way of starting it up, is there?—A. Yes, there is a way.

Q. I am saying, if the stone masons in the union are stiff-necked and the contractors are stiff-necked, and they will not get together and arbitrate, what is the

way out for them?—A. I think the other 33 trades would compel the thirty-fourth trade to arbitrate.

Q. Have you any rules?—A. It is one of the fundamental principles of trade unionism to arbitrate. It is, then, certainly safe to say they will enforce it.

Q. I want to find out if it is not absolutely necessary that all must agree in those 34 trades before you can go to work. Take the trade, for instance, that usually starts at the bottom. You can not start until the stone mason does his work on the foundation. Can the other trades go to work unless they came to a settlement with the contractors?—A. I do not see how it would be possible, if a fellow did not lay the stone, to proceed on the building.

Q. Is it not true that all these 34 trades must get together with the contractors and come to an agreement before building can be resumed in Chicago?—A. All those that have differences, yes.

Q. You all have differences, have you not?—A. I have not any.

Q. You are all out, and have not heard of any?—A. No.

Q. What is the lock-out for, then?—A. They are not locking out the iron-workers.

Q. You are not working, are you?—A. No; because the other trades are locked out. We have had opportunities to resume, if we would resume under police protection with nonunion men on the building.

Q. The stone masons are idle?—A. Yes; I guess not all; most of them are.

Q. Now, speaking about your own trade, you say that if you were to come to an agreement with the master builders with whom you do business—if you make a new scale and you agreed to it, and the master builders agreed to it—that scale would have to be submitted to a vote of the other trades in the building trades council?—A. Yes.

Q. For approval or disapproval?—A. First, our demand for a scale; that is the way we as an individual union have been doing. For instance, if our scale now is 45 cents per hour, we are looking for 5 cents per hour raise after May 1, and we do it for the reason that a large percentage of our membership were offered 50 cents an hour last summer. After we decide among ourselves whether we shall seek an advance, we submit it to the central body.

Q. The question whether you shall seek it is submitted to the central body?—A. To see if they are willing to support us in that. Then we send it out, several months in advance of the time that work is to be figured on, to the contractor. If he has any objections and makes them known and wants a conference, we meet with him and see, after we confer with him, whether it would be advisable to demand that increase, and whether he thinks he can concede that increase.

Q. After you have met them in conference and they have agreed to pay you a certain scale after the 1st of May, then must that be submitted to the other trades for approval?—A. No, sir.

Q. Not then?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have got the consent of the other trades before you get together to make the demand for wages?—A. Yes.

Q. And you must make it with certain conditions to be complied with; that is, to get their support in sympathetic strikes, etc?—A. Yes.

Q. But you can be independent and demand it of them without the consent of these other organizations?—A. I could not say that we could legally.

Q. Legally?—A. No, sir.

Q. And keep your standing in the building trades council?—A. No.

Q. Well, then—A. (Interrupting.) Possibly it has been done.

Q. Is not that the old objection to the way the Knights of Labor used to do things, that other trades were interfering in your business and controlling your customs and conditions, etc.?—A. That is governed by the rules of the central body. If there is any difference between two trades that difference must be submitted to a grievance committee, and that grievance committee's report is taken up and acted on, and when that decision is made it is binding on both sides.

Q. The hod carrier, for instance, has a voice in saying whether you, a bridge builder and structural iron worker, shall come forward and demand an advanced scale of wages?—A. Yes; he is directly interested, because we might have to call on him for assistance to enforce that demand later, and we think it fair that he should have a voice in the matter as to what our demand shall be.

Q. Did you ever have an arrangement in Chicago by which an agreement was put in all contracts on public school buildings that none but union labor should be employed in the construction of them?—A. Yes.

Q. How long was that in operation?—A. Several months; I do not know the exact period.

Q. Did you have any trouble while it was in existence; was the work suspended?—A. Very little, if any.

- Q. And no sympathetic strike?—A. No.
- Q. The work was never interrupted on those buildings?—A. Well, it might be; I think it was, a short time, in one particular trade.
- Q. Do they have such a clause in the contracts now?—A. No, sir.
- Q. Why?—A. Declared illegal by the supreme court of the State.
- Q. On what ground?—A. Against public policy, I believe.
- Q. Class legislation?—A. I do not know whether you would put it in that light; yes, I think it was; I have forgotten. I have read the decision over. I was directly interested in that because I was chairman of the committee who sought to have that clause inserted in the contracts. My view of it was this, from my actual knowledge, that 97 or 98 per cent of the men employed on the school buildings were union men, and the delay and loss of time in strikes were caused by the 2 per cent. We thought it would be good public policy for the trustees, or the school board, or the people who were paying out the money, if they would bring it about that union men would be employed exclusively in order to stop the delay to the buildings.
- Q. Do you have such clauses put in contracts at the present time for the construction of any kind of public buildings, State, city, or county?—A. No; I do not know that any are in the contracts. It is the policy of some boards here that none but union men be employed. I do not know how it is brought about. The understanding is brought about in some way with the man who enters into the contract, that there is to be no delay or loss of time on account of strikes. He must comply with union conditions.
- Q. Do you think that such contracts are the result of the influence of organized labor?—A. Yes, I think so; I am satisfied that they are.
- Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) What were the average wages of your men before the organization of your union?—A. Possibly getting about 25 cents an hour, 25 to 27½; that is, in the city.
- Q. How many hours a day were they working?—A. Ten hours.
- Q. How many members have you in the organization now?—A. We have 800 and something over in good standing. We have about 1,000 members on our books; some of them are not in good standing.
- Q. Is it a national organization?—A. No; there is a national, but we do not belong to it.
- Q. You have had no strike, I understand, since the formation of your union?—A. I spoke of one when we first made a demand for 45 cents an hour.
- Q. That lasted about a week?—A. The other trades were not implicated at all. We did not ask anybody to stop in our behalf. We simply stopped ourselves, and we controlled the situation so far as the work was concerned.
- Q. Rather exceptionally situated, are you not, with reference to the work which you do?—A. In what respect?
- Q. In reference to your ability and that of your union to regulate wages and hours, because of the character of the work which you do?—A. The character of the work is the same throughout the country.
- Q. Yes, but the work itself is of such a character?—A. (Interrupting.) It is an extra hazardous occupation.
- Q. That the trade is never oversupplied, is it?—A. No; on account of the rapid substitution of steel for wood.
- Q. And you are very well satisfied with the results which you have obtained from your organization?—A. Well, we are not entirely satisfied.
- Q. You think it has been a great advantage?—A. Yes, a very great advantage.
- Q. You think those advantages would not have accrued except—A. (Interrupting.) Through organization.
- Q. Through the formation of the union?—A. No; I do not think they would. I think the advantage is not only to the union but to the community in which the union is situated.
- Q. On the theory that the more wages you get the more you will spend, and the community will be benefited?—A. Not exactly in that light. A man who is getting a better wage scale, a man who has got an opportunity, is bringing forward a better class of citizens and children, and living better and feeding them better and clothing them better. I said to the school board, there is no use in building very large schoolhouses if the man who is working on those schoolhouses can not get enough compensation to put his children to school and bring them up in enlightenment and education, and I thought it was the duty of the school board, and I did not think it was bad public policy, to go to the extent of putting a union clause in that contract. It did not work a hardship on the non-union men.
- Q. In your judgment the establishment of the 8-hour day has increased the

efficiency of the laborer, and has not resulted in any diminution of the amount of work done?—A. From the evidence given by the contractor himself—the general contractors give it to me many a time and superintendents—there is more work done in 8 hours now than had been formerly done in the 10.

Q. Is that the general result of the adoption of the 8-hour system in other branches of industry?—A. In conversing with the representatives of other trades, I find the same evidence is given.

Q. The 8-hour day is generally opposed by employers of labor, is it not?—A. Yes.

Q. On the other hand, there is a rather general effort being made on the part of the labor men to secure the 8-hour day all over the country, I believe?—A. Yes.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) One of the arguments for the 8-hour day on the part of labor is that it will make more work for those out of employment?—A. Yes; give a greater opportunity for more men.

Q. If you are doing more work than you did in 10 hours, you did not accomplish that result?—A. It would look that way. It happened to be the condition in our particular craft.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Are a very large percentage of the men working in your trade men who formerly followed the sea?—A. Quite a percentage of them.

Q. Were you a seafaring man?—A. No.

Q. Are they peculiarly adapted for this work?—A. Not more so than others; it has not been my experience.

Q. Why are they particularly attracted to it?—A. A greater proportion of them possibly would be adapted to it. Take 10 men who had followed the sea and 10 men who had followed land occupations, and probably the fellows who had followed the sea would be better adapted to climbing up high and climbing around.

Q. Have you any idea what percentage of the bridge and structural ironworkers of Chicago were formerly seamen?—A. No, not the exact per cent; could not say.

Q. Half of them?—A. Well, possibly.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you think of any further statement you wish to make?—A. Yes; I want to say in regard to the proposed wage scale of the contractors; they say they have no objection to the union scale of wages; post it up on the street-car signs. Within the last four hours a man came to me whom they engaged to work as an iron worker at 30 cents an hour; the iron workers' scale is 45.

Q. What do they advertise they will pay?—A. Forty-five cents. It has been our experience all along that the greater number of them will not stand by any proposition; they will not stand by a written agreement; they will not stand by a verbal one, or one posted up. We have not had any difficulty with other trades. It has been my experience, as business agent, that over 90 per cent of the strikes are brought about by such agreements as that. Unless you can get a different class of contractors, men who will stand by their signatures or their word, I do not think it is possible ever to avoid sympathetic strikes.

Q. Do you understand you have a legal cause of action against men who violate their agreements?—A. Let me tell you of an instance where we had a legal cause of action. It was a very small matter so far as dollars and cents were concerned. A contractor working on a large structure employed one of our members to work nights, under an agreement that had been in force for over two years, and which called for double time for night work. He worked this man several hours and wanted to pay him single time. The man came and complained to me as business agent of the organization. This man had violated the agreement; would only pay him single time for night work. I went over and saw the contractor and asked him if that was the case. He said, "Yes; I have a right to enter into any kind of contract I want to with that man." He agreed to do it." He asked me if I considered myself this man's master and him my slave. I did not lose my temper or use any abusive language whatever. I told him he had better consider the matter; that his competitors had lived up to that agreement, and that he had too many men working on that building to afford to have a moment's delay on account of a difficulty so small as that. It only amounted to several dollars in all. He said, "Why don't you go to the courts and collect it?" That might have been a legal way to do it, but it would not have been justice to the man to wait to go through the courts of law and go to the expense of hiring a lawyer.

Q. All that does not cost as much as a strike or a lockout?—A. Do you not think a strike or lockout for that particular object ought to be made costly for that contractor?

Q. Ought to make litigation costly to him?—A. We have to go to the expense at the same time, and the laborer can not afford it.

Q. If you bring a lawsuit to defend a laborer's rights that does not stop work; everything goes right on just the same; and if you bring it to a trial just as soon as you can, have you any fear that you would not get justice?—**A.** Yes, but who is going to recoup him for the expenses—this laborer that worked 6 or 7 hours? Who is going to recoup him for the loss of time and expense of fighting that case in the court?

Q. Would it not be a good use of union money to defend a principle in that way?—**A.** I should not consider it so. We have a shorter method. While it may not be in the legal sense just right, I think in the moral sense it is. The other union men on the job are made acquainted with the fact, and they refuse to continue in the employment of a contractor who would use a man that way. In the first place, he attempted to make that man violate his obligation to his organization.

Q. Very well; that is one method of trying to punish a man for violating his contract; but if there is a legal method, and you have confidence that you could win a case, why not bring a case and try that method?—**A.** Well, we had no damage clause in the contract.

Q. Is there any provision in the Illinois statutes that when a laborer brings suit for his pay and wins the suit the employer must pay the laborer's attorney?—**A.** There may be; I do not know of any; I do not think there is; I think it would be a very liberal provision for the laborers, more so than you would find in most States. It is possible, but I do not think it is probable at all.

Q. Has there been one instance within your knowledge of workmen bringing suits to enforce their rights against contractors who violated their contracts?—**A.** There have been instances brought to me concerning work I have taken part in to file a lien to recover.

Q. That is merely to secure one's pay where the contractor is irresponsible or fails?—**A.** Yes, or where that particular contractor had completed his work on that structure and we had to hold the structure; could not hold the contractor after he was gone. In this particular instance the contractor was gone, and I did not know whether he was going to engage in the business further or not. That was the only method open.

Q. You really sometimes have labor difficulties that are prolonged and distressing without making any previous attempt to get a legal remedy; is that the case?—**A.** Without making an attempt to get a legal remedy?

Q. Yes.—**A.** I do not know of any.

Q. Without appeal to the courts?—**A.** I do not know of any. In the case I spoke of there was no delay to the work; there was no strike.

Q. Well, there would have been a strike?—**A.** If he had not complied with his agreement. He did comply finally. He was given three days to consider the matter. I went to him on two different occasions and was abused on two different occasions by the gentleman.

Q. Of course you bring all pressure to bear by way of persuasion to make a man keep his contract, but if he does not keep it, violates it, and some member of your union suffers from it, why not bring suit against him rather than order a strike? That is what I want to know.—**A.** For instance, he violated his agreement and employed nonunion men, and the work was completed long before you could bring a suit into court; of what use would that be to the organization? That would not build up the organization.

Q. Should you not recover damages?—**A.** I doubt it very much, because there is nothing to bind the agreement; no money consideration.

Q. The man is responsible, is he not?—**A.** I do not know whether he would be considered responsible through signing his name or not.

Q. If he is responsible you can get damages without any money put up to bind the case.—**A.** I did not know that was the case. I have not got the question clear, but I have known of cases where there were no stated damages to be paid over, and if the contract was not complied with you could not recover.

Q. Of course circumstances differ, but, as a rule, do you not know that if a contract in which you have an interest is violated you can sue the man and recover damages?—**A.** Yes; I should think you could under some contracts, under certain conditions, if he is responsible.

Q. Why not consider this matter of resorting to the law for your remedies rather than to strikes and lockouts, which suspend business and cause a great deal of distress?—**A.** Do you think we could have gone to law and got 45 cents an hour if we had started three years ago?

Q. No; the question doesn't have any bearing on that. You form a union, which is all right, and you get your wages advanced, which is all right; but if

they should enter into a contract about those wages and violate the contract, why not sue them?—A. I am afraid we should always be in the courts; we should not make much progress.

Q. Then somebody would be at fault and you would know where to trace that fault, and you would know how to remedy it, perhaps?—A. We claim now we know who is at fault, and we know how to trace them, too; how to make them keep their contracts. If we can not, the organization is of no effect.

Q. You know and have tried one remedy; I am asking you why you do not try another remedy?—A. We never thought of trying that. As the case has been stated to you, do you think any injury was done the contractor in that instance by making him pay the double time he agreed to pay? Do you think he suffered any injury?

Q. I should say if he agreed to pay for double time he should be compelled to pay for it.—A. If we did not take the long course, but took the short one, and the result was the same—we did not make the man suffer—I think from the moral standpoint we were right.

Q. I make no contention that there are not several remedies; I am only asking you if you had considered the legal remedy and tried it to see whether it is effectual or not?—A. We have not tried it; the unnecessary expense—we should look at it in that way; the matter being so small we depended upon the honor and principle involved. If he was a man of honor and principle he should have paid that money without any hesitation.

Q. Have you any further statement?—A. I want to make a statement in regard to the different combinations that have been formed here—sought to be—in years passed. I want to say that our organization has been sought after for three years to get it into a combination here, in what is known as the Iron League—architectural foundrymen's association. At that time our wage scale was 41½ cents an hour. Provided we would work for their association to the exclusion of all others—and some of the others are in this combination, in this contractors' association at the present time; both of them, I understand, are members of the contractors' association at the present time—they offered us a three-year contract, to give us 42½, 45 the second year, and 50 the third, providing we would not handle any material except what bore the stamp of their organization; if we would not set material for any other contractor outside of their combination. We found that if we did that we should have to turn down a number of people who had been dealing fairly with us for several years—general contractors who are now members of the contractors' association. We believed the principle was wrong, and did not enter into it. I know they made a further offer along those lines; tried to get the Western agency of Carnegie's products in this territory, and through that method to drive the general contractor out of the business of setting structural iron. That also failed.

I want to say also they would have used any method to bring that about. They attacked us from another point, and tried to show us that the architects were giving them their moral support to bring about the results they sought by giving them the exclusive right to set structural steel and iron in the city of Chicago, and exclude others.

I know of another case where an organization had entered into that contract with this combination, and a building was being erected on the West Side, the owner of which wanted union men; had provided for it. The contractor who got the iron work did not belong to this iron league. They used influence on the organization to keep them from furnishing men. We set the structural iron on the work under union conditions. The balance of the work was delayed, I think, for nearly 2 months, until the league and this labor organization got into a dispute and brought about a lockout. Then this labor organization furnished the men to do this work. It amounted to 3 or 4 days' work only for 2 or 4 men. That firm had its headquarters outside of the city of Chicago. I saw in the press that they entered suit for \$50,000 damages, but I do not know whether it has ever been brought into the court or not. It simply shows that an effort was made at that time to control a particular part of the business.

Q. You do not believe in a material trust, then?—A. No.

Q. As being a public benefit in any way?—A. I do not believe in it to the extent that I would help to build one up. I do not believe it is right to class a labor organization as a trust. I think it is a benefit, for its benefits are universally distributed. Even the nonunion man receives benefits.

Q. Is this iron league still in existence here?—A. I believe it is.

Q. You do not know how it is made up, do you; who its members are?—A. Its members are owners of the different foundries around the city.

Q. All of them?—A. Nearly all. I should judge they have nearly all of them in.

I know several of them they tried to drive in for several years and finally got them. One of the members came to me to-day and said he would be willing to employ my men if the league would let him do it, but he is under penalty of a \$500 fine. The work is ready.

Q. This iron league includes contractors for iron and steel work?—A. Cast-iron and steel work.

Q. Does it embrace the manufacturers of iron and steel also?—A. Yes, that is what they are—the manufacturers.

Q. Does the Illinois Steel Works belong to it?—A. No, I think not, unless they joined recently. They were approached in the matter, I was informed by the manager, at one time.

Q. Is it a local affair or is it general?—A. They tried to make it general.

Q. Do you know whether the Pittsburg makers of the iron your men work on belong to it or not?—A. No; I do not know that. They tried to make it general in this way, as the statement was made to me by their representative: That they would seek to control the raw material; that is, the beams, without the shop work being done for this territory; have a central point here in Chicago, one on the Pacific coast, and one in the East, and as a result of these combinations of manufacturers nobody would be able to purchase material outside of the combinations except at an increased cost. That would drive them out of business.

Q. Do you know whether they were able to effect any such arrangement or not?—A. The last I knew of it they had failed in bringing that about. They failed for this reason, as stated to me: One of the firms of large general contractors who were setting that class of material was able to show the Carnegie people that they handled more tonnage than the whole combination did in one year; their individual firm. That was one of the reasons, I believe, that the Carnegie people did not feel like excluding this one firm for the benefit of the others at this time; a matter of business policy with them, I suppose.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 29, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. ROBERT RYAN,

Manufacturer of mining machinery, Chicago.

The special subcommission met in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, at 10 a. m., March 29, 1900, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 11.20 a. m. Mr. Robert Ryan was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please state your full name.—A. Robert Ryan.

Q. Your post-office address?—A. My business address is No. 2638 Shields avenue. I am secretary and general manager of the Morgan-Gardner Electrical Company.

Q. Have you been in that position long?—A. My present engagement extends over 5 years.

Q. Are you able to give us an account of the development of electricity in various lines in Chicago?—A. No, not in various lines. I am confined exclusively to the bituminous coal fields. Our product does not go outside. We manufacture machinery for that particular business, mining bituminous coal. We do not go into the metal field or even into the anthracite field.

Q. How long since electrical machinery has been used in bituminous coal mining?—A. About 18 years since the first introduction of it. However, the general adoption of machinery for mining bituminous coal has only been made during the last 4 or 5 years.

Q. What was it used for, to what extent?—A. The machines are an invention peculiar to the business. The machine is made to undercut, what is termed undercutting in mining phraseology. They take the place of the pick mines.

Q. Won't you make it plain, so that the average layman outside of a mine will know just what it does?—A. To illustrate, we make a machine with an endless chain revolving in this direction (right to left). In the chain there are steel bits set in four different directions, so that while the link of the chain is only an inch and a quarter, the curb that it cuts is 4 inches deep. This machine is made on a sliding frame—run in and run up to the face of the room. All mines are done off in rooms similar to this. This machine is put up to the face of the room in the corner and the electricity turned on. This electricity is carried to the machine through the regular sources—copper-wire transmission from the dynamo on the

outside in the power house. The operator turns his switch and the machine starts and the frame slides in. The rule for mining is to undercut the same distance as the height of the coal. If the coal is 5 feet high, the undercut is 5 feet. We make machines for 5, 6, and 7 feet for practical, every-day use, and then we make some shorter for low veins. When it has made a cut, it backs out and is barred the width of itself, and it makes another cut and backs out, and so on clear across the room, and then the machine is loaded on a truck that goes with it and hauled to another room in another part of the mine perhaps. The "shooter"—the man who shoots down the coal—comes in after the machine has left the room. He drills his holes and puts in his shot and shoots the coal down into the room. Then the loader comes in after he goes away, and loads the coal into pit wagons and it is taken out. We manufacture the dynamos that furnish this power, and manufacture the machines, and also manufacture the haulage motors which haul the coal into the main entry. It is a rail return system—the same as the street-car system. They are made of different sizes—run from 2½ to 20 tons in weight.

Q. How extensive has been the introduction of your machinery in the bituminous coal mines of the country?—A. The expense of the introduction on the part of our company was probably as expensive as any.

Q. I did not say expense; I said how extensive.—A. Well, it has come to a point where the machines must be in the mines; they must have them in the mines in order to compete in the market. I should say, in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, that two-thirds of the mines are equipped either with electricity or compressed-air machines. I am not familiar with the compressed-air machinery. We do not manufacture it. In Illinois, perhaps, there are one-third of the mines equipped with some kind of machinery for mining. In the Western States there are fewer mines equipped. The difficult conditions, the natural conditions, do not permit of the introduction of machinery into all sections of the country.

Q. Have they displaced a good many miners?—A. I do not think they have. They have displaced a great many picks, but the same men can take the shovel and load after the machines. It requires more loaders than the pick mining, and substantially the same number of men can be employed in the mine.

Q. How much do they increase the output of a mine?—A. That depends upon the conditions of the coal. Some mines are very free from sulphur and other impurities. Probably a machine would undercut as much coal as 15 miners in a day.

Q. How many hands do you employ in your shops in Chicago?—A. One hundred and twenty-six.

Q. Have you had any labor difficulties?—A. Yes.

Q. Lately?—A. Yes?

Q. Compromise?—A. Yes.

Q. On what basis?—A. Our men went out; 54 of them went out on strike on the 23d of February and we got them back on the 19th of the present month. We made a contract and agreement with the men which covered substantially the same agreement, the same methods, the same rules, that we always had in our shops. We never did have a written agreement with our men until the present time.

Q. Do you make this agreement with each individual man, or with the shop committee?—A. With a committee of the men, of our employees.

Q. Have the men all signed it?—A. No, the men have not. The committee signed it for them. They are all back.

Q. They are contented and doing well now, as far as you know?—A. Apparently so.

Q. And you are—A. (Interrupting.) Perfectly satisfied; very much delighted to get them back.

Q. Is there anything new in your method that you can commend to other manufacturers?—A. No; I do not know that there is. I am a mechanic myself, and when I worked at my trade I never saw that it was for my interest to belong to any union. I could usually negotiate with my employer direct. I have not had a great deal of trouble in approaching him. I have been insulted and borne with a great deal of what I call snubbing from my employers, people for whom I have worked. Uniformly I got along very nicely with them, and probably got paid for all I did. When I became an employer I determined that no man should work for me that I could not take by the hand and call my equal in some respects, and I have made it a rule during my experience as an employer during the last 25 years to meet my employees at all times; no matter when or how they came to me, I met them. If I have a business engagement I defer it. I meet my employees, and I give them good salaries; I pay them well; I do not want a man around me who feels that he is underpaid. He is not a good man;

he is not a cheap man. Then I have no men that I know of who do not try to render me an equivalent for the money that I pay them. I do not allow any drunkenness, do not allow any beer carried into the place, and I try to make the sanitary condition of my factory as good as possible, and the light, and put the machines where they are as pleasant as possible for the men, and give them a chance to do their work as easily as they can. At the same time I insist upon a day's work for my money. By reason of that kind of treatment I think we had an advantage with our organization when it came to negotiating at the present time, during this present strike. I was attached to the men; they were attached to me; some of them had been there—in fact more than half of them—ever since I have been there as manager, and I had no difficulty whatever in arranging, excepting the recognition of the union; that I barred out; I would not recognize it in the negotiations. I am not opposed to unions. I do not want to go on record in that way, but I am opposed to some of their methods, and I will not permit them to be forced into my factory. As an offset against that I have made some concessions to our men in other directions.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Are the men who went out on strike not members of the union?—A. My impression is that they are. I did not ask them any questions about that, whether union or not. I assume that they are.

Q. You say you barred the union; what do you mean by that?—A. I mean in the negotiations.

Q. You recognized a committee from the men?—A. From our own employees.

Q. They settled it for them?—A. For the employees.

Q. Do you not in a sense recognize a union, then, a union of the men?—A. Decidedly. Perhaps I dealt with union men. I knew I was dealing with union men.

Q. Then if they were not members of a particular union, they were acting in union and sending a committee that was representative of the union of the men?—A. I understand it that way.

Q. I mean, acting in union, did they not, and selected a committee with which you negotiated?—A. They selected a committee from the employees; whether they were union men or not, I did not ask them.

Q. I am not saying they belonged to the machinists' union, but that they were a union in their action, and you in that sense recognized them?—A. Oh, yes. As I explained, I always tried to meet the men in the shop.

Q. You spoke about receiving what might be called brutal treatment from employers yourself in times gone by. Do you believe if the men were united, thoroughly bound together, to resist abuses and better their conditions, they would have less of this abuse to suffer at the hands of the employers?—A. I think that depends upon the methods they adopt to bring about the result. I believe that if the employer and the employee were brought closer together, they would have no trouble in adjusting any difficulty that might arise. The American mechanic is not an ignoramus. He is an intelligent man, and he wants to live right, and when he is treated right, he is an easy man to get along with.

Q. If most employers were such employers as those you spoke about, who had snubbed you and treated you contemptuously, don't you think it would be to the advantage of the men to organize to deal with such employers?—A. Yes; I believe it would be to their advantage; I believe it is to their advantage. At the same time, there are different methods to be employed in getting at those employers. A conciliatory way is much better than any other for any two men, any bodies of men, to get together.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) How long were you a mechanic before you became an employer?—A. I learned my trade when I was 14 years old, and I became an employer when I was thirty, and I am now 50.

Q. You have been employing men 20 years?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you close competition in your business?—A. There are only three of us in the business—three factories that are what you might call regularly in the business.

Q. Then the competition is not as close in your line of work as it is in some others?—A. I think not.

Q. That affords you some advantage, does it not, in conducting your enterprise?—A. Yes.

Q. And enables you to be more liberal with your employees than you might possibly be otherwise?—A. That is true.

Q. What wages are you paying now under your agreement?—A. Just the same as we paid before.

Q. What is that, please?—A. The average wage in our shop is \$2.28. That includes the laborers—the entire shop, the average of 126 men.

Q. Your recent trouble was only with the mechanics, skilled men?—A. With the machinists; and a great many of our apprentices, or what we call our handy men, went out with them. There were only 27 of what you might call actual machinists that went out.

Q. What are the hours of labor under the arrangement?—A. We have not settled that. They left that with me. We are working 9 hours. I am an 8-hour man myself. I believe in 8 hours.

Q. From your experience do you believe you can get better services out of the men in an 8-hour day, more work in proportion?—A. Yes, I believe so. I believe it would be for the interest of the manufacturer as well as the mechanic.

Q. You think it would afford the men themselves better opportunities for self-culture and for rest?—A. Yes, I have always been a believer. When I worked at my trade, I worked twelve hours; and I heard just the same talk when the 10-hour day was instituted as I do now when the 9-hour day is talked of—the same thing. Business was going to be ruined. But as a matter of fact, the inventions that have been made, the machinery that has been put into shops, has made it possible for manufacturers to reduce their hours and still make as much money as they did formerly in longer working hours. If a mechanic is an honest man and does an honest day's work, 8 hours is long enough for him.

Q. Do you think the introduction of machinery has changed the character of the work so that it is harder on the workman from the mental standpoint than it formerly was when he worked wholly with his hands? In other words, do you think it creates a greater nervous and mental strain on a working man?—A. Yes; I think he must be a better educated man. To-day in shops everything is done from drawings, blue prints handed to the workmen; whereas in former years, when I was an apprentice, the foreman of the shop usually showed me what he wanted me to do, and I was not required to study it out myself.

Q. Do you think that the strain on a mechanic in these days who works with machinery is greater than it was when he formerly did the work with his hands?—A. No, I think it is easier.

Q. You think it requires closer attention?—A. As I said before, he must be a better educated man; he must understand the machine he is handling; whereas in former days when there was less machinery there was more work with the hands. Now the machinery takes the place of that.

Q. In former days the man doing the work himself could stop, could rest, could lie around; he was not compelled to concentrate his thought and his attention upon the work and the machine constantly as he is now?—A. I don't know about that; I don't think that applies. The modern machine is so constructed that a man can sit down. We have men in our shop who sit down more than half the time, and all they have to do is to see that the tools in the machine are sharp. They really do no work during the day.

Q. Your opinion is that if employers generally will treat the men fairly and in a candid, open, and liberal manner, there will be no difficulty in adjusting these labor difficulties?—A. Provided the workman treats the employer in like manner.

Q. You do not object to labor unions as such?—A. Not at all.

Q. Do you believe they ought to organize into unions for their protection?—A. Not as against the employer. I hardly think it is necessary. I want to qualify that by saying, just as I stated before, I believe the unions to be a good thing for the men who honestly live up to just what they ought to live up to, notwithstanding the union. The methods adopted by the unions, some of them, are of course not only ridiculous, but they are very distasteful to say the least.

Q. Do you object to stating what methods in particular you find fault with?—A. I find fault with the picketing practice in the case of strikes. I find fault with the interruption of business relations that the employer might have between himself and other men who might want to go to work. I object to slugging. I object strenuously to a man's being beaten because he wants to go to work. I have no objection to a man's urging another man to join a union, and using all the moral suasion he possibly can, but I do object to violence, and I object to the union fining its own members. A man happens to be called upon by the employer to do something outside of what might be set down as his work, and the union fines him; they charge up a fine against him of \$100, we will say. They know that the man can not pay that. Then because he does not pay it they follow him through life and oppress and persecute him. I can not see any justice in that.

Q. What you object to, then, is the use of force, forceful coercion, either to compel them to join a union, or to compel them to desist from work?—A. Yes. There are many men who would join the union if they were able. They would make application for a job at a shop. I have had that experience. They have come to our place, in other positions where I have been—not in this position

where I am now—I have had them come to the shop where I have been employed, and they really could not join the union because they did not have the means; could not pay their initiation, perhaps.

Q. Do you know what the initiation in the union is?—A. No; I do not. I have been told, but I have forgotten.

Q. From your observation, do the unions, as a rule, resort to force in case of strikes?—A. I have to say of the machinists' union, during this present strike, that I have no knowledge of any force or any lawlessness on their part.

Q. Have they picketed nonunion shops?—A. They have picketed all shops. They picketed our shops, but the pickets were orderly. They did not interfere with us in any way.

Q. What do these pickets do?—A. They stop men who are going into the shop and ask them if they are machinists, and if they are not machinists they pass on. If they are, they try to dissuade them from going in.

Q. And persuade them to join the union?—A. I expect so. I expect that is it.

Q. You do not know of any cases of slugging or beating of nonunion men by union men?—A. Machinists?

Q. Yes.—A. I only know what I have seen in the papers.

Q. Do you know as to the unions in general, whether they indulge in that sort of thing to prevent nonunion men from working?—A. I know they have done it. As I stated before, in this machinists' strike at the present time, in which we are interested, I have seen no lawlessness at all. At our place we were policed. We did not ask for any police protection, but it was sent there. The officers were sent and placed there. They had nothing to do. They helped me in making my negotiations with the men; entered into a deal with them which required 2 hours of my time each day for nearly 2 weeks before we got both sides satisfied.

Q. Did the men in your case demand that you should employ none but union labor?—A. At first.

Q. That you refused?—A. Yes.

Q. You are now at liberty to employ union or nonunion men as you please?—A. Yes.

Q. But you are bound to pay a given rate of wages to all your employees?—A. A minimum to the machinists.

Q. Have you the right to discharge whom you please?—A. Yes, and hire whom we please. But I want to say I have now made it a rule to have a committee in the shop, without reference to their union; have now a shop committee, representing each department in the business; and when I want a man I ask that committee to furnish the man. It is self interest. They will furnish me a man that they know, and that they can help along.

Q. Is not that practically what the labor unions do—furnish a man, and a good man?—A. Yes, that is what they profess to do, and in that respect I agree with them.

Q. Have you had any experience with interference by business agents of unions in your works?—A. Not except just before the strike. I met a couple of the walking delegates, or business agents.

Q. Are they unpleasant in their manner?—A. No, they were not to me. They were perfect gentlemen.

Q. What in your judgment should be the limitations upon a union, as to what it might legitimately and reasonably do in the interest of labor, in its own interest?—A. Their activity should be confined to the enlightenment of their members and their mutual benefit in the way of education, honesty, and sobriety. Then I have an idea that they could gather into their fold every workman, because the employer would know that he would get an honest man, and there would be no interference with the transaction of his business. It is absurd to suppose that a man who works 8 or 10 hours a day at a machine knows, could know, exactly what the requirements of a business might be, outside of what he is working at; and it is equally absurd for him to undertake to manage that business. They should not attempt that. The business agent, if he represents the union, should represent them as one business man may represent a dozen business interests. He should not expect, he should not demand that a concern employing men should make unreasonable sacrifices. On the other hand, the employer should concede to the union, or to any organization of labor, a reasonable hearing at all times, and it would be but a short time before they come together, in my judgment.

Q. Should the unions make it their business to secure better wages and shorter hours of labor as a part of their legitimate functions?—A. Yes; and I think in this way they would get it quicker than in any other way.

Q. Is it really not one of the professed objects of labor unions to improve the

moral character of their membership and to eliminate unskilled labor, where it is an organization of skilled labor, and to guarantee its membership in the trade which they profess, and generally to furnish the certificate of capability to the employer of men from that particular union?—A. I understand that is a part of their profession; in fact I know it, from reading their by-laws.

Q. In your judgment, could the labor interests of the country protect themselves against the employers efficiently except through their organization?—A. Yes; I think so.

Q. Would they not be completely at the mercy of the employers if they had no organizations so that they could move together?—A. I think they would suffer a great deal of abuse at the hands of some employers who are unscrupulous and unreasonable.

Q. It is in view of that that I apprehend organized labor is effective. If all employers were liberal and just and willing to pay a fair wage rate and to make proper and necessary sanitary arrangements for the health and comfort and safety of their employees, as you do, there would probably be no necessity for organization, being no necessity for disputes?—A. I think so.

Q. But as there are employers not built on that plan, how can the employees, the laboring men, protect themselves except through organization and concerted and united action? Is it possible for them to do it?—A. I said that I thought it would be possible they would suffer, as a great many of us did before there were unions. I think that through the union they can accomplish more. Of course they can accomplish more by being banded together than they could singly.

Q. Do you think that the union results in forcing an incompetent man upon an employer?—A. In some cases I do.

Q. The formation of a union, you believe, is in a large measure calculated to level men without regard to their real capacity and skill?—A. I think that in practice, yes; in theory the unions profess to furnish the very best. I will say this, the union men I have in my employ to-day are the best mechanics I have; those that I assume are union men.

Q. Well, that would seem to speak very well for the union in that respect.—A. Yes.

Q. What, in your judgment, is the relative condition of workmen in general to-day as compared with 20 years ago when you were working? I speak of their moral, social, intellectual, and financial condition.—A. I could not speak for all classes of mechanics.

Q. Speaking generally, as the situation appears to you after these years have passed.—A. I think we have a better educated class of mechanics than we had at that time. I hardly think that they are morally as elevated as they were then. Mechanics were more simple at that time, and they were taught at home some things that they know too much to think of to-day—that is, they don't think it necessary to know it, and I hardly think that as a rule they are as honest as they were in rendering a day's work for a day's wage.

Q. Are they further advanced intellectually now, do you think?—A. Yes, I think so.

Q. They are more intelligent now than they were then?—A. Yes, I think so.

Q. Do they get bigger wages or smaller wages?—A. Greater, a great deal; more than double.

Q. They are better off, then, from the worldly standard, are they; living better?—A. Living better.

Q. Wear better clothes?—A. Wear better clothes, and they are better situated.

Q. Work less hours?—A. Work less hours, yes.

Q. And get higher wages?—A. Get higher wages, yes.

Q. Do you have a pessimistic view of the future of the laboring man?—A. No, not at all.

Q. Think the situation is advancing for them?—A. Yes, there is no question about it at all.

Q. Do you think there is danger of their being reduced to slavery?—A. Not at all; don't think anything of that kind. I have too much faith in the intelligence of the American people for anything of that kind.

Q. How much of this improved condition, in your judgment, is due to the organization of the men for mutual protection?—A. Pretty hard to say that, to discriminate as between the organization and the natural progress that is being made in the country.

Q. Are not the labor unions stronger and more perfectly organized to-day than they ever were in the history of the country, or the world, in fact?—A. So far as I know, yes.

Q. You would suppose this is due to the increased intelligence of the laboring men, better knowledge of their own wants?—A. I could not say that.

Q. It would seem that that would be the case?—A. It would seem that it had a great deal to do with it.

Q. Then, as intelligence advances among laboring men, it would seem unionism advances; that they seem to be impressed with the necessity of organization for their own protection. That would seem to be the logical deduction from the situation?—A. Yes. Whether that is a natural condition, or something that is forced upon them, I am not prepared to say.

Q. You believe that the labor organizations of the country would prosper more, would possess greater influence, if they would pursue a less radical policy, and if they would desist entirely from the use of force in their difficulties with employers?—A. Yes; I have an idea that they should desist.

Q. Do you think that their organizations could be made as effective if they relied solely upon moral suasion and kept strictly within the limits of the law?—A. Moral suasion and the business interests of their employers would have a tendency to benefit the men and make a better feeling, and the men would feel better when they went back to work. After a strike there is a long time when the men are not satisfied, and the employer is not satisfied with his men. He says to himself, Well, now, here is John; he was prominent in that strike; I am going to get rid of him as quick as I can. He gives his superintendent orders to get rid of him: "Get rid of that fellow." On the other hand, the man who is working, if you speak to him he feels like a dog who has been whipped, and he wants to bite for a long time. It takes a long time to settle these things.

Q. Is there an apprehension in the minds of employers of labor with reference to unions as to what they may do from the coercive standpoint?—A. I don't think so.

Q. You don't think employers fear results to property, or the like?—A. No; I don't think they do. I think employers deplore the condition, but I have not heard any of them state that they were fearful.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Is your business prosperous at the present time?—A. Yes.

Q. Are you enjoying an unusual degree of prosperity?—A. No.

Q. Is there not more coal mining in the State of Illinois and what they call the four competitive States than at any previous time?—A. Yes; I think there is; I think there is more coal mining.

Q. Would not that create a greater demand for your machinery?—A. Speaking personally, I would state to you that we have always been very busy.

Q. All you can do?—A. All we can do.

Q. Running to your full capacity all the while?—A. Yes.

Q. Did the men, when they struck on you, take advantage of any unusual condition in your trade, thinking thereby they could force you to terms?—A. No; I don't think so. I think our men struck because they wanted a recognition of the union; they wanted to help people who were not as well situated as they were. As a matter of fact, that is what I learned. I did not get that direct from our men, but I think it is a fact.

Q. You say your machinery goes only into the bituminous fields?—A. Yes.
(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 29, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. ENOS M. BARTON.

President of the Western Electric Company.

The special subcommission met at 10.05 a. m., Mr. Clark presiding. At 12.10 p. m. Mr. Enos M. Barton, of Chicago, president of the Western Electric Company, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. Enos M. Barton.

Q. Post-office address.—A. Clinton and Congress streets, Chicago.

Q. Occupation.—A. President of the Western Electric Company.

Q. How long has that company been established here?—A. More than 25 years; not always under the same name, but practically the same.

Q. Do you manufacture electrical machines for various uses?—A. Yes.

Q. For nearly all purposes for which electricity is employed?—A. For a great many purposes for which electricity is employed.

Q. How many hands have you employed here?—A. In Chicago 5,200 or 5,300 as a maximum.

Q. Are you running now?—A. Yes, we are.

Q. Have you been running steadily?—A. We have.

Q. Have you had any labor difficulties?—A. Some difficulties. Our machinists have created some difficulty.

Q. Lately?—A. From November. I will give you a somewhat extended answer, if you please. From November until the latter part of February representatives of the different labor unions that were represented in our works from time to time demanded that we make our shop a union shop, and that we employ only union men for the work in their respective trades. We refused to do this, and on the 22d of February a considerable portion of our workmen, who would be classes, as machinists, struck work because we would not recognize the union by agreeing to employ only union men in their trade. No grievance was alleged and no other demand than this was made.

Q. We shall be glad to have you go on in your own way, and state what you wish concerning the industrial conditions here from the standpoint of your industry.—A. For more than 5 years past the working hours in our factories have been, in the men's department, 56 hours per week in the winter, and 52½ in the summer. During the calendar year 1899, the total running time of the factory was 2,788½ hours. This is an aggregate for the year of 34½ hours more than the aggregate would have been at 9 hours per day for all the working days. For 15 years the limit has been 9½ hours for the men. In the women's department the regular working time is 53 per week in winter, and 49½ hours per week in the summer. During the year 1899 the working time for women was 2,645½ hours. The 9-hour day would have been 2,754 hours, so that the women worked considerably less than 9 hours a day, and the men a trifle over during the working days of the calendar year. There was no grievance with respect to hours or wages or general conditions. We pay off weekly in cash. The number of machinists who quit work on the 22d of February was 214. That is the number who quit work in the department where our machinists were employed. Of these, 129 were qualified machinists or tool makers, and the rest were jobbers, helpers, or learners. The competent machinists who quit work had received wages since the 1st of January at the following rates: Two at more than 50 cents an hour; 8 at between 40 and 50 cents per hour; 4 at between 35 and 40 cents per hour; 9 at between 30 and 35 cents per hour; 17 at between 28 and 30 cents per hour; and 47 at 26½ cents per hour. The helpers and apprentices were receiving all the way from 28 cents an hour down to 10 cents an hour. The largest number received about 25 cents an hour, only 4 receiving between 10 and 12 cents an hour. This statement is made up from a list of all the names, which list I have here, but I will not burden your records with it unless you desire. The tool makers had received wages since the 1st of January, averaging as follows: Twelve had averaged between 35 and 37½ cents per hour; 19 between 32 and 35 cents; and 13 between 29½ and 32 cents. The apprentices and helpers in this department received between 28 cents and 18 cents an hour, mostly at the higher rate, only 2 being paid at a rate below 22 cents an hour. The machinists and tool makers who stayed at work were receiving the same wages as the men who quit; that is to say, a comparison of the wages shows the identity there. There was no choice that could be made between the men that quit and the men that stayed, with respect to their wages or their skill. After the machinists had been out about three weeks, the men working in the brass foundry, and the buffers, polishers, and platers, through their representatives, demanded that we should recognize the union by giving preference to members of the union in our employment of labor. This we refused to do, and the same day all of our brass molders and nearly all of our buffers, polishers, and platers quit work. The wages earned by the brass molders since the 1st of January were as follows: Seven had earned 31½ cents per hour, eight 29½ cents, and five 26½ cents. All of these are actual calculations of the wages paid to each man from the 1st of January until they quit work. There were three helpers and apprentices who quit work in the brass foundry who had received respectively 21 cents, 16 cents, and 12½ cents per hour since the 1st of January. The wages of the buffers, platers, and polishers who quit work had been as follows: Two had received 35 cents an hour, nine between 30 and 35 cents, two between 27 and 30 cents, nine between 25 and 27 cents, and sixteen between 23½ and 25 cents. The jobbers, helpers, and learners in that department had received—five between 20 and 25½, three between 17 and 20, and nine between 10½ and 15 cents per hour. This strike included 78 men, and the business agents of the two unions that were represented said that the strike was in sympathy with the machinists' strike, and that their union had no grievance whatever. Neither the representatives of the machinists nor of the

brass molders and metal polishers alleged any grievance or complaint with respect to wages or hours, or made any demand except that we should recognize the union, either by employing only union men or by giving a preference to union men. Since the strike I have heard of only one case of bodily injury by the pickets of the union upon men that were employed in our works, in the vicinity of the factory. The police department has done all that could reasonably have been asked in the way of protection of the men who were working, so far as the vicinity of our factory is concerned. In a single case where one of the union pickets assaulted a man who was leaving the premises, the policemen on duty promptly arrested the assailant. There have been some cases of intimidation near the men's houses, and intimidation of their families has been reported. The position of the company has been, and is, that its management is not opposed to the men belonging to unions, but that the company will not make itself a recruiting agency for the unions or compel membership in the unions as a condition of employment, nor be a collection agency for the unions. The constitution of the International Association of Machinists forbids its members to introduce piecework, and forbids one man to run two machines. In our works piecework is employed to some extent, and in some instances one man runs two machines. With respect to the women employed in our establishment, the starting rate, which is continued for 8 weeks, is 7½ cents per hour. After 8 weeks of service, if they are competent, \$5 per week or 9½ cents per hour is the standard rate. Some who acquire skill get 11½ cents per hour. With respect to intimidation, if the committee desire, I have a letter here from the secretary of one of the lodges to one of the men who was not a member of the union, but who continued work. If the committee desire, I will give that.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Did the man give you the letter?—A. The man gave me the letter.

Q. Let us hear it.—A. (Reading:)

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS, UNITY LODGE, No. 134,
OFFICE OF SECRETARY, 916 WEST VAN BUREN STREET, March 6, 1900.

MR. STILES:

DEAR SIR: I have been instructed by Unity Lodge to inform you that this lodge considers you unworthy of further consideration. You have ignored Brother O'Connell's kind offer when he suggested a way to settle the case. You have caused Brothers Specker and Paige a considerable amount of trouble in handling your case. I have written to Grand Rapids Lodge several times, and to O'Connell, and always put special-delivery stamps on to insure a safe delivery, and after all this you have turned us down. But I want you to understand that Grand Rapids Lodge will be informed that Unity Lodge and every one of the 5,000 union men in the city consider you a scab of the thirty-second degree. Your name will also be published in the journal, and when the union wins this fight they will teach you and your kind a lesson.

RUSSELL QUINN, *Recording Secretary of 134.*

On the outside of the envelope is the name, "Three days, R. Quinn, 916 West Van Buren." This Stiles was the man who was assaulted by one of the union pickets.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE) Where and when?—A. As he was leaving the premises, after this letter had been received.

Q. Is he still in your employ?—A. He is. The man who made the assault was arrested; his case has not been heard yet by the justice, the justice having been sick.

Q. How was your difficulty with the striking workmen adjusted?—A. It is not adjusted.

Q. They are not back at work then?—A. Not in any considerable number. Some of the men who quit work at the time and who were understood not to be members of the union are at work. When the union strikes it generally takes some men that are not members of the union with it. Some of those men, and I believe in some cases men who were members of the union, or who were virtually members of the union—had had some connection with the union—are back at work, but the bulk of the men who struck are still out. I said that Mr. Quinn said Mr. Stiles was not a member of the union here. He had been a member of the union at Grand Rapids, as appears from this letter, but had not become a member of the local union here.

Q. Have you been able to fill the places of the strikers to any extent?—A. We have made no particular effort to fill their places. We have taken on some men who applied for work, but the greater part of the work which the men were doing who struck is not being done.

Q. Have you carried on any negotiation with any of the men or with the union leaders with reference to a compromise?—A. We have had visits from the business agents of the unions and from committees of our own employees without the business agents, but nothing has come from it, because the union representatives who have called upon us have in all cases asked that some preference be given in employment to union men, and that we have refused.

Q. Are you willing to receive back your former employees and make fair terms with a shop committee representing them?—A. We have no objection whatever to dealing with our men through representatives that they choose, either a committee of their own number or outside men such as the business agents of their unions. We are entirely ready and desirous of resuming work with the larger number of the men who left. It is proper to say, however, in answer to that question, that there are some lines of work that we were finishing at the time of the strike, especially where the machinists and the buffers and polishers were employed, where we have gotten over our hurry. In some cases it is too late to finish up the work for this season, and in other cases we were doing some work on some machines to use where we are employing women and are under the unfortunate necessity of asking them to work in the nighttime because we do not have machines enough for them to use in the daytime. We were finishing up some of these machines at the time, and that work being substantially finished, we have not as much work now as we had when the strike occurred where machinists are employed. But we have a good deal which we should be very glad to get done, and we should give a preference to our former employees if they were willing to go to work.

Q. Was your business prosperous up to the time of this difficulty?—A. Yes; it may be considered fairly so.

Q. Do you see any obstacles in the way of continued prosperity except the labor difficulties?—A. I do not. The outlook in our business for the next year at least is very good. Our company has a factory at New York City, where between 3,000 and 3,500 men are employed, and it has factories in several of the cities of Europe, where about 2,000 people are employed in the aggregate, and in Europe all over and in the East the outlook for business with us is excellent. There is no labor trouble imminent, so far as I know, except here, and that only relates to the machinists and those who have struck work in sympathy with them. The other trades have expressly said that they were taking the action to help their friends in the machinists' union.

Q. Where in Europe is your shop or work?—A. Our largest establishment is in the city of Antwerp, in Belgium. We have also a factory of considerable importance in Paris, and one in Berlin, and one in London.

Q. Do you produce there substantially the same kind of machinery that you produce here?—A. Quite similar, and in some cases almost identically the same.

Q. How do the wages and hours of labor compare in those countries, in your works, with those in this country?—A. In Europe the hours are longer than they are here; the wages are much less. The wages for common labor—you could almost say that it is as francs to dollars.

Q. About one-fifth as much as here?—A. Yes. I may say in that connection, and it will perhaps interest your committee, that notwithstanding that difference in wages the economy of production is not the motive that leads us to do manufacturing in Europe; but it is rather having factories nearer to the market, where we can exactly meet the demands of our customers, and to some extent meet the requirements in the local governments that the work furnished shall be of home manufacture.

Q. Do you export?—A. We still export very largely, notwithstanding the fact that we have factories under our own management.

Q. Do you export the products of your Chicago works?—A. Oh, yes; very largely. We send our products from Chicago to Japan and Australia and various countries in Europe.

Q. Do you export to those European countries where you have works?—A. To some extent, but our factories in Paris and Berlin are there for the reason that our customers, being the governments, require articles that they buy to be made in their own countries.

Q. Is the most of your work produced in Europe sold to European governments?—A. None of it comes to this country. It is mostly sold to European governments.

Q. Because those governments are operating electricity in one way and another?—A. Because those governments are operating the telegraph and telephone systems. The telegraph and telephone systems of the country are under govern-

Q. Has there been a great developement of electricity in various ways in recent years in this country and in Europe?—A. Very great, very great. The electrical manufacturing concerns in Germany are very prosperous and are growing very rapidly, more so even than in this country, though the growth has been great in this country. The growth has not been so great relatively in other European countries as in Germany.

Q. Do you think of any changes in the laws which would be desirable to promote the prosperity of your industry?—A. The less the law does for us and the more freedom it leaves us the better our business will be, except to protect us—except to keep the peace.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Are you familiar with the terms of settlement of the labor troubles between Siemens & Halske's firm and their employees?—A. I heard that they made an agreement with the machinists' union recognizing the union, practically agreeing to employ only union men. I do not have it officially.

Q. The agreement I believe is that they pay a minimum wage of 28 cents an hour, and there is no limitation placed upon the amount of work that a man may do or shall do, and the firm are free to hire and discharge men at will. They say that such an agreement as that will be made with any and every firm in Chicago. Also the nonunion men are permitted to remain at work there. Should you see any objection to the machinists of Chicago coming to such terms with their employers and resuming their industries at full capacity?—A. I should like you to repeat that.

Q. They agreed to pay a minimum scale of 28 cents; that is what they contended for, I believe, was it not?—A. With us there was no contention; there was no question about wages; our wages were satisfactory.

Q. They agreed to pay a minimum scale of 28 cents; of course, the employer can pay as much as he pleases above that. There is no restriction placed upon the amount of work machinists shall do or may do. The proprietor is permitted to discharge and hire help at will. He is to confer with the shop committee on all questions of difference that arise. The nonunion men are not forced out of the establishment.—A. I had understood that the agreement there also included a recognition of the union to the extent of giving preference to union men in employing new hands.

Q. We had the articles of agreement here. I do not remember that there was anything of that kind in them. I presume that they would. I do not know how that would be. But those were the terms of the agreement that I can now recall. Do you think that it would be to the disadvantage of the electrical manufacturers or manufacturing machinists to come to terms with their men upon such terms as those that were arranged between the Siemens & Halske Company and their men?—A. Assuming that you have stated the terms of the agreement correctly, I do not see anything in those terms which were not in existence in our place before the strike, unless it is that with reference to the shop committee. We never have had any formal shop committees, but the management has always heard either individual men or committees of the men; so that, except the establishment of a formal shop committee, I do not see that there is anything in those conditions which was not in our place when the strike occurred; and hence I am bound to answer that I do not see any reason why work should not be resumed under those conditions. We are desirous of having work resumed.

Q. I think that committee would be a committee of the union men employed in the shop.—A. Well, we should not have a committee or what they call a steward, an official of the union, in our place to represent the union among our employees. We should not have it. We have in nearly all departments a great many men who are not union men, and we shall not give the unions any preference whatever over the men who are not members of the union.

Q. I presume you have some knowledge of the strength of the machinists' union in Chicago?—A. I know the statements of the business agents, but in our place somewhere in the neighborhood of half the men who were qualified to belong to the union, theoretically, qualified according to the theory of the union, were members of the union, and about half were not.

Q. Before the strike?—A. Before the strike.

Q. Has there been an increase since the strike?—A. I think not.

Q. Do you know whether that ratio holds in the other shops in Chicago?—A. I do not.

Q. Do you believe that the manufacturers of Chicago can get enough nonunion men to run their establishments at full capacity?—A. I doubt it.

Q. Do you believe, then, that it would be to the advantage of Chicago as an industrial center, and of the manufacturers and the working men, for them to get together on some reasonable terms?—A. Surely.

Q. And settle?—A. Surely; yes.

Q. And from what I have said about Siemens & Halske's terms you believe that is rather a fair settlement?—A. I should prefer to see the terms before passing upon them.

Q. Well, as I have stated them?—A. As you have stated them the only item which was not in practice in our place is that of the shop committee. When the committees of the unions first called upon us in November and December and January, they said that recognition of the unions was the only thing that they required of us—that the men had in our place the conditions with respect to wages and general treatment that the unions were organized to secure. I told them they had better bring up the condition in other places to our standard, and take the record of our company as being better than any agreement that we could make; but their attitude has seemed to be that they would not take anything unless they could get it as a result of compulsion. But we stand on our record, ready to continue the conditions which we consider fair and to improve them as opportunity serves.

Q. I think that agreement was made with the shop committee, who are all members of the machinists' union, and Mr. Reid stated that such an agreement as that would be made with every employer in Chicago. I should like to ask you if you have knowledge of industries leaving Chicago because of labor troubles and unfavorable legislation, or any companies going, for instance, to Hammond, Ind., and St. Joseph, Mich., and other places?—A. I only know what I have read in the papers with respect to other industries. We have no idea of leaving Chicago with our works. Our works are here in Chicago and we desire to continue them; if we can not continue we will stop.

Q. You have no personal knowledge of these removals of industries?—A. No; I have no personal knowledge of removals from Chicago.

Q. Are you in any way familiar with the conditions surrounding the building trades' strike in Chicago at the present time?—A. Somewhat. I have a house that is all ready to plaster, on which no work has been done for 2 months.

Q. Do you believe that strike is endangering the prosperity of Chicago?—A. I do, indeed.

Q. Very seriously?—A. Quite seriously, and seriously just as long as it lasts.

Q. Do you believe that there is any one man in Chicago who has influence enough over the leaders in the strike to induce them to come together with the contractors on reasonable terms, and settle this trouble in the interest of Chicago?—A. I hardly think so. I think there is a principle involved in the strike or lockout which neither party is ready to concede. That principle seems to be that of limiting the product of the laborers. I think the trades unions are making a mistake in pushing that as far as they do, and I think the contractors are right in resisting it, and I do not think the unions are ready to quit.

Q. You believe, then, all the right of that controversy is on one side and all the wrong on the other?—A. No; I do not think that. I think, so far as that principle goes—which I judge to be a large element in the matter—I think, that so far as that principle goes, the unions have gone too far.

Q. Then you believe that the fight must go on to the bitter end until one side or the other is driven to the wall?—A. I hope it will not be so very bitter, but I do not see where either of the parties to-day is ready to yield; certainly the unions do not seem to be ready to yield.

Q. Do you believe Mayor Harrison would not have influence enough with the labor leaders to induce them to come to terms?—A. I do not think he would; I think the doctrine of limiting production, limiting the efficiency of the workmen, has been preached effectively, and it has been too successfully maintained in the building trades for the members of the building trades in Chicago to be willing to give it up as long as they think there is any chance of keeping any part of that principle in operation.

Q. You say you will not recognize the union?—A. By agreeing to give it any preference. That is what recognizing the union has meant. We have received and discussed matters with representatives of unions, and are always willing to do that. I consider that men are just as much entitled to select some one to represent them as corporations are to select a lawyer to represent them.

Q. We have been informed that there has been a wonderful growth in the machinists' union in Chicago within the past two months; that a few years ago there were only about 600 members in the union, 8 months ago only about 2,000, and now there are over 5,000. I should like to ask you, if the growth of the union should go on to such an extent that 90 per cent of the men in your establishment and in all other establishments in Chicago should become unionized, and they should hold out for the principle of recognition of the union, would you let your industry go to smash and ruin, or would give them that recognition and employ

only union men in the establishment? Perhaps that is a unfair question.—A. It is not an unfair question, but it is rather a large one. The recognition of the union in the sense in which we are using the terms means employment of union men only, or giving union men some preference. The unions that are represented in our establishment, of different trades, would number 6 or 8, I presume. There have been in the past some departments of our establishment where the employees have been practically all union men. We never have asked any questions and never have known nor cared to know whether a man was a union man or not. That is the fact, for instance, in our brass foundry, and I presume it is a fact in our iron foundry. The molders are practically all union men. These unions are unions of pretty long standing and have been pretty well managed, and have given us no trouble, except that now the molders are in sympathy with the machinists. The machinists are a different class of men from a good many other trades. They are less nomadic. Men who have lived at home and have gone on successfully for years earning a living for their families, do not feel the need of a union as they do in some of the other trades. It is easier for a union to prosper in the building trades than in the other trades, because the burden can be put from the contractor over on to the builder, and if the contractors and the unions work together the third man has to take the result. In such a business as ours we have to do business permanently. We must do business this year under conditions that will bring us business next year, and with the same customers largely next year as this year; and we can not disregard this fact. We can not turn over to our customers extra costs, as contractors in the building trades can. And in respect to the machinists—to get to the answer to the last part of your question, I do not think we shall ever meet that question whether we will let our business discontinue or agree to employ only union men. We have other departments where there are no unions at all. We try to treat all our departments with approximate fairness with respect to each other, and I think that under conditions as they exist now, or as they are likely to exist so far as we can see, our stockholders and directors will stand by the position that we took, that we will not limit our choice of those whom we employ. That has been our position, and our stockholders and directors sustain the officers of the company in that position.

Q. Do you believe that the well-known aims of labor organizations to get better wages for their men are legitimate?—A. I do; and I sympathize with those aims. Our factory adopted 9½ hours for a day's work more than 15 years ago, and we are in advance of the procession in that respect. I hope within my lifetime we shall get the hours of labor still further reduced without materially reducing the amount that the men and women will earn.

Q. Do you believe that the workingmen generally receive better treatment at the hands of their employers, whether union men or not, as the result of the organization of labor?—A. At the hands of some employers, yes.

Q. Then, you believe that the organization of labor is a good thing?—A. I believe that organized labor has, on the whole, and in spite of mistakes and drawbacks, benefited the laboring classes without serious detriment to any other classes.

Q. Has not organized labor been influential in getting factory inspection laws and legislation, establishing labor bureaus and arbitration boards, and institutions of that kind in the different States of the country?—A. I think so.

Q. That has come as a concession to organized labor?—A. Yes.

Testimony closed.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 29, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. HENRY PRATT,

Secretary and Treasurer of the Tobin-Hammar Manufacturing Company.

The special subcommission met in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, March 29, 1900, at 10 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 3.25 p. m. Mr. Henry Pratt was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your full name.—A. Henry Pratt.

Q. Post-office address.—A. Number 875 South Halsted street, Chicago.

Q. Occupation.—A. Secretary and treasurer of the Tobin-Hammar Manufacturing Company.

Q. What is the product of your works?—A. Boiler business principally, but some machine work; very little.

Q. How many hands do you employ?—A. We employ from 75 to 150 usually.

Q. Are your works running now?—A. Yes; with a reduced force.

Q. How long have you been established in business in Chicago?—A. The firm has been here since 1871, and it was incorporated in 1890, doing business nearly 10 years as a corporation; that was the time I went into it.

Q. Do you make steam boilers for general purposes?—A. Yes.

Q. Is your business good, or has it been in the last year or two?—A. It was fairly good from 1876 up till last year in July.

Q. What caused it to become poor then?—A. Strike.

Q. Strike in your shops?—A. Yes.

Q. Please go on and give us the particulars concerning that.—A. We had quite a number of contracts on hand in July; and I don't remember the date, but it was probably some time between the 10th and the 15th that we received a demand from the boiler makers. It is called an agreement; but agreements are always, I consider, where two people agree. They asked us to sign this paper, which would become an agreement. In that paper there were demands which we could not consent to and do business in Chicago. One thing was, they wanted to work only 44 hours a week. That was something that is not done in any boiler shop in the United States to my knowledge. They also wanted an increase of wages. When the committee came to see me, I had read the demands. I told them without any question I would give them the wages; there would not be any question about that, so we would not talk about it. I told them there were some things in that paper we could not agree to and we should have to refuse. The spokesman of the committee said to me that I would either sign it or he would shut up our shop. I told him I could not sign it, and if he shut up the shop it would probably save us the trouble of shutting up the shop later on, or having some one shut it up for us. The larger per cent of our business was outside of the city, and we had to go into the open market to bid for it, and for us to give more wages and work less hours than was done on the outside would make it impossible for us to stay in business in Chicago. There were other stipulations in the agreement. I have the agreement here with me, if you would like to hear it. Most of them were of minor importance, and were things we had done for the last 10 years, such as paying car fare for men who were a mile from the shop. Of course we would not ask a man to walk. His time is worth too much. The most important thing was the number of hours they wanted us to run our shop. Finally I told them that for all outside work, where it was repair work or erecting new work we would give them 8 hours and pay them 9 hours for it; but that in the shop we must run 9 hours. They would not consent to it and they went out on strike. They have been on a strike ever since. We were paying some of our men as high as they asked, but there were others that we did not. There was another demand; there was certain work, such as running a punch, that did not require the skill of a boiler maker, but we were asked to employ a boiler maker to do it—also rolling sheets.

Q. You had to?—A. That is, under the agreement. That was one of the demands. We found we could not run our shops in Chicago and compete and get trade from the outside, and we had to refuse it. The smaller shops signed the agreement, or some of them did, for the reason that the principal part of their business was in Chicago, doing repair work where it did not make any difference what the wages or what the hours were. When we send out a man on repair work he takes a time check with him and the man he is doing the work for gives him his time on that time check, and when it comes back into the shop the bill is made on that time check and sent to the man, and he pays it; and for that reason a number of the shops agreed to it.

Q. What proportion of your hands went out?—A. About 90 per cent of them.

Q. Have any of them returned?—A. No.

Q. Have you new hands to take their places?—A. Yes.

Q. Are you running as a nonunion shop?—A. Yes; no objection to union men.

Q. Got any union men in your employ?—A. No.

Q. Willing to have them if they choose to work?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you reduced wages?—A. No.

Q. Had you increased wages up to the time of this difficulty at any time?—A. No, never excepting in individual cases. I will state that in that 10 years our wages have remained very nearly stationary except in exceptional cases, or where men have improved by being longer at the business, become more proficient, and we have increased their wages.

Q. Then you were carrying the same scale of wages during the dull period that you had during the previous prosperous period and that you have been paying since?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you know any other mechanical industry in which there was a demand for 44 hours a week?—A. In the building trades, I believe that is the rule, and for

that reason we offered to give our men 8 hours for outside work; but except the boiler manufacturing business which is connected with the building trades, the other shops that we had to compete with were not running, excepting to run usually about 54 hours. That is what we have always run, that is, in the last 10 years, 54 hours a week; but in many of the shops working on the outside 60 and 59 hours.

Q. Did they claim that there was any hardship peculiar to your business here, and it should be shorter than in other occupations?—A. No, not here.

Q. Is your business affected by the general suspension of labor in Chicago owing to the present labor difficulties?—A. Yes, to a certain extent.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) What is your average pay for a boiler maker per hour or per day?—A. I think our pay roll would average up before the strike about 27 cents an hour, perhaps a little over; that is, for boiler making.

Q. Is that about the pay of boiler makers that you compete with?—A. No; they pay less wages as I understand it, as I have heard from quite a number. They pay from \$2 to \$2.50 as I have learned, and work 10 hours.

Q. Do you supply a large territory in your trade?—A. I do not know that we supply a large territory, but our trade has been quite extensive.

Q. Do you come into competition with other places?—A. Yes; we have sent work as far down as Arizona and up to Minnesota, and west to Omaha and Kansas City.

Q. By granting the demand of your men this work would be substantially cut off, would it?—Yes, entirely so; that is as to labor.

Q. And you would be limited to the local trade?—A. Yes.

Q. Which would necessarily, I suppose, reduce your force?—A. Yes.

Q. And your business?—A. Our running expense remains the same, but if the capacity of our shop is not used the per cent of running expenses would be much increased.

Q. What would have been your answer to your men when they demanded the shorter hours if your competitors had been placed in the same condition that you were?—A. We should not have objected materially, excepting that our capital has got to lie idle that much longer, which we desire to have earning a little something.

Q. Could that be evened up to some extent by your competitors being in the same condition?—A. Yes; we should simply have to charge the consumer more money to make his goods.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 29, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. P. F. DOYLE,

President of the Engineers' Progressive Union, Chicago.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m., March 29, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 4.15 p. m. Mr. P. F. Doyle was sworn as a witness and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. P. F. Doyle.

Q. Post-office address.—A. No. 818 West Madison street, Chicago.

Q. Occupation.—A. Engineer.

Q. Do you belong to a union of your craft?—A. Yes.

Q. Hold any official relation to it?—A. Yes; president of the local union.

Q. What is the name of your union?—A. Engineers' Progressive Union.

Q. Are you also connected with the city government in any way?—A. Yes.

Q. What position?—A. President of the local board of examining engineers.

Q. We should be pleased to have you go on and make a statement in your own way concerning the industrial condition here from your point of view.—A. I am not here in regard to the industrial trouble at this time. The gentlemen here are well able to take care of that. I am here in regard to the statement that was made to the commission yesterday in regard to my conduct and the conduct of my associates on the board of examining engineers. I wish to state that it is not my policy nor my habit to take notice of newspaper statements, and I did not intend to take notice of this one until I was informed that the statement was made under oath. When that information reached me I came to the conclusion I would come here to the commission and ask permission to make a statement of the case as it actually occurred. I have not any evidence of what was stated here yesterday,

except what I read in the papers last night and this morning. One evening paper—the Journal of yesterday—mentions my name. I will state to you exactly what occurred in this case as clearly and as truthfully as my memory will serve me, and after I make my statement I will answer any questions.

The records in our office show that this man received a license.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What man?—A. Lawrence Anderson. That a license was issued to him on the third day of November, a fourth issue license, on the 13th day of November, 1899, which would bring his first issue in or about 1895; got four issues. The records also show that on or about the third day of January of the present year this man Anderson appeared in our office and asked for a transfer, and applied to me for the same, which was granted him, and my handwriting appears on this license [exhibiting license to commission]. The statement was made that this license has been held up on account of a personal grievance. If there is any personal grievance between this gentleman and myself, it must be all one-sided; I know of none. I have known the young man since about 1893; made his acquaintance during the World's Fair; and each time he has come to our office in the city hall he has come to me for any business that he wanted done in connection with our department. His statement shows, according to the newspaper statement, that owing to some action of his pertaining to the union, we held this license up. Such is not the fact. The fact is this, that Mr. Anderson's license is held up because he will not make an affidavit to the board of examining engineers stating that he was not neglectful in his duty with the firm of Keenan Brothers, 317 South Canal street. He was employed there about one week previous to his applying for the transfer to that plant from the plant where he was employed formerly. About two weeks afterwards he called me up by telephone and told me he was going to quit. After he went to work with Keenan Brothers he came to me and asked me if I would sign and recommend his admission into the local union. I did so, and he was taken into the local union on my recommendation. Two weeks afterwards, on a Saturday forenoon, he called me up over the telephone in the office, stating that he was going to quit the firm of Keenan Brothers. I replied to him to this effect: "Don't quit. I will send somebody over there and see; if you are in trouble, we will try and help you out. What is the matter?" (Reference being made to Mr. Burke, business agent, who is here present, and if the commission will allow him he will make a statement.) He answered me stating that the firm was going to discharge him. I said, "Well, if you are going to be discharged, we can not help it."

On the following Tuesday night, when the local union met, he rose in his place and said that the firm of Keenan Brothers had discharged him because he was a member of the union. This naturally brought the members of the union to his assistance, and the business agent was instructed to go over and see the firm of Keenan Brothers and request or demand that he be put back in his position again if his statement was correct. I am going to encroach upon the business agent's statement, because it will be necessary to make my own clear and comprehensive. On the following Tuesday night the business agent reported that this man Anderson had no case; that he was discharged for being neglectful of his duty in not looking after the plant as he should; that he allowed the water to become low in the boiler and consequently endangered it; that they would not—I believe the statement was made by Mr. James Keenan; I think it was one of the brothers—one of them I know well, the other one I do not—and he said that under no consideration, no matter what the consequences might be, would he take Anderson back to work again, because he did not consider him competent, but that he would hire any other member of the union, or some engineer that would have to join the union, as it is a union house. By way of proving that it is a union house I will state that it was one of the first firms in this city that signed the union scale of the woodworkers. At that time the firm did not employ an engineer, as they rented power from another firm. Mr. Anderson was then notified by the union to appear and give reasons to the union why he made a false statement, because the union will not stand for any member of it doing what they consider is wrong. The business agent went out naturally prejudiced against the firm of Keenan Brothers, because of the statement of Anderson, and when he came back and said that Anderson made a false statement, they naturally ordered him down to know why he was trying to get them into trouble. He refused to come down. They let him go for another week, and he did not appear. Finally they preferred charges against him to the board of examining engineers, on the statement of Keenan Brothers and on the statement of their own business agent that the man had neglected his duty. And, by the way, I will say those things come to us regularly, where men are charged with being incompetent and neglectful of duty. We take their cases up nearly every day, and we have to settle them. The case came

before us; we notified Mr. Anderson to be there; notified Mr. Burke; notified the union, which sent an official there; and everything was done officially; we gave everybody a fair show. The decision of the board was that Mr. Anderson make an affidavit, showing us clearly that he had not left this blow-off cock in such shape that it could come open; and, secondly, that the water did not get low, and we would consider the issuance of the certificate for engineer to the American Steel Boat Company, 810 West Fulton street.

When he says there was personal prejudice in the matter—there was none. We even told him the words that would cover the case clearly. We wanted this affidavit for this reason, that in past years there have been a good many charges and countercharges, and in fact there are against everybody that holds a public position. Everybody knew that I had known this young man for several years; and it might be said that after the case was tried I handed him back his license without any question at all and "let her go." But to show that we had taken action upon it, and to clear myself, we simply wanted him to state in an affidavit that he had not been neglectful of his duty, and cause that affidavit to be placed on file, so that if anybody asks why Anderson's license was granted to him again against the protest of the union—understand the union protested against his having a license, but the board of examiners, although I am president of the local union and president of the local board of examiners, gave him the benefit of any doubt, and looked at it in this light, that probably this would be a lesson to this young man in the future. We decided to issue the license, provided he gave us the affidavit. That is where the case rests to-day. He went to one of the morning papers—I guess he went to all of them—and wanted it published. The representatives of the paper came to me, and I told them as I tell you now.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Did he not make an affidavit?—A. No.

Q. He gave us a copy of the affidavit he said he made.—A. That may be. He gave us an affidavit which, in our opinion, did not cover the case. The charges were specified, the particular neglect of duty on his part, and the affidavit did not cover that. It was for him to state specifically that he did not leave that blow-off cock in such a manner that it could come open, or that he did not leave it open. That he neglected to do.

Q. I will have the affidavit in a minute or two, and you can see if it is the same affidavit.—A. I wrote to Mayor Harrison about it, and Mayor Harrison demanded why this man did not get a license, and we told him the same as we tell you. The license is granted and will be issued if he is examined.

Q. Has he been several times examined?—A. No. During the hearing of the case before our board about two weeks ago, we found that the greater portion of his experience since that first license was issued has been in trimming lamps in the union depot, Canal and Madison streets. He admitted it in the course of the trial, and that he has had very little experience as an engineer.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You do not doubt his general competency to run a stationary engine if he will attend to it carefully, do you?—A. I most certainly do doubt his competency, since he doubts it himself.

Q. Why, then, have you consented to give him a license provided he will make an affidavit in regard to that one offense or alleged offense?—A. If he makes the affidavit that will show that he was not neglectful in his duty; but until he makes that affidavit he is in our opinion put down as neglectful, and if a man is neglectful he certainly is incompetent.

Q. Do you know of any other case of negligence in his experience?—A. No; I do not.

Q. You have known him personally for some years?—A. Yes; I have known him since 1893. I do not know where he worked after he left the Union Depot except hearing of him—I think it was the Nickel Plate—no; not the Nickel Plate, but the Pan Handle; I think he ran a boiler there.

Q. Would you like to have the stenographer read his notes of Mr. Anderson's affidavit which he submitted to us?—A. Why, yes; I should have no objection.

Mr. CLARKE. They will be read for the information of the witness.

(The stenographer read from the affidavit above referred to as follows:)

"And further this deponent says that from the 15th day of December, 1899, up to January 29, 1900, the deponent was employed as stationary engineer to Keenan Brothers at 313-317 South Canal street, and while so employed for said Keenan Brothers the engine was kept in good order, and that the blow-off cock, the boilers, and all other parts were kept by deponent in good order, repair, and condition; that said blow-off cocks were not left by deponent at any time. And further deponent saith not.

"LAWRENCE ANDERSON."

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) He says that is what he put in an affidavit and submitted to you.—A. Well, Mr. Chairman, both of us testify under oath; I say he did not. If he makes that affidavit that is all we require.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) He had the affidavit here signed and attested.—A. He never made any such affidavit as that to us; he simply said he was employed there. Now, I state to this commission, and I stated in my note to the mayor, that the moment he makes that affidavit, such as he specifies there, we will consider the issuing of that license.
(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 20, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN BURKE,

Business Agent, Progressive Association of Stationary Engineers, Chicago, Ill.

The special subcommission met pursuant to recess at 2.25 p. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 4.35 p. m. Mr. John Burke, of Chicago, business agent of the progressive association of stationary engineers, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Give your name, post-office address, and occupation.—A. John Burke. I live at No. 847 Michigan avenue.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have you any statement to make to the commission, Mr. Burke.—A. In this particular case I have, from what I have seen in the paper about this man Anderson. What I wish to say is that he reported at our union on a Tuesday evening that he had been discharged from Keenan Brothers for the simple reason that he became a member of our union, and the matter, of course, was referred to me, being, as I was, business agent of the union. After the meeting I asked Mr. Anderson to go with me the next day to Keenan Brothers, which he refused to do. He said that he would not work there any more. Then I told him to give me all the facts of the case, so I should know what I was up against. He said they brought up a lot of charges; the engine got hot a couple of times, and they made up a list of charges. The next morning I went with him; he went as far as the factory, and went into the engine room there and would not go on with me. I went in and saw Mr. Keenan and told him what I wanted. I was not going to insist on reinstating this man if his story was not true. Mr. Keenan told me that this man had gone away and left the blow-off cock partly open. In that place, when you blow the boiler off, it goes into a cast-iron catch basin, and when it is full it has to be siphoned out, or it will run all over the boiler room. That is what it did. The foreman or night watchman got in in time to save it from burning out the boiler. He pulled the furnaces and, of course, he lost steam while he was doing so. He made a report to Keenan of the matter, and Keenan said: "Do not say anything until the engineer is here to-night and make your statement before him." The watchman told this man Keenan, in presence of the engineer, Anderson, that Anderson had promised to fix it up all right with him; that he would pay him if he would tell a lie, and say that the cock leaked. Yet he comes up here and tells you that it was a prejudice of Mr. Doyle that kept him from his work. I fetched the report back to the union. He would not go with me to face this man. They have also preferred charges to the board of examining engineers, and they refused to issue a license until he should go over to Mr. Keenan and clear himself. That he refused to do. He went and got a position and got his manager to go and see Keenan and ask Mr. Keenan. He repeated what he had told me, that this young man would have got his license if he had done so and so. So he fetched a lawyer, and I was instructed from the union to go and see Mr. Keenan again. He told me that he would stand by what he had said and would testify to it in court; that he considered well everything before he discharged that man, and he would not take him back under any consideration, and would not repudiate what he said to me. When he would not the board refused the license.

The trial came up last Thursday, I believe, and I was called on by the board, and all we got out of Mr. Anderson was that he didn't leave the valve open. Yet he would not go to Mr. Keenan with me; and he would not make an affidavit even that he did not let the water out of the boiler. The second time I went back he told me that was the second time it had occurred. The first time he said nothing about it. He said the man was careless, and when he was careless he

considered him incompetent, and he would not reinstate him. That is all the statement I want to make, just to show that there was no prejudice in his case whatever, because he was a member of our union at that time. There was no reason why we should have any prejudice.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 29, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. PATRICK MCGARRY,

Boiler Manufacturer, Chicago.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m. March 29, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 4.45 p. m. Mr. Patrick McGarry was sworn as a witness, and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please state your name.—A. Patrick McGarry.

Q. Occupation.—A. Boiler maker and manufacturer.

Q. You carry on the Washington Steam Boiler Works?—A. Yes.

Q. Are you running now?—A. Yes.

Q. How long have you been carrying on this business in Chicago?—A. Nineteen years.

Q. About how many men do you ordinarily employ?—A. At the present time I average 20. Last fall I had as high as 40. In 1893 and 1894 and 1895 I did not average 10. In 1889, 1890, and up to 1892 I ran as high as 50.

Q. Is business better now than it was during the dull period?—A. Business is better now than it was a year or two years ago, and has been better in my business since last May than it was.

Q. Is your business injuriously affected by these labor difficulties here?—A. No; because I do not allow it to interfere with my business.

Q. Is the market for your boilers almost wholly local?—A. No; I have done work all over the country; done work for the West Indian Islands; done work for Africa and South America.

Q. Where do you sell the most of your boilers?—A. Not boilers—tanks for ice machines, making artificial ice.

Q. You sell the most of them, then, outside of Chicago?—A. I build that work for the people that build the machines, that have the contract for the machines. They require tanks for the water to freeze. I take that like a subcontract from them. Those tanks have gone, as I say, all over. Two years ago I had a man in Jamaica, 4 months. I have had men from Portland, Oreg., to Pensacola, Fla., and from Philadelphia to Denver.

Q. Is there competition in your business?—A. Yes.

Q. You have to sell, then, in competition with makers who live outside of Chicago?—A. Yes; I have competition, what we call local competition, in these places where they were going.

Q. Do you have to put in competition bids usually in order to get business?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, we shall be glad to hear you give an account of the labor difficulty to which reference has been made.—A. I was notified in the spring, about the latter end of March or April, of 1899, that the boiler makers were going to demand an 8-hour day, and as near as possible as much pay for 8 hours' work as I was then giving for 9. I did not have any talk with any of them. It passed along until July. In July two of my men came to me and told me that the boiler makers were going out on strike for 8 hours. "Well," I said, "I don't want you fellows to go on strike." "Well, will you sign the scale? Will you sign the agreement?" I said, "I will on conditions." "What are the conditions?" "That you get somebody else to sign your agreement; I will follow him. I was the first one to sign your agreement in 1892 for 9 hours. I got the blame for being the cause of the boiler makers getting 9 hours. I do not want to get into any more trouble." In the course of 3 or 4 days they brought the agreement to me signed by 2 or 3 of my competitors here in the city, and I very willingly signed it. I consider it long enough, not for a boiler maker alone, but for any man, to work. I worked at boiler making myself; never worked at anything else but boiler making and running the shop since I was 13 years and 6 months old. I signed 5 years indentures in the Queen's Island shipbuilding works, Belfast, North of Ireland, on the 15th day of February, 1859; never earned a cent at anything else. I have seen the time I could not lift

my hands to wash my face at night, with my shoulders aching so; and when a young, strong, healthy man, temperate and steady, gets in that condition it is time to reduce his hours of labor.

Q. How many hours did you work then?—A. Ten. That was in this country.

Q. That was in this country?—A. Yes. I never was so tired in England. I saw an account in the papers of what Mr. Chalmers said. I am only saying what I read. He said that unions are the worst trusts that there are—labor unions. If he has said so I must respectfully contradict him. I say labor unions are the best thing that ever came up for the workingmen. Were it not for the labor unions in this country to-day the workingmen would be worse off than slaves were before emancipation. The plantation owners furnished a comfortable cabin for them to live in, furnished them clothing, furnished them proper food, and furnished them doctors' attendance if they were sick, because it was for his own benefit. The great majority of employers to-day do not care how their workingmen are housed, how they are clothed, how they are fed, or whether their children have a bite to eat or a shoe to put their foot in to go to school.

Q. Do you make that charge against the employers in Chicago, or of those all over the country?—A. In general, all over this country. I have no use for the British Government, but the British Government looks out for the workingmen a great deal better than either the American Government or any other government.

Q. Do you mean those who work for the Government or those who work for people generally?—A. Those who work for people generally. They pass better laws than any other nation for the benefit of the workingmen. I left Liverpool in 1871. At that time boiler makers were getting 26 shillings a week for working 10 hours. I went back there for the benefit of my health in 1875, and I went to work there. I only intended to take a trip, but I went to work there. I got 33 shillings a week, working 9 hours. A 9-hour law was passed by Parliament in 1872. When the English Government or any other government can make a law that workingmen shall only work 9 hours I consider the United States Government ought not to be at the tail end.

Q. Are you familiar with the complexity of our political system, under which States can do certain things which the General Government can not do?—A. No. I do not bother much in politics. I should make a mighty poor politician. I understand there is now in the statutes of Illinois a law, passed in 1868, which provides that 8 hours is a legal day's work. I also understand that 8 hours constitutes a day's work for the United States Government.

Q. You think that all the States, then, if they have the power, should pass 8-hour laws to correspond with the 8-hour laws of the General Government?—A. Well, no, not exactly. There is quite a difference in various trades, but I think a great deal of this striking business could be avoided if the employer would take the workingman's place for a week or so, and vice versa; or really, if they would look at it in that light. I have never had any difficulty with the men I have employed, for the reason that I tell you, I have been working myself, and I have never lost sight of the fact, in this 19 years that I have been employing men, that in 2 or 3 months I may be looking for a job myself. Because a man is running a business that doesn't make him independent by any means. It doesn't prove that he won't have to go around to some other person some day to ask for a job himself. Therefore I have tried to treat the men as I should wish to be treated myself, and I can say that that has been reciprocal.

Q. How many hours are your men working now?—A. Eight hours.

Q. Is the 8-hour day observed in all the factories of your competitors in Chicago?—A. No.

Q. Can you successfully carry on your business?—A. I have done better since last August than I did in the early months of the year, or for three years before.

Q. Do the men do as much work in 8 hours as they did in a longer day before?—A. No; I won't say that they do as much, but they do it with a great deal more of ease, and they do it with a great deal more of pleasure; and I believe that at the end of the year, if I kept tab on the amount of work done, I should find they had done just as much as they did when they were working an hour longer.

Q. In that way you can afford to give them an 8-hour day?—A. I could afford to give it.

Q. If they did not, could you afford it?—A. No.

Q. After all, don't you have to be governed by the business conditions in running your shop?—A. You must be governed in any country by the supply and demand. If the work was to be done—there are men working boiler makers in this city and paying them 32 or 35 cents an hour, and I would very willingly give them 50 before I would lose that work.

Q. It would be safer for you to have a law requiring your competitors to limit the hours of work in their shops to the same limits you observe, would it not?—A. No; I should not wish to enforce a law on any man.

Q. How can you safely carry on business in competition with others who work their men longer hours than you do?—A. For the reason—I do not know whether I am any different or not, but I consider I have got the best men in Chicago. I try to pick them. I have men with me who have been raised from boys with me; heated rivets with me when I was working myself.

Q. Then it is on account of the superior quality of your men, and perhaps your own good management, that you are able to take the risk of competing with others who work their men a longer time than you do?—A. I will try to explain to you. I sent men to Jamaica 2 years ago. I never gave a second thought from the time those men went away till the day they came home. I could go to bed at night, go to sleep, and not bother. I knew my interests were looked after as well, in fact, in some instances better, than if I were there myself. I have men, as I told you, all over this country. They never bother me. They know I place confidence in them. I will say that confidence has never been misplaced. While I do not wish to say all boiler makers are angels, by a jugful, I consider that boiler makers, if treated right, are just as good a class and as honorable as any class in the United States or any other country. Like everything else, there are exceptions to the rule.

Q. Suppose the other boiler makers, your competitors, had just as good men as you have and treated them just as well, and managed their business with the same ability with which you manage yours, and they worked their men a longer time than you work yours, should you be at a disadvantage in the general market where you sell your goods?—A. Well, I do not know. Of course an hour or 2 hours in a day amounts to something. For one man it won't cost a great deal. When you come to work 20 men it counts. I believe the trouble with the most of the employers is that they are too much on the get-rich-quick business. They want everything, and they don't want to let the workingmen have their fair share of it. I believe that is the trouble with a great majority of the employers.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Is it not a fact that a very large majority of the employers of labor in this country have themselves been workingmen?—A. Yes; and it is also a fact that a great majority of the employers of labor in this country never had any practical experience. They have had quite a good school education. Some of them have been through college. They form an association or a corporation, and practically they know perfectly well. They can figure what the cost of the material is, and they can figure what the profits should be, but they can not figure what a man is able to do for a day's work. Therefore they guess to a great extent about the labor, the most expensive commodity that there is in a contract. Or they will go to work and hire a superintendent, and in seven cases out of ten, to my practical knowledge, the superintendent doesn't know any more than they know. He has a first-class classical education, and when they come to figure up and balance their books and find they are on the wrong side of the ledger the result is, they say, we must cut down wages.

Q. Is that the case with the boiler makers of the country—that they are men without practical experience?—A. There are a great many gentlemen running boiler shops who are practical boiler makers—worked themselves.

Q. Is it not the rule among all industries where mechanics are employed that the men work their way up until they become foremen and superintendents; is not that the rule in the country?—A. Yes; but, as I explained to you, in a corporation many of them have had no experience at all.

Q. Is not that the exception, and not the rule?—A. No; I can not say it is the exception. I should say it is the majority of cases, in my experience. I believe it is easier for the workingmen to come to an agreement with an employer when that employer has been a workingman himself.

Q. No doubt about that. A man who has been a workingman himself ought to have knowledge of all the conditions, and sympathy correspondingly; but do you not think it is true that a very large number, a majority, in fact, of the wealthy men of the country who are engaged in industrial undertakings are men who themselves have arisen from the ranks of labor; who started out as poor boys?—A. In a majority of cases? I have not met them. It may be. I won't say that it is. But in my practical experience, with men that are doing business, that are running shops and employing men in the various mechanical industries, I have met more that have not had any practical training than I have of the class you speak of—who have risen from working boys.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Are you familiar with the circumstances of the great engineer strike in England a few years ago?—A. No; nothing but what I have read.

Q. You say you worked there as late as 1875?—A. Yes.

Q. Can you give your idea what brought about that great strike in England and Scotland and Ireland?—A. Well, the English mechanics are like the American mechanics—are getting better educated. With education comes intelligence. Instead of spending their time around saloons and bowling alleys enjoying themselves they sit down and talk the matter over how they can better their condition, just the same as the American mechanics do to-day; and they thought if they could get a shorter working day it would be so much for their benefit.

Q. What working day did they have?—A. They were working 10 hours.

Q. The same as is being worked in this country generally?—A. Yes.

Q. Was that a long and bitter struggle, and one which the men lost finally?—A. I do not know. I did not follow that.

Q. You stated that the British Government was ahead of this country in the matter of taking care of the workmen. I was wondering if they were working 10 hours a day over there, and what it was they struck for if the Government was taking such good care of them. What cause had they to strike.—A. That engineers' strike was not for shorter hours. It was for higher wages. They had 9 hours at that time; and when I spoke of what the British Government—I wish it understood I have no use for the British Government at all, good, bad, or indifferent—but I say they have passed better laws there than in any other nation. They passed the Plimsoll bill; they passed the 9-hour bill.

Q. The 9-hour bill—in Government work?—A. All work; or, as they call it, 54 hours a week. And they have a commission, as I read now, which investigates all difficulties like this in Chicago now.

Q. Are not the American workmen opposed, as a rule—and the people too—to Government paternalism? Would not the American workmen prefer to get 8 hours through their unions rather than have the Government give it to them?—A. That I can not answer.

Q. Is not that the line along which they are working, and is not that the line along which they are succeeding?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. What are the 25,000 coal miners in the State of Illinois doing, and how did they get their 8 hours?—A. Well, I was going to say that I believe that if the mechanics, the workmen, and the employers will get together and arbitrate the question, that will be the proper way; but what will you do in a case where one of these big-headed fellows says there is nothing to arbitrate?

Q. That is getting away from this question. We have had many employers of labor before the commission, here and elsewhere, and the testimony of these employers almost invariably is that the American mechanic, hour for hour, will turn out a greater product than the English mechanic or the mechanic of the Continent. They say they are better housed; that they are better fed; that they are better clothed; that they are better educated; they live under better conditions generally, and those are the reasons they give in accounting for their ability to turn out a greater product than the English or Continental mechanics. I should like to know what you would have to say on that point.—A. I say the American mechanic will turn out more work in 2 days than the Continental will in 3 in any branch of business. At the same time I do not wish to make light of the English mechanic or the Continental mechanic or European mechanic at any time. The greatest mechanics that can be are in England. There are no better. There are as good, but they can not be beaten; but they fool their time away, which would not do in this country. There is more energy; there is more "get up and get" in this country than there is there, and, speaking from the practical point, as soon as the English and Continental mechanic comes over here it is contagious—the disease is contagious. They will do more work here in 2 days than they will there in 3, and they will do it with greater ease. Therefore I should wish to know why some of these gentlemen who are objecting to giving 9 hours to machinists in this city and 8 hours to boiler makers would not take their work to England. It is all "bosh." They know they would lose every cent they have got, and there is no danger of either England or any other country cutting out the American mechanic.

Q. Do you think, in view of all these demands, that the American workingman has anything to complain of as regards his Government's treatment of him as compared with the Government treatment of English and Scotch and Irish mechanics?—A. I should like to say, if I might be allowed to offer a suggestion—

Q. Certainly.—A. That in case of any difficulty between employers and their employees, that should be settled by arbitration. Failing to do so, there should be a law; in other words, compulsory arbitration. I have no hesitation in saying that as far as my experience goes the workingman will always be found to be in the right.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Now, since you have spoken about the great advantage the Englishman has—as to what his Government does for him—the English mechanic, what would you advise the American Government to do for the American mechanic?—A. Just what I have suggested.

Q. Compulsory arbitration?—A. Compulsory arbitration is necessary. I do not believe in compulsion in any case. Now, I understand from the men that are working for me that they are willing to arbitrate this question with their employers with regard to the 8 hours. They demand that they should continue on 9 hours. Well, right here, I hope that the boiler makers in Chicago will never work 9 hours again as long as there is a heaven above me. Just as I said in the first place, sir, I consider 8 hours long enough for any workingman to have to work, and I consider that any employer, if he can not make money enough to live decently and comfortably, ought to sell out and carry a hand organ or do something else.

Q. Do you believe that the progress of civilization and the utilization of electricity will ultimately make it necessary to still further reduce the hours of labor if everybody is to have employment?—A. Well, I do not know. I will not say that, sir. It would not do for the workingman to lie in bed until 8 o'clock in the morning, go to work at 10, and go to lunch and work 4 hours.

Q. Why might he not have his club privileges and lie abed until 8 or 10 o'clock, as well as the banker or professional man?—A. If the improvements in labor-saving machinery keep up in the next 10 years as they have in the last 10, I might say 2 hours would be long enough for them to work.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Have you familiarized yourself with the condition in the building trades here?—A. No; I do not know. I do very little work around the buildings in Chicago. All the work I do is repair work. I make more money on one repair job than I do on building 10 boilers. I can not make a foreman's wages in building boilers, for the reason that in our buildings here, to a great extent in this city, some contractor gets the whole thing—the steam heating—and he goes to work and looks all over where he can get the cheapest job. He goes to some place where they make boilers by the mile, and they are cut off in different lengths as they are ordered. I have not got money enough to invest to carry mile-long boilers.

Q. You spoke in favor of arbitrating. Can you suggest a plan by which these people in the building trades could get together?—A. Well, sir—

Q. (Interrupting.) If you do not know the conditions— A. (Interrupting.) I know that I consider that the unions—what I have met with them in Chicago—intelligent, honorable, honest men. They are only looking for what they consider is right, and I think if the employers would be of the same opinion as they are it would be very easily settled.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) There would not be any quarrel then?—A. Yes; they always get pugnacious, sir; and they are both of them honest, and one man says, "I am going to get the best of you," and the other says, "No; I will be damned if you do." It is pretty hard to come to an agreement, but I believe, in the difficulty at the present time, if the representatives of the various unions and the representatives of the contractors could come together with good feeling that they could very easily settle the difficulty. There is one thing I wish you to understand, gentlemen, if it is as the press represents, that it is rule or ruin with the contractors, that they must "bust" the building trades council, I say then there is very little chance of coming to an amicable settlement, because the building trades council have just as good a right to exist as the contractors.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) There are some 34 different trades represented in the building trades council, and I should like your opinion as to whether they alone can arbitrate, or whether it has got to be a settlement all along the line in order to have it effectual?—A. Well, I do not know, sir. I can not very well express an opinion of that kind, not being familiar with the agreement or arrangements of the building trades council.

Q. I wish you would study that problem, Mr. McGarry, and talk it over with your associates, because it seems to me—I am not speaking for anybody but myself—that there is the central point of the problem here in Chicago at this present time. All are willing enough to arbitrate, apparently, but it seems to be difficult to resort to the old method of arbitrating between one trade and the contractors, for the reason that so many other trades are involved, and therefore there has got to be some general agreement, or else they can not go along with their work.—A. Well, sir, the workingman's capital is his labor. He has just as much right to get a high price for that labor as the merchant has to get a high price for his goods. If there is a combination of employers which actually pay the price—I am only speaking from reading. I am in no combination in

any way. I run my business by myself, and would not be dictated to by any combination.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) By a union or combination?—A. No, sir. I would not be dictated to by a union or combination; but I say right here I have never had any reason to find any fault with anything the boiler makers' union has asked. I never found anything unreasonable in what they have asked. But it is an old saying that "Money makes the mare go," and the combination of employers certainly has a great deal more money than the combination of workmen. You have got to fight the devil with fire, and the only way to fight that combination is to get all bodies of workmen to join together, and make an injury to one an injury to the whole. If I was a working boilermaker again I would belong to the union, and would consider it to the interest of my union to be affiliated with the other unions connected with the building trades council. I have told my men so.

Testimony closed.

Whereupon, at 5.20 p. m., the subcommission took a recess until 7.30 p. m.

CHICAGO, March 29, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. VICTOR FALKENAU,

General Building Contractor, Chicago.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m., March 29, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 7 p. m. Mr. Victor Falkenau was sworn as a witness and testified as follows:

Q. Your post-office address?—A. 110 La Salle street, Chicago.

Q. And your occupation?—A. General contractor.

Q. Is there a central body of building contractors in Chicago?—A. Yes.

Q. What is the name of it?—A. The building contractors' council.

Q. Are you a member of that council?—A. I am.

Q. An officer?—A. Chairman of the members' committee and member of the executive committee.

Q. We shall be very glad to have you go on in your own way and give your testimony concerning the industrial conditions in Chicago, especially in relation to the building trades.—A. For the purpose of making it more concise, we have seen fit to divide the various branches, and I will make the opening statement. (Reading:)

"In the year 1894 several organizations of mechanics in the building trades of this city, having had considerable trouble up to that date by reason of being unable to force a compliance with their demands upon the contractors and owners who were erecting buildings, organized and formed what is now known as the building trades council. It consisted at that time of representatives designated as delegates from each separate organization affiliated with it in the building trades and at that time properly organized.

"In looking around for a most effective way in which to compel obedience to their demands, not only by building contractors and owners, but by laboring men and mechanics of all classes who were not affiliated with their separate organizations, they inaugurated what is now known as the sympathetic strike. The definition of a sympathetic strike is, where the contractor or mechanic is employed upon a building where there are other mechanics belonging to the different unions of the building trades council, and the nonunion mechanic refuses to connect himself with their organizations, or the contractor refuses to obey the mandates of the walking delegate, all of the union mechanics and laborers upon the job immediately quit work, and the progress upon the building is immediately stopped and work absolutely ceases until the demands of the building trades council are complied with.

"By this means they have been enabled to increase their membership and power by compelling all lines in the building trades to come within their ranks, and compelling the contractors and owners to obey the mandates of the building trades council and to support rules and regulations of the different unions affiliated with that body which they know are both arrogant and unjust, not only to their own sense of intelligence, but to the welfare of the general public as well.

"If an owner, architect, or contractor did not do as the walking delegate requested, no matter how trifling might be the complaint, a sympathetic strike was immediately ordered, and work upon the building was left to stand until the demands of the delegate were complied with. If a member of one of the

unions affiliated with the council should be fined for disobeying any of the rules of his organization, the contractor who was employing him was invariably compelled either to guarantee or see that the fine was paid. They have even gone to the extent of calling a sympathetic strike until the matter of one of their own rules was adjusted to their satisfaction before they would permit the building upon which he was working at the time to go forward to completion.

"Gradually becoming aware of their power and ability to enforce any demand which they might choose to make, whether just or unjust, and increasing their membership until they have now every branch of the building industry within their ranks and under their control, encouraged by the ease with which they accomplished this and secured almost any demand they might make of the contractors, about 2 years ago they began to inaugurate the policy of running the building interests of the city of Chicago to suit themselves, and under such rules as they might choose to promulgate without any regard for the rights of the contractor, the owner, the manufacturer, or the architect, who had their money invested in expensive plants, consisting of valuable machinery and other accessories necessary for the proper conduct of their respective lines of business; without any regard for the rights of citizenship and less regard for the building interest of a great city like the city of Chicago.

"The policy of the right of the shop to have an apprentice was the first move. There are at the present time only 2 or 3 of the 32 trades represented in the building trades council, wherein a contractor, who has spent a lifetime learning his own trade, and gradually through his intelligence and perseverance finally reaching the position of a contractor in his line, has a right, if he should be fortunate enough to have a son who might desire to follow in the footsteps of his father, to allow him to learn the trade even in his father's own establishment. Apprentices at the present time are absolutely barred in all of the most remunerative branches of the building trades of the city of Chicago. This of necessity compels contractors and others in this city who desire to have their boys learn a trade to send them outside of Chicago to perfect themselves in any branch of industry which they might choose to follow. If similar organizations to the building trades council in all other cities should adopt these rules we should actually have to import from Europe all of our labor.

"The absolute prohibition of the use of machinery by the different organizations affiliated with the building trades council was the next move. Thousands of dollars spent by contractors and manufacturers for special machinery with which to cheapen the cost of production of their various materials has been for years compelled to lie idle in their shops and yards; those more notably in the case of the stone contractors, which matter is treated fully in the statement of grievances of the different organizations.

"The next move on the part of the building trade council was limiting the amount of work that a mechanic could do in a given time."

By that, gentlemen, is meant the plumbers, who, after having made an agreement, followed it up a month later by a law stating the amount of work a man might do in a day. He was allowed, according to their rules, to set 1 wash basin, 1 closet, 1 bath tub, as a day's work, or do the roughing in for each one of those for a day's work; or a gas fitter was allowed as a maximum maybe 90 feet of gas pipe. In the plumbers that would not be equivalent to more than three-eighths of a day's work, and for that 8 hours' work they insist on a day's pay.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Each piece would only require 8 hours?—A. According to the scale no man was allowed, under penalty of a fine, to do more than the amount I have mentioned. (Witness continues to read.)

"In this city, where 8 hours is recognized as a day's labor, in order that the poor mechanic might be able to receive the same compensation as the one who is more skilled and more rapid in his work, and that there might be no discrimination between the two when it came to a question of employment, the amount of work that each one could do in a given time of 8 hours per day was stipulated. The building trades council took as a basis to regulate the capacity of the individual the amount of labor and material which the inferior man could do in this given time.

"While it is true that this limitation of the amount of work does not extend to all branches of the trades affiliated with the building trades council, at the same time it has been sanctioned and approved by the building trades council by their refusing to discipline organizations which had inaugurated this outrageous measurement of the amount of work that a man should do.

"The contractors of the city of Chicago watched with a certain degree of alarm and apprehension the rapid growth of the building trades council; but a great many of these contractors, having themselves grown from the ranks of the

different unions before they were affiliated with the building trades council, not being antagonistic to the organization of labor, believed that the building trades council would see the error which they were committing and at the proper time compel organizations which were making unjust demands to retract them and to conduct their associations on lines of justice and fairness to both contractor and journeyman.

"The contractors bore with patience these unjust and arbitrary rules, because they were compelled to accede to any and all demands the various unions might feel disposed to make upon them, for fear of the use of the sympathetic strike, which was a weapon always loaded and ready to respond to the slightest touch of the building trades council."

The reason we say we were compelled is that most contracts have in them a limitation of time within which the contract must be completed. If in the middle of such a contract any such outrageous demand was made, it stands to reason that the contractor, in his ambition and desire to carry out the contract and not bring harm and damage to the owner of the building, would rather give in to such unreasonable demand than place the completion of the building in jeopardy. (Witness continues reading:)

"The demands of the building trades' council, however, continued to multiply. There seemed to be no end to their resources for unreasonable and arrogant demands. In their zeal to strengthen their organization, their selfish purposes did not permit them to give any thought to the conditions that were confronting them, and how much harm they were doing to the building interests of the city of Chicago and the general prosperity and welfare of the community. Recognizing the fact the general public could not afford to build while such rules and regulations were in force, and that it would be impossible for the contractor to conduct or to continue his business and control himself so long as the building trades council enforced its arbitrary rules, the building contractors of this city met in general meeting in April, 1899, and formed what is known as the building contractors' council.

"This organization consists of the following associations of contractors, who are doing business in the city of Chicago: Chicago Masons and Builders' Association, Master Carpenters and Builders' Association, Master Carpenters' Association, Cut Stone Contractors' Association, Chicago Master Plumbers' Association, Chicago Master Steam Fitters' Association, Chicago Painters' Association, Master Plasterers' Association, House Draining Association, Sheet Metal Contractors' Association, Mantel and Tile Association, The Iron League, Mosaic Tile Association, Marble Manufacturers' Association.

"An organization was perfected in April, 1899, to meet and discuss matters pertaining to the contracting business in the city of Chicago, and endeavor to regulate and adjust the differences existing between the associations affiliated with the building contractors' council and those affiliated with the building trades council. At a meeting of the different associations connected with the building contractors' council, they presented their various grievances against the unions affiliated with the building trades council. These grievances, while being an accurate recital of the demands of the unions upon the contractors, do not touch upon the many abuses, annoyances, acts of intimidation, acts of violence, and the many impositions that have been forced by the members of the building trades council upon the general public, the owner, the contractor, and the nonunion man who dared to assert his manhood and endeavor to earn an honest living without paying tribute to an organization that places itself, its mandates, and its constitutions above those of the commonwealth of the great State of Illinois and the United States of America. It is, as some one has said heretofore, of more interest to the foreigner who might happen to wander to the shores of the majestic Lake Michigan to belong to the building trades council than it would be to apply for his naturalization papers that he might enjoy and exercise the rights and privileges of American citizenship.

"In other parts of this statement of facts will be found verified recitals of facts touching upon these particular subjects, which will bear witness that the grievances herewith presented are founded upon actual occurrences and can not be controverted by any statement of any individual or association affiliated with the building trades council.

"The building contractors' council, in discussing these various grievances presented to them by the different organizations, came to the just and plausible conclusion that the time had come to act; that they should begin and endeavor to get the different matters adjusted and the obnoxious rules abrogated.

"With that end in view, on August 30, 1899, the building contractors' council adopted a motion to the effect that a committee of five should be appointed to

wait upon the building trades council and submit to them the grievances of the different organizations affiliated with the building contractors' council and inform the building trades council that unless they were modified in some instances and abrogated in others within one week, the various organizations affiliated with the building contractors' council would be compelled to adopt measures for their own protection.

"The committee was appointed by the secretary of the building contractors' council, who sent notice to the building trades council and requested that they appoint a similar committee to confer with them upon the subject, such committee to be considered as a joint committee on arbitration, to continue and in the future adjust all matters in dispute. No answer was received and no attention paid to this request for over one week, and when a meeting was finally arranged with the committee from the building trades council for 10 a. m., September 18, for some reason or other their committee failed to meet at the appointed time. They subsequently informed the secretary of the building contractors' council that they would meet them at an early date. This they finally did; but receiving no satisfaction whatever as the result of the meeting, the building contractors' council, on September 22, sent to the building trades council by special message a copy of the grievances of the different organizations of the building contractors' council, and requested that they take action immediately upon the same. Up to the 13th of October no word had been received as yet from the building trades council. Their committee had not presented itself, and no attention was paid to the repeated requests for a conference. The committee of the building contractors' council, upon this report being made to the organization of their inability to accomplish anything by reason of the committee from the building trades council refusing to meet them, asked to be discharged, which was done.

"Upon November 17, the building contractors' council having fully made up its mind that the building trades council believed that they were firmly entrenched in their position, and that they fully sanctioned the arbitrary rules of the different unions connected with their organizations, and by their actions in refusing to treat with the building contractors' council or a committee from the same indicated that they were going to conduct things in the same high-handed manner as they had been doing, adopted the following resolutions:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF THE BUILDING CONTRACTORS' COUNCIL, HELD NOVEMBER 17, 1899.

Whereas all branches of trade and commerce in Chicago, except the building trade, are sharing the general prosperity of the country; and

Whereas, in contrast to other large cities, a steady decrease has taken place in the number and amount of building permits issued in Chicago; and

Whereas in other cities also subject to the general advance in prices in building material building operations have not been thereby retarded; and

Whereas the cost of building construction in Chicago has been increased by the action of the trade unions, affiliated with the building trades council, in limiting the amount of work a man may perform in a working day, in some instances cutting his productivity in half; and

Whereas an additional expense has been caused by the prohibition on the part of certain unions, members of the building trades council, of the use of labor-saving machinery; and

Whereas the cost of construction has been further increased by the costly and harassing delays caused by strikes, sympathetic strikes, and lockouts, due to the arbitrary, unjust, and often lawless acts of the business agents of said unions; and

Whereas this state of affairs has reached a state where the best interests of workmen, contractors, architects, owners, and the city at large are in jeopardy: Therefore

Be it resolved, That in order to restore confidence and prosperity in the building trade, and to place it and the diverse interests connected therewith in a position to share the revival of business enjoyed by other trades; and

Resolved, That on and after January, 1900, the trades represented in the building contractors' council shall not recognize—

First. Any limitation as to the amount of work a man may perform during his working day.

Second. Any restriction of the use of machinery.

Third. The right of any person to interfere with the workmen during working hours.

Fourth. The sympathetic strike.

Fifth. Restriction of the use of any manufactured material except prison made.

Sixth. The right of the unions to prohibit the employment of apprentices.

And be it further resolved, That a copy of these regulations be sent to the building trades council and its affiliated unions, as outlining the position of the building contractors' council with respect to the existing conditions in the building trade at the present time, that are detrimental to the welfare of all parties concerned, with the assurance that there is no disposition on the part of the building contractors' council to question the present rate of wages, hours, or the principles of legitimate unionism.

"A copy of these resolutions was sent by special messenger to the building trades council on the same evening on which they were adopted, November 17. They were read before the building trades council and referred to a committee of 32, one from each union affiliated with the council, and by them disposed of without any action whatever on their part, and without any consideration or attention being giving to the building contractors' council.

"The ignoring of all efforts put forth by the building contractors' council to arrange for an amicable settlement of the differences existing between the several trades, and the adoption by the building contractors' council of the resolutions on November 17, was a matter of surprise to the general public. The prospective cessation of work in the building lines was a topic which the press in general was discussing, and the various rules of the different organizations found their way into public print. The building trades council, recognizing the necessity of placing themselves before the public in a better light than the exposure of their methods of conducting their organizations and the arbitrary rules of their respective trades left them in, began to seek a way in which they could forestall the inevitable results of their refusal to meet the building contractors' council and adjust the differences in dispute. The avalanche of public criticism was too much for them to bear, and not desiring to humiliate themselves and acknowledge that they had to meet an organization which they had ignored completely since inception, they solicited an interview outside of the organization to arrange for a conference. They did not, however, desire to recognize the building contractors' council, which organization alone represented all branches of the building trades, but endeavored to have a committee appointed of such contractors as were not then affiliated with the building contractors' council. The evident purpose of this was, in addition to avoiding acknowledging a backdown, that this outside committee might meet them, and the building contractors' council not agreeing to any conclusions which they might come to, would precipitate a clash between the contractors in general, and their rules and all-powerful organizations could continue as they were at that time.

"The matter was submitted to the building contractors' council, and a committee was appointed, consisting of members of the council, to confer with them. The names of this committee were handed to the gentleman who was supposed to have brought about the conference, to give to the building trades council, it being understood that they were to be recognized as a committee of the building contractors' council, and were to be treated with as such, and to report the results of the conference only to the building contractors' council.

"The building trades council, at their meeting held on December 8, appointed a similar committee. The joint committee, consisting of seven members from each council, met in session at the builders and traders' exchange on December 11, when a resolution was offered to the effect that this joint conference was being held by the committee representing the building trades council on one side, and the committee representing the building contractors' council on the other side; that they were to take up such matters as were brought before them for arbitration and adjustment; that they were to meet at such hours of the day, the days being specified, and that a majority report should be the report of the entire conference committee. The committee of the building trades council immediately upon the offering of this resolution took exception to its contents, claiming that they had no authority to recognize the committee of the contractors as representing the building contractors' council, as they were given to understand that it was an independent committee. They asked for a postponement of the joint meeting until such authority could be received from the building trades council. The meeting finally adjourned until the 18th day of December, at which time it was reconvened, and the delegates from the building trades council agreed to the adoption of the resolution offered at the previous meeting, recognizing the committee representing the contractors as a committee from the building contractors' council.

"The following articles were then submitted by the committee on behalf of the contractors as the basis to begin the conference and as the subjects for arbitration:

First. Any limitation as to the amount of work a man shall perform during his working day.

Second. Any restriction of the use of machinery.

Third. The right of any person to interfere with the workmen during working hours.

Fourth. The sympathetic strike.

Fifth. Restriction of the use of any manufactured material except prison made.

Sixth. The right of the unions to prohibit the employment of apprentices.

"The meetings began in a very harmonious manner, and a friendly disposition to treat all matters seriously and at the same time fairly was evidenced during the sessions. Meetings were held almost daily for a period of ten days, the result of which, after much labor by the joint committee, was the final adoption of an agreement.

"The main contention during the meetings of the conference committee was as to how to avoid the sympathetic strike, and at the same time be enabled to accomplish results which the building trades council had heretofore obtained by the use of the sympathetic strike, the idea of the building contractors being to do away entirely with the use of this weapon as a mode to enforce the demands of the different unions. They contended that nine-tenths of all the strikes could be avoided if they were submitted to arbitration. The conference committee finally agreed upon the adoption of the following rules governing this particular point:

"SECTION 1. Each council, parties to this contract, immediately upon the ratification of this agreement, shall elect a board of arbitration of five members, who shall jointly constitute a final board of arbitration, to serve until their successors are elected, who shall immediately enter upon their duties, and whose duties shall be to enforce the articles of this agreement, as herein incorporated, during their continuance in office, and who shall have the power to impose such fines or punishments, or both, as in their judgment the evidence may warrant, and until such fines shall have been paid or punishment satisfied such member or members shall be barred from all the privileges of the council, association, or union to which he or they may belong.

"SEC. 2. The right of a steward on the job to protect the journeyman's interest is recognized.

"All complaints, disputes, or violations of joint agreements by employer or employee, parties to this agreement, to be adjusted by the contractor or his agent, and the steward or business agent of the building trades council or affiliated unions, who shall be allowed to visit all jobs during working hours to interview the steward or workman, but will not in any way interfere with their work. Failure to adjust any complaints, disputes, or violations of agreements, the subject-matter shall at once be referred to the standing arbitration committee of five from the employers and five from the employees representing the trades interested, who shall immediately decide the matter at issue. Any case at issue that can not be adjusted by the trade directly interested, appeal shall immediately be taken to the final board of arbitration, as provided in section 1, to adjust all matters referred to it by any of the associations affiliated or may become affiliated with either party to this agreement, and their decisions shall be final. Said final board of arbitration shall be, and is hereby, given full power by both parties to this agreement to establish and enforce its own rules of procedure.

"No strike or lockout shall be authorized or called by either party to this agreement, or by any member or association affiliated or that may become affiliated with either party or their business agents, by reason of any dispute arising between the unions represented in either association. Work shall continue uninterrupted while any case is pending before the final board of arbitration."

"The other provisions in the agreement stipulated that there should be no limitation as to the amount of work that the man should perform during his working day; that each established shop in each respective trade should be allowed at least one apprentice, whose time of expiration of apprenticeship should expire before the apprentice should reach the age of 22 years.

"It was to remain optional with the contractor as to the number of men that he should employ. No rules other than those embodied in the agreement were to be promulgated, recognized, or enforced by either party while the agreement was in force, unless authorized by the final board of arbitration.

"The contractors belonging to the building contractors council, according to the agreement, were to employ in buildings in course of construction or other work

in the building line no workmen except those carrying cards of an organization affiliated with the building trades council. The committee concluded its labors on the 28th day of December, when it was agreed by all of the conference committee who were present to report at the rooms the next morning, the 29th instant, and attach their names to the final report, that it might be submitted to the building contractors council, which met in the afternoon on the 29th, and to the building trades council, which assembled in the evening of the same day.

"At the appointed time the next morning the joint conference committee met, the report was read and properly signed by the following committee, representing the building contractors' council: W. F. Behel, chairman; T. C. Boyd, T. A. Dungan, James A. Miller, John Rawle, E. M. Craig, R. Vierling.

"The following names were attached to the document on behalf of the committee representing the building trades council: George P. Gubbins, chairman; Joseph A. Sullivan, E. Edwards, Herman Lillien.

"The other three members of the committee representing the building trades council—Mr. Woodbury, of the carpenters' association; Mr. Madden, of the journeyman steam fitters' association, and Mr. Smith, representing the plumbers' union—were not present.

"The other members of their committee stated that they would see that their names were added to the report before it was presented to the meeting of the building trades council in the evening.

"These names were not added to the report when it was presented at their meeting, various reasons being given, but as yet not sufficient reason to justify their action in refusing to sign a report to which they were a party, having agreed to its provisions and voted in favor of its adoption.

"The report was presented to the building contractors council at this meeting on the afternoon of the 29th of December and immediately ratified by them. The signatures of the president and secretary of the council were attached to the copy, and the committee were instructed to meet as already arranged, with the committee from the building trades council at 10 o'clock on Saturday, the 30th instant, to exchange copies of the agreement. The conference committee of the building contractors council had been assured by the committee of the building trades council that there was no doubt but the building trades council would adopt the report at their meeting on Friday, the 29th instant.

"The report was presented to the meeting of the building trades council, together with all of the records and minutes of the conference; after the reading of which the secretary of the building trades council was instructed to have copies of the joint agreement printed and sent to the respective organizations affiliated with the building trades council, for them to act upon and instruct their delegates to the building trades council how to vote upon the proposition. The building trades council in this instance put itself on record as having the authority upon one occasion to appoint a committee to confer with the building contractors council, and still when the report of the committee was presented to it for adoption, it claimed that it did not have the power to adopt the agreement, but would necessarily have to refer it to the different organizations.

"Only one of their committee reported at the meeting on Saturday morning, December 30th. He informed the committee of what had transpired at the meeting of the building trades council, and assured the committee that it would be a matter of three weeks before answers could be received from all of the organizations in regard to what action they had taken in the matter. He stated that there was no doubt but the majority of the organizations would instruct their delegates to vote for the adoption of the joint agreement.

"On January 5, 1900, information was received by the building contractors council of a sympathetic strike having been inaugurated on the Methodist Book Concern building, Washington street, near State, on account of some shopmen employed by a marble concern working upon the building who were not affiliated with the trades council. The conference committee of the building contractors council was instructed to call upon the committee of the building trades council that same day and protest against this action, pending the action of the building trades council on the joint agreement. The committee called at the headquarters of the building trades council, 187 Washington street, and there met Mr. Davis, the secretary of the council, and Mr. Lillien and Mr. Woodbury, members of the conference committee. They stated their object and gave them to understand that in their estimation the calling of a sympathetic strike upon this building, pending their disposition of the joint agreement, was a breach of faith on their part, and they were requested to call the strike off. This they claimed they had no power to do, as the matter was not in their hands, and they could do nothing

until it was turned over to them. Mr. Woodbury, who was one of the delegates who had not signed the joint agreement, was asked at this meeting for his reasons for refusing to sign the document. He stated that his reasons were personal, and that they were nobody's business but his own."

Now, as a matter of fact, at a meeting held at the Sunset Club, which is a body of representative business men of this city, Mr. Woodbury stated he was absolutely opposed to arbitration agreements being formulated between the carpenters union and the employers association, inasmuch as arbitration was rarely satisfactory, took too much time, and in the end the men always got the worst of it. (Reading:)

"Those present contended that as a majority of the committee of the building trades council had signed the agreement, it was just as binding as if they all had signed it. But the refusal of the three men who represented some of the largest organizations in the building trades council to attach their signatures to the agreement was in the estimation of the building contractors council an indication that they desired to pose before their organization as not being in full sympathy with the provisions of the agreement."

"They were asked at this meeting what progress was being made toward getting the matter before the different associations, and what, if any, action had as yet come under their notice. Mr. Davis, the secretary of the council, produced some printed copies of the agreement, and stated that there was only one organization that had had a meeting since he had them printed, and that this was the only organization that as yet had taken the matter up.

"As one week had already transpired since the joint agreement was placed in the hands of the building trades council, it was necessary to infer that the three weeks which they had asked for would be continued now to four weeks. When the suggestion was made of the possibility of getting the matter up before the different unions and hurrying it to a speedy settlement, even if it was necessary to call special meetings of the trade unions to act upon the matter, it was stated that there was no necessity, as they would all act upon it within the time before mentioned.

"Not being able to get any satisfaction from the building trades council in relation to the sympathetic strike on the Methodist Book Concern, the executive committee of the building contractors council were compelled to take the matter in hand. At a meeting they decided to send to the building trades council a letter to the effect that the rights and privileges of a member in good standing in the association connected with the building contractors council would have to be protected by the building contractors council, and that the council proposed to stand by the firm in question upon the Methodist Book Concern building, even if it was necessary to the extent of guaranteeing the completion of that building."

The letter I will read (reading):

CHICAGO, January 17, 1900.

Mr. E. A. DAVIS, *Secretary Building Trades Council, 137 Washington Street, City.*

DEAR SIR: The building contractors council has instructed its conference committee to communicate at once with your council in reference to the agreement formulated by the joint conference committee, December 29, 1899, to the end that a definite day be set for the final ratification and signing of the agreement. Our part of the agreement was signed by our president and secretary, December 30, 1899, and has been ready to be exchanged for the one in your possession since that date.

We therefore ask that a definite answer be given us not later than Saturday, January 27, 1900, so that we may prepare a definite line of action for the future.

Awaiting your answer, we remain yours, respectfully,

W. F. BEHEL,

Chairman Conference Committee, Building Contractors' Council.

(Witness continues reading paper:)

"The matter was finally amicably adjusted to the satisfaction of all concerned, pending the final action of the building trades council on the joint agreement.

"On January 27, not having had any word or any communication from the building trades council in answer to the letter of January 17, 1900, and receiving no replies to repeated requests for some information in regard to their proposed action in reference to the joint agreement, the building contractors' council, despairing of reaching an agreement with them, and having made up their minds that the building trades council was acting in bad faith, and was only playing for time, and trying to delay the matter until the building season opened and the contractors

were all busy, decided to fix a definite time for action on the part of the building contractors' council, in the event of the building trades council not ratifying the joint agreement. They adopted the following notice, which was printed in circular letter form and sent to every individual connected with the associations affiliated with the building contractors' council, with instructions to see that every journeyman and workman in their employ in the building line should receive a copy of the same."

The circular, which reads as follows, was directed to the respective journeymen and mechanics in each trade, and stated to each journeyman and mechanic in each trade the amount of wages which would be paid him. The balance of the circular reads as follows:

"The unions affiliated with the building trades council have absolutely ignored the joint agreement and failed to ratify the same. We hereby make the following rules to be enforced by the contractors of Chicago on and after February 1900, and you will govern yourselves accordingly.

Eight hours shall constitute a day's work.

Time and one-half will be allowed for all overtime.

Double time for Sundays and holidays.

No limitation as to the amount of work a man shall perform in a day.

No restriction as to union or nonunion made material.

No restriction as to the use of machinery.

The foreman shall be the agent of the contractor.

The right to employ and discharge whoever he may choose is reserved to the employer."

The wages as promulgated through the medium of this circular to the journeymen of the respective trades was as follows:

Bricklayers	\$4.00	Marble setters	3.5
Plumbers	4.00	Carpenters	3.4
Stonemasons	4.00	Painters	3.0
Gas fitters	4.00	Gravel roofers	3.0
Steam fitters	4.00	Plasterers' laborers	2.4
Plasterers and engineers	4.00	Laborers	2.0
Tile setters	4.00	House drainers	3.2
Iron setters and bracket structural	3.60	Sheet-metal workers	3.4
Iron workers, ornamental and brackets	3.20		

"These circulars were printed and distributed by the various organizations, as requested, among their employers. Naturally they came to the notice of the building trades council, the officers of which immediately began to offset the effect of the same by declaring to their men and the members of their organization that it was a lockout on the part of the general contractors. The terms of the notices, however, simply stated that on and after February 5th the contractors of the city of Chicago would not submit to the dictates or rules of the building trades council, and that men who desired to go to work for them would have to work under the rules adopted by the building contractors' council."

Now, gentlemen, that is a general statement of the case, and brings it up to the 5th of February, when the notices were passed to the men. It is unnecessary to state, as you have probably had testimony to that effect before, that on account of the disturbances in labor circles, real estate in Chicago has severely suffered.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Is this the Madden agreement, what was known as the Madden movement for arbitration or settlement, that you have been dealing with?—A. You mean the long statement I read there?

Q. Yes.—A. That was the arbitration meeting.

Q. Initiated by Mr. Madden?—A. Initiated by Mr. Madden originally, and then turned down. Of course, that statement is only valuable so far as it shows our action, our desire to deal with these men; and to recognize their building trades council, and the methods of that council and what their actions have been.

Q. I want to ask you in that connection if there was any other movement for settlement of this strike trouble that was initiated by Mayor Harrison, and if you are going to treat of that later on; or if there is anything to say about it, would you prefer to say it right here in this connection?—A. If you prefer.

Q. Had you it in your memorandum for discussion?—A. I was ready to answer any questions that you gentlemen might suggest. I will take that up if you wish Mayor Harrison, learning of the serious conditions that might possibly arise from the very much disturbed elements in the labor market, and recognizing the fact that through similar conditions there had been brought about a state of rebellion

in 1894 which forced the President of the United States to send on troops to this city, thought that he might act as intermediary, and notified nine members of the building contractors' council to meet nine members of the building trades council in his office to arbitrate. However, the contractors, after thoroughly considering the proposition, and recognizing that it came from the first magistrate of the city, and all the dignity it represented, nevertheless concluded that two attempts had been made to settle the difficulty with the building trades council; and having previously, in the press and on all possible occasions, endeavored to show the character and the general make-up of this building trades council, the contractors recognized that this body, as they had shown by examples, was so unreliable, lawless, and corrupt that no possible good could come from any conference or attempt at arbitration with them. The contractors' council at that time had announced through its committee that it had taken the stand that, having used all possible means and made all possible efforts to reach an amicable settlement of this question with the building trades council, they would not deal with the building trades council as such. But they had also announced that they were ready to deal with any of its affiliated unions. I should correct myself there; not that the council was ready to deal with any of its affiliated unions, but they referred any of the affiliated unions of the building trades council to their respective bodies of employers; that is, bricklayers to deal with master masons, carpenters' union men to deal with the carpenters' organizations, and so on; and therefore Mayor Harrison made no further efforts.

I was merely going to state as a taxpayer that each and every owner of property in the city of Chicago has materially suffered on account of the decrease in the value of real estate; in fact, in my humble opinion, when the nation wished to honor Admiral Dewey, if they had presented him a house in Chicago instead of Washington, they would not have placed him in this dilemma: I don't believe he could have given the house away here. Real estate values have been seriously depressed. Building values have been forced upwards. Labor organizations have grown so arrogant—in fact labor leaders in the hard times have made demand after demand, and on account of the position of the contractors, who were in a great many cases under heavy bonds to complete the buildings on time, they had to yield to those demands; and they continued formulating demands and inhibiting power until you might say they were power-drunk. Many of the demands they made will probably be narrated by those who follow me. One of the strange conditions that Chicago presents is, that notwithstanding the hard times in 1895 and from 1895 onward, the labor unions have been able to formulate themselves under such rules that they have constantly been driving one man after another into their fold until you might say they had the entire city unionized. Of course the result of it was, there being very little work, that a great many of these men had to remain unemployed. The conditions in Chicago were different from those in any city in this country. In 1893, on account of the World's Fair, we found here on our hands stranded mechanics of all branches. Of course in 1893, on account of the congestion in the building interests, they were able to earn very large wages; but after the panic took place building almost came to a cessation by April, 1894, and from that time on, strange to say, the building trades council has been able to gather strength, until to-day it has reached the refinement of the building trades council idea. A great many curious results have grown out of the conditions, perfect as they were under the system in force. The building trades council took the stand that they would not handle any material excepting that fashioned by members of bodies affiliated with it. At a large building which I was erecting at 182 Fifth avenue, I had undesignedly sublet the contract for the ornamental iron work to a firm just outside of Cook County. Consequently the ornamental iron work was fashioned by men not members of a body affiliated with the building trades council. The building had to be finished in 3½ months, and being six stories and basement, and fireproof at that, I had very little time to spare. On the 2d day of December the ornamental iron arrived at the site. I found that the members of the ornamental iron workers' union refused to handle it, their reason being that it had not been made by the members of the Chicago building trades council. I was compelled to throw all that iron out and have it refashioned in Chicago at an expense of \$2,700. It is not the amount I complain of here; it is the principle involved. At the Western Electrical Building, involving an expenditure of \$320,000, there were somewhere in the neighborhood of 80,000 feet of iron beams. They were connected by fireproof arches. The plastering contractor whom I had employed started as per specifications and our contract to cover the underside of those beams with two coats of mortar, the first coat being a brown coat, the second white plaster. The delegate from the building trades council came there and informed us that that

would never do. On being asked what was the trouble, he stated that it would be necessary for us to tack up rods and run every one of those corners just as if it were a cornice in an elegant residence. We argued with him, stating that that would mean an expense of 15 cents a foot as against 2 cents a foot in the other case, and his answer was that they were not making rules for the benefit of the employers.

As I was saying, the state of the labor market in this city offered very little employment, considering the great number of men who belong to the various unions. The labor leaders in their desire to do good—and a very proper desire if not injurious to the city's interests—believed some means must be found to make the work go around, and began what we have termed the limitation of a day's work. This limitation was not confined to one line, the plumbers, but extended to the gas fitters, the plasterers, the lathers, and I am told to the steam fitters, they being allowed to turn so many threads on a certain size of pipe, and the number of threads constituting a day's work, decreasing as the size of the pipe increases. And in the case of the steam fitters, they even went so far—and the rule was enforced last month; I assume it is to-day—that they insisted upon certain additional piping going in which the contractors, claiming and believing they were competent engineers, deemed absolutely unnecessary and superfluous, but in order to satisfy the unions these pipes had to go in. I have just returned from the East, where I have been visiting the five principal cities, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, and there my attention was called to the fact that the average intelligence of the contractors was questioned. I wish to say to this commission that as a general contractor in this city, having come in contact with five or six hundred of the firms and representative contractors of this town, I may state with some authority, I believe, and without possibly appearing conceited, that the average intelligence of the contractor in this city is fully as high as that in any city in the country, and the same applies to the workmen.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Where and by whom was the intelligence of the Chicago contractors questioned?—A. I read a statement made before you, by Mr. Nicholson I believe; it was so stated in the paper I read, that there is a possibility that the men may grow more intelligent than the contractor. Now I am of the firm conviction, as I have been an employer of union men a great many years, and have come in very close touch with my employees, who at times have numbered as many as 3,000—I am of the firm conviction that were the best intelligence of these employees to prevail, the union conditions, as they exist in Chicago to-day, would not be in force. I have all confidence in the large number of mechanics. A large majority of them are intelligent, and they are anxious to put in as many days in the year as possible. They are absolutely opposed to the sympathetic strike, and if a fair and honest unrestricted ballot could be taken, that statement would probably be borne out by 80 to 85 per cent of the unions, in my judgment. I so state because I have been requested to do so by men who are afraid to appear before this commission, members of unions, but men who have been in my employ for a good many years, and who feel that if they so stated they might receive personal violence. This may seem strange to you gentlemen, and I say it as a citizen of Chicago with a certain sense of degradation and shame, that my experience and my investigation in the East has taught me that there is no city in this country where lawlessness is allowed to prevail and continue as it is in the city of Chicago. Within 4 months, in the city of New York, where the press has found it necessary constantly to attack the integrity of the police force, when there was a strike at one of the largest buildings, and the strikers were told to leave the building, and their places were filled by nonunion men, it merely required the presence of two policemen on the ground to preserve order. And these policemen notified any such men as constituted themselves pickets that if they dared to picket or patrol the place to such an extent that they were found twice before the premises they would be arrested, and they were arrested, and the result was not as it was in Chicago; they were not pardoned out the next day, as was the case with Mayor Harrison after a man had been sent up for 90 days to the Bridewell in this city.

It is not a question of politics with me in any form; it is immaterial to me whether it is a Democratic or a Republican administration; I wish to be clearly understood on that point. The point that I stand for is that it is the duty of the chief magistrate of the city to protect the liberty and rights of any and every individual, whether he carry a union card or not. These conditions did not prevail, I am glad to say, under the administration of the father of the present mayor. In 1887 I was erecting the Haymarket Theater, and we had one of the bitterest fights this city has ever known. It was the strike in which the men stood for the eight-hour rule. I reported to the mayor that there were men in front of my

building and close by who interfered with others who wished to work at that building. He listened to the entire story quietly, and when I got through he simply turned to me and said: "I know there is no law covering this ground, but that picket is there only for one purpose; he does not work himself and he is ready to use such force as may be necessary to prevent others from working, and I shall see that anybody who wants to work gets the privilege of so doing." The present mayor, however, I regret to say, does not take that stand; and even in connection with work which comes directly under his domain, the public schools of this city, he has permitted three buildings to remain unfinished. They were abandoned fully four and one-half months ago, if not longer. If my memory serves me rightly it was the first or second day of October, 1899. In one of the schools the trouble was that there was nonunion concrete in the basement; that is, concrete which had been put in by nonunion men, and all the different branches, steam fitters, plasterers, masons, carpenters, and others in the building left it and insisted on staying away until this nonunion concrete should be dug out and replaced by union concrete.

In another building there is a \$17 compression tank which was made by non-union labor, and the building is abandoned; and in the third there is a boiler which was made in a nonunion boiler shop, and that building stands idle; notwithstanding the fact that the mayor knows that over 4,000 children are waiting to get schooling and education under these roofs. It was not, however, until 1894—the same year that the building trades council was formed, if I am informed correctly—that the men learned that they could receive the cooperation of the police department. At that time a firm of which I am the president was erecting the Stock Exchange Building, involving an expenditure of considerably over \$1,250,000. The carpenters, under the stress of the conditions under which we were working in 1893, presented us with an agreement. The carpenters as employers were not organized, and they presented each individual firm with an agreement in April, I believe it was, of 1893, asking for 45 cents an hour. We, of course, having a great many long contracts which must be finished for the World's Fair, had nothing left but to sign the agreement. However, by the fall of 1893 there was not much work, and they offered their services for 40 cents, 30 cents, and finally as low as 25 cents per hour, and that was the prevailing wage in this city in the spring of 1894. At that time we were about ready to place a large body of carpenters in a building. We were paying the men 30 cents per hour, which was 5 cents above the rate then prevailing. They immediately called a strike. Mayor Hopkins was in the city hall chair. His window overlooked the building which we were erecting. We called for police protection. They sent about 40 police, but these 40 police permitted the pickets to the extent of 40 or 50 to patrol the premises, in fact in such numbers that it was difficult for persons to pass in front of the building; and it was a daily occurrence that men were knocked down right in front of policemen—nonunion men were knocked down, their tool chests taken away from them, and the men beaten; and the police stood there and always arrested a nonunion man. We had only 3 cases out of 73 that occurred in which a union man was arrested.

It was that simply that led the building trades council to recognize the fact that their strength lay in having the assistance of the police force. Up to 1897 work remained very slack, but the building trades council kept reinforcing itself. Up to that date it was part of the laws of the body that no person belonging to the building trades council could at the same time hold a political office, whether it be national, State, county, or city. However, at that time, I believe it was in 1897 that Mr. Carter Harrison, the present incumbent of the mayoralty chair, took his place; and at the same time the law was abrogated which had been in force before, preventing members of the building trades council from holding political positions; and at that time or somewhat later the president of the building trades council was made one of the city officers of the civil service commission of this city. That, of course, led to a good many abuses of power, and was a material factor in helping members of the various affiliated bodies in obtaining offices under the administration. It also led, as I am reliably informed, to increasing the number of persons required in doing city work. For instance, in doing paving jobs they appoint one inspector of sand, one of cement, one of crushed stone and concrete, one of brick, and sometimes one of asphalt, each man drawing \$5 a day. These expenses, of course, have to be borne by the taxpayer; and, gentlemen, these are the conditions as you find them to-day.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have you any information or belief that politics have had anything to do with the initiation of this strike and the failure of efforts to settle it?—A. In my judgment politics had absolutely nothing to do with the origin of the strike. The strike is due to the one simple fact that in addition to

the rules that we have here announced, we insist on the dissolution of the building trades council. That is the only thing, the only step that can lead to any lasting good. We do not stand on any untenable grounds; we do not say to these gentlemen, you can not maintain your building trades council while we can maintain our contractors' council; while, of course, the ground that the contractors' council takes is on a very much higher plane than that of the building trades council. The only ground that we take is one that will lead to continued employment of the men, to do away with strikes and lockouts, so that prosperity may again return to the building interests of Chicago. First and foremost, the building trades council must be dissolved; the bodies affiliated with it must break away from it before the employers' organization can treat with them.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Are you willing to dispense with your council if they will dispense with theirs?—A. We are not at present willing to dispense with our council. The council is one which has much larger aims than might appear on the surface. There will be much larger matters which will come under its domain, under its proper action, and will be properly considered; and it will never be a council which will take any action which shall be in the least harmful to any of the interests of either the affiliated bodies or any of its individuals.

Q. Would you object to the continuing of their council if it would allow the separate trades to enter into arbitration and make it effectual?—A. Decidedly, because the only principle, as they themselves recognize, that holds their council together, is the sympathetic strike; and that is the thing that is keeping our school buildings from being finished; that is the thing that acts against a man who does not happen to carry a union card. In my humble judgment only—I am not speaking for my council—I am firmly of the belief that it is to the interest of all that unions should be recognized, but not as against an individual who does not see fit to belong to the union. It is his privilege to work just the same as it is that of the man who carries a union card. You may answer to that, how will you prevent chaos in wages if you try to work union and nonunion men together—that is to say, the nonunion men will be willing to reap the benefit of the union work. But that in practice is not so, as is evidenced in a large measure by what at present prevails in Boston. There union and nonunion men work together. In Baltimore the same is now in vogue, and there is no disposition to cut the wages. If you will allow me, I will read you the policy of the council as formulated.

Q. Which council?—A. The building contractors' council. (Reading:) "When the unions affiliated with the building trades council have permanently withdrawn their support from said council, and express a desire to treat with individual associations of like trades, and recognize the equal rights of all to work for whom they may see fit, and the right of the employer to hire or discharge whomsoever he may see fit, then we will pledge our individual associations to pay the rate of wages in force February 5, 1900—8 hours per day; 6 days per week; time and a half for overtime; double time for Sundays and holidays; no limitation as to the amount of work a man shall perform in a day; no restriction of the use of manufactured material, other than prison-made; no restriction to the use of machinery—each association will treat as to methods of enforcing the above."

Q. Hitherto disputes have been settled by arbitration. You are familiar, I presume, with the system that prevails in Boston?—A. Yes.

Q. Between the master masons and the bricklayers' union?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They have gone on successfully under that for 9 years?—A. Yes.

Q. Settling their differences?—A. Yes.

Q. And that is done on the principle that there shall be neither a strike nor a lockout, but all differences, if they can not be settled between the employer and the employee, shall be referred to a board of arbitration?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, what is in the way of doing just that thing here?—A. We are absolutely prepared to do precisely that thing here; but you evidently lose sight of the fact that this is between the bodies of employers and the unions of employees, and this absolutely does away with the building trades council. I will read you a few lines that refer to that. (Reading:)

"And also agree that all such questions"—this means both sides also agree—"that all such questions shall be settled by our own trade without any intervention of any other trade whatsoever."

That means doing away with the sympathetic strike, and in that lies the essence of this agreement.

Q. That is a part of the Boston scheme that you read from?—A. Yes; the Boston agreement, yes. Now, in the city of Boston they have endeavored to continue the amalgamated building trades council, as they call it there, but the bricklayers and masons have an agreement with the employers, and there has been absolute faith

kept on both sides; the same applies to the laborers and the employers. It is not the duty of the employer to ascertain whether an employee is a member of the union or not, but, as a matter of fact, they work together with them. The union granite cutters have worked alongside the nonunion granite cutters without any questions asked. The same applies to the plasterers, steam fitters, plumbers, and so you might go through the entire list. In Baltimore it took 4 months, as you probably know, to do away with the demands of the building trades council.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You answered the first part of my question, and the second part remains unanswered.—A. That was, if you please—I was interrupted.

Q. Have politics anything to do with the continuance of the strike and the failure of the efforts at arbitration and settlement?—A. I believe I am justified in saying that there is absolutely no politics in either phase of the case, neither in the origin of the strike nor in the settling of it. But we do believe—at least some of us believe, not as a council, I mean individuals—are of the opinion that there is a great deal of politics involved in the matter of the building trades council, because since that building trades council has introduced its methods and many of its affiliated members in the city hall and on the city pay rolls, a national building trades council has been formed, and that national building trades council would give any local building trades council the power, as they claim, to stop work in any and every city. If it is, as has been claimed by some, the desire and the object of the mayor to utilize the building trades council for political purposes in a local way, it is fair to assume that the national building trades council has been projected for a similar purpose and merely to cover a larger field.

Q. Have you ever heard that the Madden movement at arbitration was defeated on the one side because Mr. Madden was a Republican, and that the mayor's effort to settle it was defeated on the other side because the mayor was a Democrat, and he proposed to make political capital out of it?—A. No, sir; on the contrary—

Q. (Interrupting.) Never heard anything of that sort?—A. On the contrary, I think it is ridiculous to bring in any such idea. If anybody has brought that in to you—

Q. (Interrupting.) It has not been brought in in the way of testimony. I have merely— A. (Interrupting.) Merely heard it.

Q. Merely heard it; yes.—A. I would say, on the contrary, that the only thing that, in my judgment, defeated the ratification of that agreement, which had already been signed, was the absolute objection of many of the unions to submit matters to arbitration. As I have said before and used the phrase—I use it advisedly again—they were power drunk. They believed that any demands they made would have to be granted. I can give evidence of that in the remarks made by Mr. Woodbury at a meeting which I have previously mentioned here this evening, at which he stated that he was absolutely opposed to arbitration; and that in his union as well as in several other unions underlies their objection to that agreement. Had that agreement been drawn up and properly signed, as it was drawn up by the various affiliated bodies, it is probable that in Chicago there would have been by this time \$15,000,000 worth of work under way. The evidence of the malicious and tyrannical working of the building trades council can hardly be better illustrated than by this case. I will give it, as I do not know that any of the gentlemen of the contractors' council are so familiar with it. At a building at the corner of St. Clair and Indiana streets, owned by the Ogden Sheldon estate, there were two small windows, which windows were properly fashioned by the sheet-metal contractor. There was a strike on in the shop of this contractor, and, accordingly, when it was time to build these metal frames in he, believing he could avoid trouble, sent up his men at 5 o'clock in the morning to set the frames. The building trades council representatives came to the building and ordered the balance of the mechanics to stop. It was a warehouse, I believe, costing from \$40,000 to \$50,000, and work was stopped. Then Mr. Green, representing the Ogden Sheldon estate, tried to get matters arranged. He made a proposition to them to let some other contractor, who had signed the agreement with the metal workers' union, fashion the frames. They said no; that would not answer. The next proposition was that Mr. Green himself, representing the owners, employ the union men and have the frames made. No; that would not answer. Finally, in desperation, the owner said, "I will throw out these metal frames and substitute wooden frames." "Oh, no; that will not do. We must have the man McFarlane, who got those frames out, do those frames with union labor; otherwise Mr. McFarlane must stop until he agrees with us and signs our agreement." The building lay idle there for nearly 9 weeks, and finally, as we assumed and have good reason to assume, for a consideration, a settlement was made and the building was allowed to proceed—however, not by building in these

frames. An opening had to be left for these frames, and after the building was completed the metal contractor was allowed to come on the premises and set them.

Q. You mean the walking delegate or business agent received a consideration for setting it?—A. Well, I do not know who received it.

Q. You say you had good evidence?—A. Well, we know from experience that for a consideration you can settle a strike. I will give, with your permission, some cases that occurred on other buildings. But before I go into that I had rather state some of the other workings of this building trades council, so that you can become better acquainted with its iniquitous methods. At a large building I was erecting a tall stack, the parts of which had been properly formed and prepared by the boiler makers, members of the building trades council. When this steel arrived on the premises I promptly set the boiler makers to work to set the stack. We had been at work possibly three hours when a delegation waited on us from the building trades council and informed us that we could not go ahead with the boiler makers. If we did, every man on the job, numbering possibly 350, would be called out. On asking what the trouble was, they stated that that work belonged to the structural iron men. Well, we said it was immaterial to us whether the structural iron men or the boiler makers' union set the work. I naturally called for the walking delegate of the boiler makers' union; they said he was not there. They finally brought him, and he stated that it had been settled in the building trades council that the work belonged to the boiler makers. I finally had to agree to let the work stand idle until they determined that question in that council as to which branch of labor should erect that work. For 10 days they were compelled to lie idle, and finally it was settled that the structural iron setters, the men least fitted to do the work, should set it up. It was probably so settled because these men were the weaker men in the building trades council. If you gentlemen have any questions you would like to ask I should be glad to answer them, but I will first read "The occurrences on the Montgomery Ward building," one of our largest buildings, having a tower pretty nearly 400 feet high. (Reading:)

"Ever since this building has been in course of construction it has been a scene of numerous strikes and labor troubles, which have delayed operations on the building from a few days to several weeks at different times. The contractor on the building and the owners, however, despaired of being able to complete the structure in any given time, and have resigned themselves to the fact that they will have to let the building progress and be completed just as fast as the mandates and orders of the building trades council will permit.

"The first strike of any account to occur upon the building was when the dimension stones were being laid; these stones in many instances being in the neighborhood of 5 or 6 feet square, as a usual thing the mason who set them would invariably use a shovel to place the mortar in making a bed for the stone to set in. While one of the masons was doing this one day (a man who had considerable experience and had been in the business some twenty-odd years,) the walking delegate of the bricklayers' association appeared upon the scene and demanded that he cease work unless he placed the mortar used in the bed with a small hand trowel. The mechanic refused to do this, and he was ordered by the delegate to stop work. While the strike did not last very long, it was eventually adjusted by the union conceding that the mortar should be laid with a shovel.

"In the old building adjoining the new one, there was a lot of old material, such as pipe coils, radiators, pipe fittings and boilers, which they had decided to abandon the use of. In installing the new plant for heating and power, they were to make such changes as would obviate the necessity of using this old material. The owners of the building, therefore, decided to dispose of this material to the highest bidder. Numerous persons called there to bid upon it, and it was finally sold to the firm of Renier & Williams, dealers in second-hand machinery, pipes, and fittings, and instructions given to them to remove it from the building as quickly as possible. This material not being used in the construction of the new plant, the purchasers of it naturally supposed that all they would have to do would simply be to employ laborers to go in there, disconnect the material, and remove it from the building. In the other building, about this time, union steam fitters were at work upon the new apparatus. Immediately upon discovering that laborers were being used to remove the old material, they called the attention of the business agent of their organization to the fact, with the result that the purchaser of the old material and the owners of the building were notified that the removal of this old junk was steam fitters' work, and that steam fitters would have to be employed to disconnect it, and remove it from the building. After endeavoring for several days to adjust the matter, the firm of Renier &

Williams were compelled to employ union steam-fitters and helpers to do this work. The laboring men could have done this work without any danger to any part of the building, and with no loss to the material excepting that which the purchasers of it were willing to bear. They could employ such labor to do this kind of work at \$1.50 or \$1.75 per day, two men of which would not exceed them in cost of \$4 per day, and would have dismantled and removed the material in half the time that the union mechanics would take to do the same, on account of the position which the journeymen steam fitters took in the matter. In order that the labor upon the building might progress, they were compelled to accede to the demands unjustly made by members of the building trades council, and were forced to pay a sum of \$8 per day for a steam fitter and helper, belonging to a union affiliated with the building trades council. The cost of removing this material to the purchasers of the same was the sum of \$160."

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you wish to present any other instances in connection with this?—A. Well, there are others who would like to testify and I do not want to consume the entire time.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) I should like to ask you a few questions. Are you acquainted with detective LeVin?—A. No, sir; I am not.

Q. Has he not recently been in the employ of the building contractors' council?—A. I am not on that committee that might know as to that.

Q. Is there any gentleman here who will give testimony?—A. There is a gentleman present who can give the full details as to the testimony that he gave, as to the veracity of the testimony that he gave.

Q. Do you know anything about the building supply trust in Chicago?—A. I should not call it a building supply trust. I do know that there are trade discounts as there are in all branches of business that I have ever had anything to do with; I should not call it a trust.

Q. Are those discounts given to members of a certain organization and not given to builders who are not in that organization?—A. There are no rules at present in force at all. There have been such; there have been some rules in force, but there are no rules at present in force of that nature.

Q. Was there a practice of those who supply brick to sell a certain grade of brick to members of an organization at \$8 a thousand and give a rebate of \$1?—A. Provided it was paid within 10 days. If it was paid after 10 days, there was a rebate of 50 cents; if it was not paid in 30 days the whole price had to be paid.

Q. Were those terms given to everybody in the building business in Chicago?—A. At that time to the best of my knowledge they applied to the members of the trade; it was a trade discount.

Q. To members of an organization, you mean?—A. Yes; it is an organization.

Q. And those outside that organization had not the benefit of such discount or rebate?—A. There is another organization, calling themselves the independent organization, and all I know is that they have come out with a public statement saying that they offered—that they were perfectly willing that certain material men whom they dealt with should furnish material to anybody, provided the amount were turned into their treasury. As to our organization—the one I am affiliated with—I know of no such rule, and, in fact, I know that no such rule was ever enforced.

Q. Did you have an agreement with the carpenters' union previous to this labor trouble?—A. Yes.

Q. Will you state the nature of the agreement, briefly?—A. It is a very difficult matter to state it briefly; it is a long paper. The agreement was only—it was not an agreement as such. In other words, they refused—I believe it is 2 years ago—to recognize the carpenters' association at all; to have anything to do with the bosses. And there has been formulated a set of working rules which they call an agreement; and in order to continue in business at all we were compelled to sign that agreement. Otherwise, we were not able to employ carpenters unless we employed nonunion men. That agreement went on to stipulate wages, hours, and a number of conditions, and further stated that sympathetic strikes should not be construed as a breaking of the agreement, and finished up after laying down that other questions that might arise should be submitted to arbitration.

Q. You say that agreement was in force at the beginning of this trouble between you and the carpenters' union?—A. It was in force, but it was an agreement which was signed under duress and which was really practically broken by the men on account of their falling in with the general principle laid down by the building trades council that every man should do as little work as he possibly could.

Q. You cast the agreement aside, then, when this trouble began, and felt that you were not violating the agreement because you state the men had violated

it previously?—A. We simply felt justified in ignoring it because it was not an agreement. An agreement signed under duress is hardly an agreement. In other words, as a carpenter I was compelled to go out of business or else sign that agreement. If I did not sign that agreement I could not go ahead with carpenter work. If I went along with nonunion men, all other branches of labor would strike; consequently I had no other alternative. However, that will probably be handled by some of the other speakers—that question.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) I should like to inquire whether it is possible now for any contractor or builder outside of the contractors' council to buy building material in Chicago of any kind necessary to the erection of a building without being subjected to the necessity of paying a higher price for it than members of the council could get it for?—A. I do not think that there is any question about that, in my judgment. I should not know in what line—where that would apply.

Q. You think, then, that there is perfect freedom of contract and purchase to any builder or contractor who is not a member of your council?—A. To obtain all requisites to carry on a building.

Q. To obtain the requisites and at the same price per quantity that would be paid by a member of the council?—A. I believe he can do that. I know—I am well aware that men have told me, who are not in the organization, that they have bought lime and are buying lime, brick, dimension stone, common rubble, cement, and other elements that go into a building at just the same prices that have been quoted to me. The same certainly applies to lumber. I know of no restriction that would prevent a man from purchasing such material.

Q. Unless he pays?—A. (Interrupting.) I am just reminded of the fact that the independent order of masons—that is, the employers, contractors—are getting all the material they want at present and proceeding with their work; so that there is no better evidence of it, no better answer I could make, than to refer to that fact.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) You do not know of any rebate that the building contractors' council get by which they have an advantage over a contractor that is not a member of the building contractors' council?—A. As I have said before, there is nothing except the trade discount, which we all believe is a perfectly proper matter; and even that at the present time is not in force. In fact, there are some branches in the material line in which the men who are not affiliated with the building contractors' council are buying material considerably cheaper, at lower prices than some of us are paying for it.

Q. It has been testified to here, I think, that after the money is paid there is some kind of a rebate?—A. If there is, it is a matter I have no knowledge of.

Q. That would be different?—A. I believe I am justified in saying that that is not the case.

Q. Of course, that is different from a discount. The one is a discount, I suppose, for cash, and the other would be a discount?—A. (Interrupting.) No, it has been an absolute discount. In other words, if we paid the 10th day for the supply of the goods, we were entitled to a discount.

Q. You get that when you pay; you do not pay it to the material men and then draw it back?—A. Oh, no.

Q. But you get it as a discount when you make the payment?—A. We simply, if goods were billed at \$10 and there was a discount of \$1, should get that; we should simply pay \$9. That was the case when these rules were in force.

Q. There seems to be an impression that there is an open rate that the independents, the men outside the building contractors' council as well as the men inside, would pay; but the men inside get a rebate and the men outside do not.—A. No, in fact, the outsider in a great many lines, as I have said before, can buy material even cheaper than we are buying it. Take the members who belong to the regular masons' association. I want to explain, and I can see a chance for confusion here. The contractors' council, as such, is merely a body composed of a number of affiliated organizations of employers. The independent contractors' association is merely the independent masons' association; and some of them do take general work. But there are no agreements, absolutely none, with the contractors' council, with reference to discount or anything that involves the financial question as to the purchasing of material.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you feel obliged to purchase material that has been prepared by union labor? Do you know whether it is prepared by union labor or not when you purchase it?—A. Generally. In fact if it is not prepared by union labor, if we do not make it our business to find it out, the members of the union do, and if it is not made by union labor our job comes to a stop.

Q. Then you are restricted to such material as has been prepared by union labor?—A. Yes. For example, millwork, such as is used around the finishing of

a room, the woodwork around the window, baseboard, and so on, in some cases where it has been fashioned at nonunion mills—in many cases, the men decline to handle it, absolutely refuse to handle it, because it is not made by union labor. It is only at the demand of the unions that we have agreed to not use prison-made material. They demanded it. We did not make the demand. It has been misstated by the mayor of the city, we objected to handling bricks which are made at the Bridewell. It would cost the city a great deal less money for its material if it made no difference where the material was made, the only point with us being that it is good material.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Does the mayor desire that the builders of Chicago should use brick made by convicts; is that the idea?—A. He did not state it in those words; but he did state that he found fault with the contractors because they compelled him—or rather compelled the city, I should say—to use material which was made at the brickyards, whereas, as he claimed, they could have saved a good deal of money by using that which was made at the Bridewell.

Q. Did you consider by that that he was in a way believing in the use of convict-made bricks?—A. I certainly could not draw any other conclusion. I want to state for your information that no millwork that has not the union label will be handled by union labor. I want to say for the council, in closing, that we have absolutely no objection to men unionizing. We grant them the right to unionize; we grant them the right to use all legitimate means to bring into their union their respective classes of workmen; we grant them the right, naturally, that when times are such that they can demand increased wages they shall make that demand, which they call "strike." The only thing we do not grant them the right to do is to picket and patrol jobs, to use lawless and murderous methods of interfering with men getting work, and we insist that the only thing that limits their rights is freedom of contract. That is about our position.

Q. Here is a question that has been handed in by an interested party to ask you, "Can a firm employing union plumbers procure plumbing materials from the leading manufacturers of plumbing goods in this city?"—A. I believe that all over this country there is some agreement in force with reference to that; but it would hardly do for me to answer that question, because I am not a plumber, nor do I purchase plumbing material, and it would not be valuable testimony coming from me.

Q. It would be from the plumbing representative?—A. Yes; there will be one here who probably can answer that question a great deal better than I could possibly answer it.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 29, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JAMES H. BOYLE,

Contracting Plasterer, Chicago.

The special subcommission convened at 10 a. m., March 29, 1900, at the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 9.45 p. m. Mr. James H. Boyle was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. James H. Boyle.

Q. Post-office address.—A. 172 Wrightwood avenue, Chicago.

Q. Occupation.—A. Contracting plasterer.

Q. Official relation to the contractors' association.—A. I am president of the Contracting Plasterers' Association, Chicago.

Q. Is that association affiliated with the contractors' council?—A. Yes.

Q. Please go on in your own way to state your relations to these pending difficulties and to the industry generally.—A. Well, the position the employing plasterers have taken in this matter is this: We wish to retain the right of hiring or discharging whom we please, a right which has been denied to us by members of the Journeymen Plasterers' Association of Chicago. They, when they see fit, call out all the men employed in any shop without giving the employer any reason, and for which he has no recourse. They send him whatever men they choose. The men, knowing that they are sent there without the assent of the employer, do just about as they please; and so you can see just about the position it places the employer in. He has not the right to pick and choose; he simply must take the men he hires. In fact, if he wants any men he must go to the officers of the journeymen to procure them. In that way it creates a sort of rebellious feeling between the employer and employee, which is very detrimental to the employers' interests and the trade at large. Another thing, the laborers' association have

taken it upon themselves from time to time to make demands on the employer which he does not think he is legally or morally bound to accede to. For instance, in cases where men have come to employers and made individual contracts to work for a certain scale, at the expiration of that period, much to the employers' surprise, and against the intent of any contract or liability which they were under to the men that were at this time out of his employ, he is handed a bill by the walking delegate of the laborers' union. For instance, there was one case on the North Side, in which a member of the firm of Coffey & O'Brien hired a watchman nights to watch the building. He made a specific agreement with the watchman for \$2.40 per night. When he got through with the man he paid him off at \$2.40. Two or three days afterwards the walking delegate came in with a bill for \$45.90, charging him at the rate of \$7.50 a night for the watchman.

The firm did not propose to pay this bill which they claimed they did not owe. The result is that they can not hire any union labor affiliated with the organizations. They stand in that position to-day. If they required any union men they would be compelled to pay \$45.90, which no law in the United States would require them to do. These people are arrogating to themselves rights that I can not see where they get the warrant for. I had a case in point on Michigan avenue here just a year ago in which the owner came to me about 12 o'clock on Saturday afternoon and said he required a part of his building completed for occupancy on Monday morning; and he said to me, "Now, I would like to have you work your men this afternoon so you can get this completed and the other mechanics can finish up after you." We were doing the plastering. I told my foreman to keep the men there that afternoon and complete the work. The foreman said he could not. I said, "Why?" He said, "It is against the rules, unless you go to the building trades council and get a permit to work." To get a permit to pay the men \$1 an hour on Saturday afternoon, I would have to go to the walking delegate. I went and told the owner. The owner could not believe his ears. I said, "You go and talk to him yourself." I said, "If that building is never finished, I will never go to the headquarters of that association to get permission to pay the men \$1 an hour. If they do not see fit to work for \$1 an hour I will not chase around town hunting permission."

Now, in regard to the leaders. Without consulting their employers they raise their wages about 50 per cent and restrict the day's labor 25 per cent; and members of the journeymen plasterers' association that have incurred the ill-will of the building trades council have been made to smart very dearly for it. I have here a written statement of a plasterer who used to be in my employment. He has been dealt with very harshly by the union—in fact, he has been put out of the craft. He is one of the best mechanics in the plastering line that I have had work for me, and he is now, through the machinations of the union, driving a meat wagon for \$9 a week, when he could be earning \$24 a week at his trade. He is thoroughly capable. This is a sworn statement.

Q. Read it.

(The witness reads statement as follows:)

JOURNEYMAN PLASTERER.

Statement of William J. Simpson, No. 329 Forty-fifth avenue, Chicago.

On March 1 I was appointed on an auditing committee of the plasterers' society. There was a shortage found in the treasurer's accounts of \$119 at that time.

Two weeks after that time I made a motion to have a special committee appointed to audit the books for 4 years back.

On that committee was appointed myself as chairman, John Dalton and John Doyle. We hired an expert, Mr. Marshland. He had the books for 1 week; gave a partial report that there was \$1,922.41 of a shortage in the treasurer's accounts in the 4 years.

In the meanwhile I gave this partial report at the plasterers' hall on Saturday night. Civil Service Commissioner Edward Carroll made a motion to have the books taken away from Mr. Marshland, as he was a "con" man and was robbing the society of funds of which we were in need at that time, and also stated that there were men in the hall that were capable enough to audit the books. The committee decided to hire a room and audit the books. Monday morning we took the books from Marshland, and found a room to commence to audit them.

There was no work done the first 3 days, as my two colleagues were drunk. On the fourth day the books were stolen, but were turned up again. On Saturday night I put in my report, and of course the committee were discharged. I was reappointed with two other men—William Smith and James White. Eleven days

were consumed in making the report, which showed a shortage of between \$7,000 and \$10,000, and that part of the books missing would bring the total up to probably \$18,000, which was stolen by our treasurer in 4 years.

When the report was put in it was placed on file and the committee discharged. In about 2 weeks a motion was made to have a prosecuting committee appointed, and Mat Duffy and myself were appointed on that committee.

We hired lawyers for a fee of \$200 to prosecute the guilty parties. The lawyers had the books probably 3 weeks, and they gave me a report to take to the hall, which I refused to do, as I stated that they were hired to prosecute and not to make reports.

The lawyer came himself and made his report, finding the treasurer short the \$1,922.41. That report was received and a bill put in for \$700 as a fee. They could not find anything against the other two. A week from that time I swore out a State warrant and had the treasurer, William Glenn, arrested and held on \$4,000. It came up before a justice on the north side. The lawyer I had hired to prosecute the guilty parties defended them when the case came up.

The first day we could not prove that the books we had were the books of the plasterers' society. Mat Duffy, although he was one of the members that drafted the constitution, could not prove that it was the constitution. We had a report from the bank which was not received, as they require the books of the bank before they could prove it.

The case was postponed for 1 week. The bank was subpoenaed to take the books in, but they could not prove that it was the bank book. I took a nonsuit. The following Saturday the president of our society, Moses Rouch, went against me and went over with the gang. I left, then, for DeKalb, Ill., as I had a job there. I left William Smith to act as treasurer in my absence, to which office I was elected on March 1. The second meeting night after that the chair was declared vacant, and I was thrown out by a vote of 9 to 8, out of a membership of 400 or over.

About the 9th of August I went to Peoria to run the Bradley Institute. The first night I was there I went around and found the president of the Peoria union, and he said that the job was all right, and to go ahead; but Riley appeared the third or fourth day there and said it was a "scab job," and wanted me to deliver up the bank books. I called for the auditing committee's report. It was not granted. He came back with 2 constables and a State warrant for my arrest. I told the constable I was ready. They came over to one side and stated that they did not want to arrest me and wanted the books. I asked them what had occurred that gave them the liberty to judge me. Between them and the superintendent of the job I was influenced to deliver up the books.

I still held the damaging evidence against them from the north side court, but a week following Riley appeared again, while I was at work, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, he knocked down the landlord, broke open my room, and stole the papers.

About that same time certain members, as I understand—two from Chicago, Edward Carroll and Bud Riley (I was notified to that effect in Peoria)—held a meeting in a coal office in Peoria, and placed a fine against me of \$65. After I got finished there I came back to Chicago.

I was stopped on a job, corner of Clark and Madison streets, December 21.

Two weeks after that I went to South Bend, Ind. From South Bend I went to Eureka, Ill., and when I got back to Chicago I started on a job on Milwaukee avenue, on the 17th of March, and worked half a day, when I was stopped by a walking delegate again. I did nothing then for two months. I left for Danville, Ill. I worked at Danville, and from there I went to Peoria to the city hall. I joined the Peoria union. Civil Service Commissioner Edward Carroll called from Chicago to stop me.

After 5 days William Allen, the general contractor of the city hall at Peoria, received a letter from Mr. Manning, commissioner of public works at Peoria, reading as follows:

"DEAR SIR: In regard to the disagreement between the plasterers' organization in Peoria, I wish to state that after looking the matter over, I find it clearly mentioned in the specifications of the new city hall that work upon the building must be given to Peorians, if they can be secured. I certainly object to Mr. Simpson working on the building as a plasterer. He is a nonresident, and on these grounds I file my objections to Mr. Simpson. As to Mr. Conger, I find there was a fine of \$150 imposed on him by the plasterers' union. Mr. Carroll, the international secretary, and myself discussed the matter, and we succeeded in taking off \$100, making the fine as it now stands \$50.

"If Mr. Conger wishes to pay the fine, he will be given ample time to settle, and will be allowed to work on the building.

"If this is satisfactory to you and Mr. Benvard (the contracting plasterer) I will allow work to proceed. If not, the work will be discontinued till further orders.

"Trusting you will find your way clear in this matter, I remain, yours, respectfully,

"M. W. MANNING,
"Commissioner of Public Works, Peoria, Ill."

I will state here that the plasterers of Peoria took their tools out along with me. Benvard came to Chicago, hired about 20 to 25 men here, and started the job up with Chicago men. He found that there was one printer in among the gang. Another one did not know what he could do, but he could not plaster. Benvard paid their fare through there. Three members in Peoria, which constitutes the branch recognized by Edward Carroll, of Chicago, called a meeting of the Chicago plasterers. I was told by one of them that they held the meeting at the corner of the street, as they had no hall to go to. I started to work for a man by the name of Cunningham there, a contractor. They struck on the city hall because he was working at his trade in the city of Peoria. One of the members came to me at my boarding house, at 120 Washington street, Peoria, and told me to leave town. I paid no heed, but stated that I would leave when I got ready. I left then and went to Danville, but in the meanwhile, before I went there I hired a lawyer in Peoria, and entered suit against the Operative Plasterers' International Association of Peoria for \$10,000 damages. I worked in Danville for 4 or 5 weeks, I was called upon then to come back to Peoria to finish the ornamental ceilings on the city hall job, and hired all Peoria men to do the work. That was the only time that Peoria men worked on the job. After I got back to Chicago, I got a letter from our secretary stating that the case came up on the 6th of January, 1899. They went on the stand and swore that there was no branch of the international association in Peoria two years prior to the time that the city hall job was started. The judge did not give any decision at that time, but 3 weeks ago it was read out at the plasterers' hall that the case was thrown out. My lawyer never notified me of the same, nor have I heard from him since I left Peoria.

The following letter was written to Mayor Harrison, of Chicago, through the editor of the Peoria Journal, viz:

"EDITOR JOURNAL: I once more call on you to print open letter that some one might call the Hon. Carter H. Harrison's attention to it when he is in Peoria tomorrow.

"Hon. CARTER H. HARRISON, Mayor of Chicago:

"Seeing by the papers you are coming to Peoria on the 12th, I would like to call your attention to the prosecution in this city of a citizen of Chicago, of which you are mayor. Sixteen years ago I came to Chicago, not to try and pull down what was already built, but to strive to build my part. Although small, it helped to make the city prosperous.

"In 1887 I married the woman of my choice, to help me. Through honest labor, perseverance, and economical means, we accumulated money—not to put in a safe, but to build the house that was going to make home happy and be an assistance in educating our children, of which we have 5. For their welfare I live yet. I had to leave them without the protection of a husband and father.

"Don't you think it is hard when I can make a livelihood for them and be by their side in Chicago, but have been deprived of that privilege? Over one and a half years I have been going from one place to another, striving to keep the home from debt, but it was too much. It has been sold for special assessments. What was the cause of all this? On March 1, 1897, I was appointed to audit the books of the Plasterers' Society of Chicago. From \$7,000 to \$10,000 had been stolen from our treasury. I did my duty, and sealed my doom. I was expelled without the chance of defending myself, without telling me the cause. I went to the State's attorney's office in Chicago and told them my cause. They said I had a good case. I got a card of another lawyer. He wanted to know how much money I had to start the case. Too proud to ask anyone for assistance as long as the strength was left me to earn an honest living for myself and loved ones, I left Chicago. Did they leave me alone then? No. The climax came in Peoria when E. F. Carroll, the traitor of labor unions, came through with a mightier hand than the judges of the supreme courts of our country, and said I could not work in any city of the United States. If I deserve it, why don't some judge convict me—have me banished from the country?

"In Chicago the other week, when two unions had a dispute, a committee of three had a dispute, when they were pitched upon. One of them was kicked—

one arm and one leg broken, dragged by the feet down stairs and thrown into the street. He died 2 days after. Carroll put an assessment on everyone belonging to the building trades council to defend the assassins, yet holds the position of civil service commissioner to see that honest men receive the positions in the city government—men who will adhere to law and order.

"If you would mingle among the plasterers of Chicago for only one week, and not be known there, you would see the ruin Ed. F. Carroll has done, not only there, but from New York to California. Ask him why he left the convention in Indianapolis without his valise and overcoat three weeks ago. Ask him why he don't make a report of his doings as secretary-treasurer of the O. P. J. A. Ask him if it was organized labor that interceded for his position with you. If he says yes, I hurl the lie back at him. Out of a membership of between 300 and 400, about 15 only are allowed to enter the hall, or it will be at the peril of their lives. That is the plasterers' society of Chicago. I do not ask his discharge, as he did me, although I was asked in Chicago Saturday night to go to you for that purpose; but for the love of your country and your fellow-men that toil with both brain and muscle in building and beautifying the city of this great land, help to rescue us from such cruel traitors as Ed. F. Carroll, who is sipping the lifeblood of many an honest son of toil, making cowards of us all by dragging us into politics. By so doing you will have the best wishes of many a sorrowful wife and weeping children, and the confidence of labor unions.

"I remain, honorable sir,

"W. J. SIMPSON.

"320 Forty-fifth avenue, Chicago, and 120 North Washington street, Peoria.

"March 27, 1900."

I, W. J. Simpson, have read the foregoing statement, and swear that it is correct.

WILLIAM J. SIMPSON.

320 Forty-fifth avenue, Chicago.

THE WITNESS. That is the statement by that man of the treatment he received.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you believe the statement which you have just read?—

A. I believe it, emphatically, because I have cognizance of the fact myself. The man has been in my employment, and I can not hire him since the ban of the union was placed upon him.

Q. Do you believe that ban was placed upon him merely for doing his duty as an auditor of the books?—A. I do.

Q. Are you carrying on work in the city at the present time?—A. Yes.

Q. With union labor?—A. Industrial union labor.

Q. I do not know that I exactly understand the fine shades of meaning in all these names.—A. Well, we are carrying on our business with industrial union men.

Q. What is the industrial union; something new?—A. It is a new union, yes; it is a union that has been formed, I might say, under the direction of the building contractors' council. It is composed of men who are willing to work. It is a union that is not affiliated with the building trades council.

Q. Do you know whether its members belong to any of the old unions or not?—A. Well, not of my own knowledge, I do not.

Q. Have you locked out the members of the old unions?—A. No; we have not locked out any men.

Q. As a member of the building contractors' council, do you know whether the contractors generally have locked out their men?—A. To my knowledge they have not locked out their men.

Q. Have most of them unfinished contracts on hand?—A. They are finishing their contracts. There are not any contracts that I know of that are in statu quo— all going ahead.

Q. Are most of the other contractors in the contractors' council employing men belonging to what you call the industrial union?—A. All of them.

Q. When was this industrial union formed, do you know?—A. I do not, but it was incorporated under the laws of the State of Illinois some time ago.

Q. Since this difficulty with the old unions began?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether a considerable number of men in the different trades belong to it?—A. Well, I can only speak for our own trade with any degree of accuracy; but we have had no trouble in procuring all the men we require.

Q. Practically, then, building operations are going on in Chicago as well as they did before?—A. As far as I know.

Q. Then there is not any suspension of building here growing out of this labor difficulty?—A. Not as far as we are concerned.

Q. You feel able to take contracts and fulfill them now as well as before?—A. As ever; better; because we will not have any dictation now nor sympathetic strikes.

Q. What wages are you paying at the present time as compared with the former wages?—A. Four dollars a day to plasterers and \$2.40 a day to laborers.

Q. Is that about the same you were paying?—A. That is the same we were paying.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Do you get any rebate on material that you buy, as a member of the building contractors' council?—A. None; nor never did.

Q. You do not know of such a thing as a rebate of 20 cents a barrel on lime?—A. No; I wish I did. I would like to get it—not in our line.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) The contractors have won the strike, then, in Chicago?—A. Well, as far as we are concerned there is not any strike.

Q. The building industry is moving right along in Chicago?—A. In the plastering line, yes, on any buildings we are working on. I am talking as a plasterer now.

Q. Are you doing as much work as you probably would be doing if there were no industrial trouble in Chicago?—A. No; I do not think so. Brick work has been stopped to a considerable extent. Of course, we do the finishing up in buildings, and a majority of these buildings we are working on were about ready for the plastering when this trouble occurred.

Q. Can you state the number of plasterers who are in the industrial union?—A. No, I could not.

Q. Will you state how many you have employed?—A. Well, I was told there was a membership of about 200—the plasterers.

Q. Are they affiliated with any other labor organizations?—A. No.

Q. With the American Federation of Labor or the Knights of Labor?—A. No.

Q. Are they, notwithstanding they are in the industrial union, looked upon as scabs by the other unions?—A. Scabs?

Q. The term is freely used out here.—A. I do not see where it comes in. I do not see why one man has the right to designate another man by any such appellation. I think we are all American citizens.

Q. They do it just the same.—A. It is a questionable practice, is it not?

Q. Is it not a common practice in Chicago?—A. I am sorry to say it is.

Q. Is it an effective practice? Does it have great influence in favor of the union and against the nonunion men?—A. Well, yes; it holds great terror over the men. That and the slung shot, I think, are very effective.

Q. You think the nonunion men have a dislike and an abhorrence of being called scabs?—A. Yes, I do.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 29, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN GRIFFITHS,

General Contractor.

The special subcommission met pursuant to recess at 7.50 p. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 10.20 p. m., Mr. John Griffiths, of Chicago, general contractor, was introduced as a witness and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. John Griffiths.

Q. Your post-office address?—A. 505 Lakeside building, Chicago.

Q. And your occupation?—A. General contractor and builder.

Q. Do you belong to the Building Contractors' Council?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you an officer of it?—A. No, sir; I am a member of the executive committee; not an officer.

Q. Are you carrying on building operations at the present time?—A. No, sir; I have some little work to complete, but nothing of any importance in the city at the present time.

Q. Go on, Mr. Griffiths, in your own way, and state your relations to this industrial problem now on here.—A. To begin with, I wish to state that, as Mr. Falkenau covered the ground pretty fully, at this late hour I wish to dispense with any reference to the building trades council, and will simply confine myself to a few evils which I have had to contend with during the past year with some work

which I was building. For illustration, I had a contract on the telephone building. While at work there I found that my men were not doing what I supposed was a day's work—a fair day's work. I asked my foreman what the trouble was. He said that he could not do any better with the men; that the walking delegate had been in to see him a number of times and had informed him that if he spoke to the men to do any more than they were doing, or do a good day's work, he would be fined \$25 and have to leave the work—leave my employ. This occurred a number of times. I found that the walking delegate got to coming in through the building, and he instructed the men, talked to the men, and told them what they should do. This state of affairs existed to a great extent there. We had a case where the tanks for an elevator had been placed on top of the building. They were about to be set in place. The telephone people were in a great hurry; their business is of an exacting nature. The tanks had been up there for some time, and it appears that a part of these tanks, or of one of them, had been built by nonunion men and a part by union men. The first part of the tank, to the best of my recollection now, was built by union men, and the men went on strike and it had been completed by nonunion men. The walking delegate comes to me and says: "Here, this tank can not be set in place here; you must take this tank down off the building and take it away. We can not permit that to go into the building." This was done; the tank was removed off the building. There was another little matter there which was rather annoying. The gentleman who was doing the plastering for me had left some lathing. We had considerable wire lathing and lathing of importance to do through the building. The walking delegate of the lathers' union came along one day and stopped in the building and said: "You want some more lathers, Mr. Doyle." If I recollect, that was the name—Doyle. He says, "No; I have got all the men I want." He says, "No; I have got 6 men here I want to put to work." "Well," the lather says, "I do not want them; they are not needed here." "Well," he says, "whether they are or not they must go to work, so put them to work." They came to work on the building, and there was one of them found not a good mechanic and not doing his work properly and he was discharged, and the entire force quit work and struck for quite a time, which delayed the building.

We had some runs up through the windows, running off the sidewalk, where the men ran their material in wheelbarrows. It took about five minutes to put those in place in the morning and take them down in the evening. I found, on coming to the building one day, that some of my own men had been discharged, or at least had quit work. I wanted to know what the trouble was. They said that they had been fined for this five minutes while they had been taking up the fastenings and taking it up in the evening. I said, "I will pay overtime." The building trades council said it could not be done. The consequence was that all the men I had employed there were idle just while this was being done in the morning and while it was being done in the evening before quitting time. Now, on the Field building, another building down here which is just about being completed, we had rather a singular occurrence. We found, when we were laying out the building, that the building on the north, an old building, was an inch on our ground, and we found that the granite was cut in Maine, and that there had to be an inch cut off the granite. The walking delegate came along while this was being done, and he says to the granite cutter that does all the trimming, "What are you doing here?" He says, "I am going to cut this granite off." "You can not do that." "Why not?" "Because we want the soft-stone men to do that work." He says, "I have always done this." So the argument went on for some time. The men in Maine were union men and the men here were all union men. But the men in Maine said if the soft-stone men cut off that inch of granite here in Chicago they would not cut any granite for that building. The soft-stone cutters said, "If they do that we will take off our men from the work." Here were all union men; here was Mr. Marshall Field, who was spending a million dollars on the building and ground—it must be that much or more—and he had rented his building and did not know whether he could get it or not by the time he wanted it. I went to both parties, finally, to see if it was possible to get the matter adjusted, and we came to an agreement by which each party was to do half the work. I really brought that about, I believe, myself, or was a party to it.

We had another case. I wish just to show the evils pertaining to the building trades council. We have iron mullions where there are large frames—windows—in a course. The walking delegate from the iron-construction union came along one day and said, "Those mullions must be set by our organization; the ornamental-iron men can not set them." They were stopping our men. I said, "You will not stop our men?" He said, "Certainly we can." I said, "You can not do

any such thing." He said, "Well, you will have to stop now; this will have to stop or we will take every man off this building." And here was another case where the unions came together, and it could not be decided whose work it was. That state of affairs existed for a week or two, so that the walls of the rest of the building were running away up two or three stories, and in this case it delayed the building to a great extent. It delayed it so that it was a question whether it could be completed or not. Referring to the granite, the granite in that case delayed this building some three weeks or more, so that it was really a question whether the building would be completed or not.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) How did you settle that?—A. The mullions were settled in this way: It was finally decided that the structural-iron men should set them. Some of these mullions had to be taken down after they were set in place. The structural men said, "Those mullions that were placed there have got to be taken down and laid on the floor, and we have got to set them up." And that was done; they were taken down and laid on the floor, and the structural men took them up and set them in place.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Just the same as they were before?—A. Just the same as they were before, only not as well set. That is the difference. [Laughter.] Another little simple case which will about finish me. We had some work on the drainage canal, what is called the "By-pass" in the city here, enlarging the river so there would be a greater flow of water down the canal. I had a partner there, Mr. McDermott, who had been doing a large amount of this canal work. We were putting in the top arches and the large girders which sustained this—a railroad runs over the top of it. And there was another contractor who did the excavating down below. This man was working 10 hours, paying his men \$2 a day for 10 hours. Mr. McDermott was looking after this work, my partner—working 10 hours as the other people were doing there on the work and all the work we had done for the drainage people had been 10 hours. After he had started some days, along comes the walking delegate and says, "Here, you can not continue working this way; you have got to work with union men." Mr. McDermott says, "These other people are working here." "That does not make any difference. We have got a hold on you and Mr. Griffiths and we have not on the other people. You belong to the building fraternity and you have got to put on these union men." We put them to work, and Mr. McDermott went to work one day and found a man that was doing no work, and he said to the men in charge, "Why do you not discharge this man here? He does not seem to be doing anything here." He said, "All right; I will do so." He discharged the man, and the man turned around to him and said, "Here, you discharge me, do you?" He said, "Yes." "I will see whether you do or not." He goes off and comes back with the walking delegate. The walking delegate steps up to Mr. McDermott and says, "Why did you discharge this man?" Mr. McDermott says, "I discharged him because he was doing no work." He says, "You put this man back to work." Mr. McDermott says, "I will not do so." He says, "If you do not I will take every man off your job." Mr. McDermott told him to take them, and in leaving the work, he said, "I am going over to Mr. Griffiths' work here, and I will just take every man off his work." So you see, gentlemen, whatever the building trades council and the walking delegates say goes. We had to put this man back to work, because it stopped my work where I was working on an important part of this large building, in the foundations. They do not consider that there is anything right. There is no justice. That is not what the word justice means or indicates, gentlemen; that is foreign to them. They seem to think that common brute force is the only way of doing business. That is the comfort that I have had since the building trades council has been in effect—never had any trouble of this kind previous to its existence. I think, gentlemen, that is all I have to say to you.

Q. Does the walking delegate call off the men without referring it to the board to which the men belong?—A. Oh, yes; oh, yes.

Q. Has absolute power?—A. Oh, yes; he does on my work. I know he came here on these cases—he came over and stopped the men at once; yes. There was another case I might just enumerate, simply where I was going to put down some caisson arms at quite a depth in the ground. I had hired the men, and we were working 10 hours, and they were making \$3.25 a day. That was the price we had agreed upon. And after I had gotten down a certain depth the men came up after they had been down an hour and said their wages would be \$3.00 a day or they would not work. It was just simply a matter of that or nothing. I just had to yield to their wishes. I said to the walking delegate the following day, "I do not see how you men are able to do these things." He said, "Well, that is all right; we do about as we feel like doing sometimes," or some remark of that kind.

So that my experience, gentlemen, with the building trades council has been anything but satisfactory. I do not think that they are a body that we should either treat with or recognize in their present state.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Referring to that man who was at work on the river there, you say he was discharged because he was not doing a day's work?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you claim that the building trades council is not willing to allow the men to do an honest day's work for an honest day's wage?—A. I do, absolutely, sir; I know it only too well. That is one of the things that they—I want to say this, gentlemen: I know of an instance where they were endeavoring to arrange with certain contractors in a certain line of building this winter, a short time ago, and the first question that came up was this: "Now, gentlemen, before we start out to enter into any agreement, the first thing we want you to understand is that we are going to limit the amount of work we do this year." That is the evil pertaining to the building interests in this town to-day, and that is just what the building trades council backed up. The men are taught there to get rich quick, gentlemen. In other words, they are taught not to do a half-day's work without a day's pay.

Q. These demands come upon you after you have made your contracts and entered upon the work?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it possible for you to collect the extra expense thus brought upon you from the person who is erecting the building, the owner of the property?—A. No, sir; not at all.

Q. Do you ever, in anticipation of such demands, figure a higher price in making a bid for doing a job?—A. No; competition in Chicago, I will say, is close. We usually figure all work very low here. There is a certain amount of fear attaching to any work you are going to take, because you never know when you are going to complete it in the city of Chicago. Take it in the past year; you never knew whether you were going to get a building completed or not. The fact is there are so many contractors and competition is so keen that you take the chances on these things.

Q. Is there a large surplus of labor in the building trades in Chicago at the present time?—A. Last summer all the labor of the city of Chicago was well employed.

Q. When last summer?—A. Just previous to this trouble coming on.

Q. You consider, then, Chicago was fairly prosperous at that time so far as the building trades were concerned?—A. There was considerable building and considerable public improvement, yes; there was considerable building going on that year.

Q. Is there a good deal going on now?—A. Well, nothing new starting. There is simply completing of the work that was in process of construction when this trouble came on—that is, to a great extent. There are a few jobs that started some little time ago; but there is very little if any. I do not know at the present time of any work that is starting up.

Q. Do you think there would be new work starting up now except for this labor difficulty?—A. I do; we should have a very prosperous year, I think one of the most prosperous the city of Chicago has seen for many years.

Q. Is a good deal of the building now taking place in Chicago the erection of new and larger buildings on ground formerly occupied by small buildings?—A. Yes; the large buildings are erected entirely down town. The down-town buildings—the old buildings—are being torn down and new buildings take their places.

Q. The city, then, is being gradually rebuilt?—A. Yes.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) I should like to know a little more about the lessening of the amount of work that a mechanic does. How is that done, to what extent? Take, for instance, a plumber; what amount of work does he do now in a day?—A. I should prefer that you kindly get that information from a man that is familiar with that; if you will have a plumber take the stand he could tell you all about it. I could only give it to you from hearsay, and I should myself prefer not to do that.

Q. I did not know but you had the oversight of all the work of your contracts.—A. Yes, I have; I will say this, gentlemen, that, as I have suggested, it has been actually said to me that they did not do one-third of a day's work for a day's pay. They simply have a stated amount of work that they will do according to their rules, as I understand it. But, as I say, I should prefer not to go into that, because I do not pretend to be familiar with their workings.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Knowing, as you say you do, that they do not do more than a third of the day's work for the day's pay, if you were putting in a bid for

a new building would you estimate it on that basis?—A. If I were bidding for a new building to-day, I should bid on it feeling that you were paying me for a day's work; because by the time I get at my job this building trades council will have no existence, to my mind.

Q. I do not know that I quite understand your answer. The question is whether you would put in a bid at a higher figure because you are not expecting a full day's work from the men who would work for you.—A. If I was putting in a bid at the present time I should expect that these men would do a day's work. I do not expect to be dealing with the building trades council.

Q. But supposing that holds and you have got a contract on your hands on that basis of a fair day's work from all the men, and you find you can not get it?—A. If that holds, Mr. Commissioner, I do not want the job; I would not take it; I am not bidding on the work.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) But suppose you have bid and the bid has been accepted?—A. Oh, well, I do not know just how to answer that. I simply want to say that in bidding to-day, gentlemen, I should bid with the full expectation of having men do me a day's work, because I feel confident that I am not going to deal with the building trades council in doing so. If I was bidding, I would not bid otherwise in the city. I might outside, but I would not in the city of Chicago, because I do not consider that a man bidding to-day would know when he could get his building completed, nor how much work he could do. This is just something new with the men; the men have just brought this up. There are none of the men that I know of in any of the trades that do the work that they did in the years gone by in any line that I know anything about.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You think there is a deliberate and settled purpose and understanding among them that they will do as little work as possible, so as to make more work for others, or so as to prolong the job for themselves?—A. There is certainly an understanding, without a question of doubt to my mind. I do not think it is to prolong the job so much as it is simply to do just as little work as they can for a day's pay.

Q. In employing men belonging to the unions formerly, have you signed contracts, or have you met most of the trades orally?—A. In employing carpenters last year, the contractors have had to go to their hall and sign a contract with them. It makes no difference what it calls for, you sign it as presented, and if you call the men they send them to you. You have no option here; you are compelled to do that or else you do not get the men.

Q. Are those contracts signed in duplicate?—A. I can not say positively now. I really have forgotten what I did sign, because I felt it was so uncalled for and outrageous and I felt so disgraced that I have really forgotten whether I have got a copy of the contract or not; I am inclined to think I have.

Q. So far as you know, have you scrupulously kept the contract on your part?—A. Oh, yes; I have kept it, sir, right to the letter, so far as I am concerned.

Q. Has any complaint been made to you at any time of a violation of your agreement?—A. No, sir; no living man has ever made a complaint to me of any wrong that I have done to him.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Are you acquainted with the gentlemen who compose what is called the Fuller Building Construction firm?—I believe that is the name of it, something like that?—A. I am, some of them.

Q. What is the name of that firm?—A. The George A. Fuller Construction Company.

Q. Do they do one of the largest construction businesses in the United States?—A. They certainly do here in the West, sir.

Q. In the West?—A. That is, in Chicago, I will say.

Q. And they do in the East, too, do they not?—A. I am not so familiar with their business in the East.

Q. They are building in Washington the new Star building, which is going to be an ornament to Pennsylvania avenue, a white marble building. I understand that that firm has signed an agreement with the building trades council, and is going ahead with work in Chicago; is that true?—A. I know nothing whatever about their agreements with the building trades council. I know that they are doing some work here at the present time.

Q. You have read, I suppose, at the present time that they have come to an agreement with the building trades council?—A. Yes; I have seen something to that effect.

Q. You would not suppose that they would be doing business at a loss in Chicago, should you?—A. I do not know that they would, though I will say this now; I should rather prefer not to go into the details of that matter very much, for even with Mr. Fuller—I am very sorry to bring his name up. He is not in posi-

with him now are, of course; it is not as it was in Mr. Fuller's days. Most of the work that they have been doing here has been percentage work, and the more it cost to have it done the more they made out of the work.

Q. Are you acquainted with Detective Le Vin?—A. I am not; I just simply heard a part of his testimony.

Q. Was he not in the employ of the building contractors council?—A. Mr. Behel here will be able to tell you all about that. I have no acquaintance with the gentleman whatever beyond hearing part of his testimony. I should like to just say here that it would seem to me that the testimony that this man gave was sufficient to condemn him without any argument or explanation from anyone. I defy any man to show me the union man that has been disturbed, interrupted, insulted in any way by anyone connected with us or outside of us, as far as I know, that has, I will say, any connection with the building contractors council.

Q. Without discussing Mr. Le Vin's character—his testimony has been contradicted, that he was employed by the building contractors council as a detective; and if you are not conducting your building operations so extensively, I should like to know what use you have for a detective?—A. This matter will be explained more fully to you. As I say, I am not familiar with it. I should like to say one thing, as the Fuller matter came up, that just occurs to me. Judge McConnell, who seems to be the leading spirit in the Fuller Construction Company at the present time, is counsel—whether he is at the present time or not he has been—counsel for the building trades council.

Q. You have not any idea that because he is counsel for the building trades council, or was at one time, he would go into an agreement with those men and bid and take contracts to construct buildings for the fun of it, or to keep solid with the men in the building trades council, have you?—A. One of a number of reasons for that, if they have got arrangements with the building trades council, was this, that they have considerable work in the East, and at that time they did not have any really at all, for the judge said so before a number of builders some time ago. They were just finishing up; and he said at the time that they were not going to take any more work here. That was about the language he used; but he has seen fit to take this one job here.

Q. Is it a large building?—A. Well, it is not a very large contract, no; it is quite a building, but not a very large contract.

Q. That is a reputable firm, anyhow, is it not?—A. Oh, certainly they are; they are, indeed—one of the best in the country.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you know whether favoritism and preferences are shown to different contractors by members of the building trades council, or do they apply their rules rigidly to all contractors alike?—A. Well, I do not know that I know; I could not just say. I am not familiar with their doings; I do not know about that part of it.

Q. Is there a feeling among contractors that one may have an advantage over another in his dealing with the union?—A. Oh, no; not to my knowledge.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Do the members of the building contractors' council get a rebate upon their material?—A. The building contractors' council?

Q. The building contractors' council get a rebate on their material?—A. Not that I know of.

Q. They pay the same as anyone else pays?—A. Oh, yes. I should like to say, gentlemen, since the Fuller Company has come up, that they have had as much trouble, and possibly more, this last season than any other contractor in the city with their work.

(Testimony closed.)

Whereupon, at 10.55 p. m., the subcommission adjourned until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 30, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN M. STILES,

Master Painter and Decorator, Chicago.

The special subcommission met at 10.07 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At that time Mr. John M. Stiles, East Chicago, a painter and decorator, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. John M. Stiles.

Q. Post-office address.—A. 269 Thirty-fifth street, Chicago, Ill.

Q. Occupation.—A. Painter and decorator.

Q. Do you belong to the contractors' council?—A. I do.

Q. How long have you been established in business in Chicago?—A. About 15 years.

Q. We shall be pleased to have you proceed in your own way to state your relations to the industry here and to the existing labor difficulties.

The WITNESS. The history of the painters' unions in this city is one of continual intimidation and crime. In 1897 an employing painter by the name of Smith, whose place of business was on Market street, and who refused to sign the union agreement, working nonunion painters, was attacked in broad daylight in front of his place of business, was struck over the head with a piece of gas pipe, and instantly killed.

In the same year a body of nonunion men employed by myself were set upon in a building at the corner of Forty-third street and Calumet avenue by union sluggers, and 3 of them seriously injured. The room in which they were attacked was a veritable slaughterhouse, as they attacked them with slabs, etc.; one's rib was broken, another had his collar bone broken, etc.

The same year Mr. J. J. Riley, having a contract for painting a block of stores on Sixty-third street, corner of Union avenue, was compelled to give up his contract because of the fact that the work was done by nonunion men. One morning the architect called at the job and found that the masons, plasterers, lathers, and all of the mechanics on the job were standing around doing nothing. He was informed that the job could not be built unless Mr. Riley's contract was taken away from him. After a week's time, finding it impossible to complete the building, Mr. Riley was compelled to relinquish the job.

In 1898 my work was entirely stopped and a strike declared at a busy season of the year because of employment of my son, who was not a union man. I was required to give bonds in the sum of \$500 that I would not employ him or any other nonunion men. Repeatedly walking delegates or pickets have surrounded my place of business, preventing men from seeking employment of me. At other times business agents have stood at my front doors and taken the envelopes containing the pay of the men, torn them open, and counted the money.

Less than two months ago a walking delegate entered my place of business with the agreement of the painters' union and asked me to sign it. After I refused to do so the following assertion was made by the delegate: "The Government of the United States is rotten, and it will only be a short time till the labor unions will take up arms and wipe it out of existence." This statement of this delegate was made after I had explained the constitutional rights and the laws of the country.

STATEMENT OF M. DOUGHERTY, PAINTER, 22 THIRTY-FIRST STREET, CHICAGO.

"I had a crowd of men working for me last week, and from what I can learn they were intimidated by the union, and yesterday morning there was not a man showed up to work.

"I got a contract out at Fifty-fifth street and Center avenue to finish a church, and I was notified by the parish, or, at least, it was reported to me as coming from the parish, that under no circumstances would I be allowed to finish the job with nonunion men. I was not at my office at the time the committee came there last Friday, otherwise I should have had them put it in writing and sign it, but I intend to go out there and finish that work with nonunion men.

"There is a crowd of pickets around my place, watching everyone coming and going, trying to keep anyone that looks like a workman from going to work."

STATEMENT OF H. C. BEY, BOSS PAINTER, 306 STATE STREET, CHICAGO.

"I was a member of the painters' district union, and have been treasurer in the painters' district council, and have been a delegate to the building trades' council.

"I have had quite a lot of dealings with them and know all about them. The object of a certain gang that is at the head of it is to stir up trouble every year and to have their hands always in the treasury. They take everything in their own hands against the wishes of the men.

"In one instance I had charge of Architect Warren's work, and at the time I was connected with the building trades' council there was a strike on with the tile layers, and Mr. Warren told the business agent of the tile men to let the work go on until the floor of the corner store was finished and then he would not do any more work until they came to some understanding. The next night there was a building trades' council meeting. It was voted and carried to leave that building alone and not to call a strike on the building. The next morning when I got

down, about 9 o'clock, every man was out, which was done by three or four business agents. When I went down to see President O'Connell, of the building trades' council, and called his attention to the motion passed the night before, and said that if that case would continue that Mr. Warren would engage Pinkertons and surround the building and he would put all the men back to work."

I will say, further, that the policy and method of the painters' union in their espionage, in their stewardship, and in all of their acts set at variance the employee and employer, having a tendency to make the employee feel that his employer is not his friend, but rather that he is his employer's victim, and that the less work he can do the better he is serving the interest of his union. I have not the least doubt in the world that there has been in our trade a secret understanding fixing a limit to the amount of the work of the men. For the last year or two it has been impossible to get union men to perform the usual amount of work. They have continually, by threats and intimidation to free workmen, prevented them from seeking employment in any shop that was in any way connected or tied up with the union agreement. It seems that those who have entered into their organization have become so terrified and intimidated by some part of their initiation or secret work that they are fearful continually that if they should break away from the organization they would receive bodily injury, or be ostracised, or driven out of town.

There is one matter that produced a strike in my business that I thought rather peculiar. At the beginning of the Spanish war the same son that I spoke of, who had at that time, to save trouble, joined the union, and had only paid part of his initiation fee, enlisted in the Army, in the First United States Cavalry. A short time after his enlistment the walking delegate or business agent came to me and requested me to pay up the balance of his dues. He was past 21, and I refused to do it until after communicating with my son, not knowing anything about the matter. It went along two or three weeks, and one morning the business agent, whose name was Ridgell, came up to my place, and the men were all standing around, and said to me that unless I paid that he would call a strike on my shop. I at once paid it. I believe that is all I have to say. I could bring up other instances, if necessary.

Q. (By Senator MANTLE.) Do you belong to the building contractors' association?—A. I do.

Q. Are members of that association bound to each other by certain agreements, rules, and regulations?—A. I do not think there is any particular obligation or binding rules.

Q. Do you have a constitution and by-laws?—A. I think they have, but I have never seen it.

Q. Do you work in harmony?—A. Yes.

Q. What is the purpose of the association?—A. To combat these outrages that are constantly being perpetrated by trades unions upon different branches of the building trades.

Q. And protect and foster the interests of the building contractors?—A. The whole interests of the people.

Q. More particularly the interests of those who belong to the association?—A. Not necessarily.

Q. How many members are there in your association?—A. I can't tell you; I do not know.

Q. Have you any idea what proportion of all the building contractors of this city are embraced in the association?—A. Well, I should say, making a guess, that about 75 per cent are, or maybe more.

Q. Is the practice of your association such in its operation that it acts unfavorably upon those contractors who do not belong to the association?—A. No, sir. I have the rules here, a copy of the rules of the building contractors' council.

Q. I would like to have you leave them, if you will?—A. Yes.

Q. Has your association at any time formed any combine for the purpose of ostracizing those builders and contractors who are not members of your association?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Should you know if they did?—A. I think I should.

Q. Has your association in any way endeavored to force other building contractors into it?—A. No, sir.

Q. To join you?—A. To force?

Q. Yes, to coerce them into joining you, to coming into your association?—A. We are not a forcible body in that respect.

Q. Has your association at any time entered into an arrangement or an understanding with labor unions, the purpose being to boycott building contractors who are not members of your association?—A. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

Q. Has your association or its members a secret understanding with dealers, with certain firms who deal in building material, the purport of which is to cause those who are not in the association to pay more for the material than members of your association pay?—A. Not to my knowledge. I am absolutely certain that in the material line of the painters there is no such thing as that; that one man, whether he is a dealer or not, can go into the market and buy just as cheaply as another.

Q. Do not the members of your association get a rebate on the material sold to men who are not members of the association?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is there not an understanding between dealers in building materials of your association by which a certain per cent of the prices paid for material by those who do not belong to your association is turned over to your treasurer?—A. Absolutely not, to the best of my knowledge.

Q. Should you know if it was?—A. I certainly should.

Q. As it relates to your particular business?—A. Yes.

Q. Can you not, as a member of the business association, buy your material cheaper than some citizen could, or some independent builder?—A. No, sir; I am certain that I can not.

Q. What is the initiation to your association?—A. Do you mean the master painters?

Q. To the building contractors' association—the initiation?—A. I believe there is no initiation. I do not know how that is. These rules—

Q. Fee, I mean, for joining it?—A. Ten dollars to each delegate, and each delegate represents 50 members, I am told.

Q. Was there at one time an admission fee of \$200 each?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Or of \$100?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Is your association opposed to the employment of union labor?—A. No, sir.

A. Anything in your rules bearing upon that point, or your constitution?—A. I do not know. I do not think there is.

Q. You are not very familiar with the constitution?—A. No.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Are you carrying on business now?—A. I am.

Q. Have you union men in your employ at the present time?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Have you locked out your union men?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did they strike work when they quit your employment?—A. They quit because of a notice that was handed them laying down the rules of the Building Contractors' Council.

Q. Are you able to get just as good workmen among the nonunion men as among the union men?—A. So far I have succeeded in getting just as good workmen as I ever had with the union men.

Q. Do you feel that the rules of the union are restrictive and hampering to business, so that you can not carry it on for your own interest and the interest of the man who is erecting a building?—A. I certainly do.

Q. Have you any objection to employing union men if they make reasonable rules and reasonably observe them?—A. I will not employ union men until they do away with their restrictions of nonunion men or free workmen.

Q. Have you any objection to making your contracts for employment with a committee or business agent?—A. I will never in the future make any agreement with any organization that restricts me in the matter of employing free men.

Q. Have you any objection to conferring with union workmen or their committees, or agents of the union, with reference to a settlement of a misunderstanding?—A. No objections under the fundamental principles that I have set forth here in reference to employment and working together with nonunion men, with free workmen.

Q. Do you believe in arbitration as a good means of settling labor difficulties?—A. I think it is all right. Yes, I have no objection to it.

Q. Can you suggest how an arbitration can be effected, while there are two central bodies, contractors on one side and workmen on the other, each representing unions or organizations or trades, when it is necessary that the central body shall have some part in the adjustment?—A. I can not say how arbitration can take place when one of two parties has nothing. There is no question in reference to hours, wages, or anything—can be no question except to the one matter of the employment of free men. I can not see how that can be a matter of arbitration with any body of citizens of the United States.

Q. Suppose that question were waived, or suppose the right to employ such men were recognized. There might be other differences, and the question is, how could these be best settled or adjusted? By separate trades, or by the central

bodies?—A. My opinion is, if anything of that kind is necessary or possible, that it would be better for the different trades to arbitrate their own difficulties regardless of any central bodies.

Q. Do you recognize that in case of a general strike, or general lockout, it would be necessary to have practical cooperation among the different trades, in order to make any partial compromise effective?—A. I think likely that would be necessary.

Q. You feel that you are able to carry on your business here now successfully with such men as you have in your employment, and such as you think you can readily get, without a compromise or settlement with the union painters?—A. I certainly do, at least as long as the Industrial Commission sits here in Chicago. I do not know what they will do after that.

Q. Is the general condition of your business good except for the labor difficulties?—A. First rate.

Q. And you think the prospect before Chicago is a good one?—A. Excellent.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You speak about "free men." Whom do you mean when you say free men?—A. I mean men that are not members of any organization, and do not want to be members.

Q. You mean to say that those who are members of organizations are not free men?—A. I certainly do.

Q. You belong to the building contractors' council, do you not?—A. I do.

Q. Are you not bound up with the principles of that council, and have you not issued an ultimatum that you will not employ union men as long as the building trades council is in existence, or arbitrate with them?—A. I do not know that any ultimatum has ever been issued except the working rules of the organization. They are accessible to everybody.

Q. Have you not signed away some of your freedom when you became a member of this organization?—A. Not in the least.

Q. Are you free to hire union men to-day exclusively and put them to work?—A. As far as the organization is concerned, I think I could do it.

Q. Would it be looked upon as honorable by other members of the association, if you went out from them and employed union men, men who are members of the painters' union?—A. I do not think it would be quite honorable, under the circumstances, for me to do anything of the kind.

Q. Therefore you are bound up and not quite free in the matter, are you?—A. Well, not in the sense—not in any comparison with the members of the labor organizations.

Q. It is not true, Mr. Stiles, that a man who is a member of an organization has more to say about what his wages shall be, his hours of work, and the conditions under which he shall work, than the man who is not a member of a labor organization?—A. He has more to say?

Q. Yes. He has more voice in fixing his wages, his hours of work, and the conditions under which he shall work.—A. He does say more, whether he has any more to say, or whether it is necessary that he should.

Q. Well, is it not his right to have something to say?—A. Unquestionably. We never have denied any man the right to say what he wants to in reference to what he wants.

Q. Is it not true that he really has more voice in fixing his wages, his hours, and the conditions under which he shall work than the nonunion man has?—A. I think not.

Q. You think not?—A. I think not, under pressure, of course, of the agreement.

Q. Under the strength of the union?—A. Under the strength of an agreement such as this.

Q. Is it not true that where the trades are disorganized and the employer can contract with men and employ them individually, irrespective of the union, the employer or contractor has all to say about what a man's wages shall be, his hours, and the conditions under which he shall labor, if he choose to exercise that power?—A. It is possible that some mercenary man that had no regard for honor or anything, might, but there is a tacit understanding among employers that a certain wage is right, and is equitable and profitable, and those who are honorable pay it.

Q. You do not believe that a man who becomes a member of a labor union is the only working man who really knows what freedom and independence mean, do you?

The WITNESS. What is that?

Mr. KENNEDY. You do not believe that a man who becomes a member of a labor organization is the only working man who really knows what freedom and independence mean, do you?

A. I certainly do not. I think it is just the opposite—he don't know what freedom is, or what real independence is.

The following agreement of the painters' district council, Chicago, was submitted by the witness:

[Painters' District Council of Chicago and Vicinity—Affiliated with the building trades council—
Telephone 3363 Main—Headquarters: Lafayette, Ind.]

Chicago, ———, 190—

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

Between ———, contracting painters of the city of Chicago, county of Cook and State of Illinois, party of the first part, and the Journeymen Painters' District Council of Chicago and Vicinity, of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators and Paperhangers of America, parties of the second part.

The party of the first part covenants and agrees, in consideration of the strict observance by the parties of the second part of certain rules, regulations, and obligations herein set forth, that he or they will faithfully keep and strictly observe the following rules:

SECTION 1. Eight hours shall constitute a day's work, which shall be between the hours of 8 a. m. and 5 p. m., and, should it be necessary to continue work after said time, there shall be a cessation of work for at least one hour. But it is expressly agreed that no work shall be done under any circumstances on Labor Day, or between the hours of 12 o'clock noon and 12 o'clock Saturday night, unless for immediate danger to loss of life or to property, and in all cases permission be secured from the representative of the painters' district council.

SEC. 2. All overtime on regular working days shall be paid for at the rate of time and one-half, and work done on Sundays, New Years, Thanksgiving Day, Decoration Day, Fourth of July, shall be paid for at the rate of double time; the above-mentioned days to be from 12 midnight to 12 midnight, as per calendar.

SEC. 3. The minimum rate of wages shall be forty cents (40 cents) per hour on and after March 1st, 1900, and until March 1st, 1902.

SEC. 4. The party of the first part hereby expressly agrees with the parties of the second part that they will each run a strictly union shop, and pay the scale of wages provided in section 3 herein, and also that they will refer all painters applying for work, and not in possession of the current quarter's working card issued by the building trades council, to the painter's district council, and that they will cause to be hung in a conspicuous place in their shop a card stating that none but union men are employed in such shop.

SEC. 5. The said party of the first part hereby agrees to establish and maintain a weekly pay day, which shall be Saturday, between 12 m. and 1 p. m., at which time all employees shall be paid in full, in lawful money of the United States of America; but when a journeyman is discarded or laid off, he shall be paid at the time of such discharge or at the time of such lay off.

SEC. 6. The said party of the first part shall have the right to employ one boy, under the age of eighteen (18) years, as an apprentice, and one additional boy under said age, for every twenty (20) journeymen employed by said first party; such boy or boys to be bound by contract or indenture in writing, for a term of three years, and said first party shall therein agree to keep said boy in continuous employment until the expiration of said time, and shall at the expiration of such time furnish said boy or boys with his indenture papers or credentials.

SEC. 7. Said party of the first part further agrees that they will not sublet to any of their employees or others, by contract or otherwise, any wall washing, painting, glazing, paper cleaning or any character of hardwood finishing, either on contracts or in factories, and under no circumstances shall they employ laborers or nonunion men to do any class of preparatory work in any branch.

SEC. 8. All car fare above ten cents must be paid by the contractors where journeymen are employed; also all railroad fare outside the city limits.

SEC. 9. When journeymen are sent outside the city limits, where it is impracticable for them to return to their respective homes each evening, their board shall be paid by the contractors.

SEC. 10. Any man going to work, leaving his shop before 8 o'clock in the morning, shall stand no loss of time if not able to get to work on time, on account of distance or accident.

SEC. 11. No member of the union shall be discharged for refusing to work on a ladder or scaffolding which he considers unsafe, and he must be paid for the time taken for inspecting ladder or scaffolding or for enforcing the working rules.

SEC. 12. A sympathetic strike when ordered by the building trades council, shall not be a violation of this agreement.

SEC. 13. This agreement shall not take away the power of the business agent of the painters' district council to call a strike on any shop for any reason that may appear to the painters' district council to be just.

SEC. 14. It is expressly understood that the act of any member of the union shall not be binding on the painters' district council unless such act is expressly authorized by said painters' district council.

Adopted February 16, 1900.

In witness whereof the said parties have hereunto subscribed their hands and seal this ____ day of ____, 1900.

(Address)

(Signed)

For the Painters' District Council:

W. C. CARR, *President.*

F. KELLY, *Secretary.*

NOTE.—The building trades council, with which the painters' district council is affiliated, maintain a labor bureau. Good, competent help of all kinds can be had by telephone main No. 3563.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 30, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JAMES A. MILLER.

Manufacturer of sheet metal work for building, Chicago, Ill.

The special subcommission met at 10.05 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 10.45 a. m. Mr. James A. Miller, of Chicago, manufacturer of sheet metal work for building, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Give your name, please.—A. James A. Miller.

Q. Post-office address.—A. No. 129 South Clinton street, Chicago.

Q. Occupation.—A. Manufacturer of sheet metal work, etc., for building.

Q. Are you engaged in building, or only in furnishing sheet and metal work?—A. In both. We do a good deal of shop work, and work on buildings.

Q. Are you a member of the building contractors' council?—A. I am.

Q. How long have you been established in business in Chicago?—A. I have been in our firm since about 1866, I think—as far back as I can remember.

Q. Been thoroughly familiar with the condition of the building trade in Chicago during that time?—A. I think so.

Q. Are your works running now to any extent?—A. We are doing a little now, but not very much.

Q. How many hands do you employ when you are running fairly full?—A. Seventy-five to a hundred.

Q. Do you have union men?—A. Yes; we had them.

Q. Have you locked them out?—A. We established a certain rule under which we are willing to do business, and they objected and left.

Q. Please go on and state in your own way the occasion for that disruption, and anything else that you may wish to place before us concerning your industry and the labor difficulties here.—A. I have something special. Perhaps I had better read first what I have prepared. The settlement made April 23, 1899, between the sheet metal contractor's association and the sheet metal workers' union, provided in section 13: "All disputes arising under this agreement shall be submitted to a board of arbitration, both parties agreeing to abide by the decision of the arbitrators."

During the strike that preceded the making of that agreement the union caused to come back to Chicago from Moline some men who were working for the Sykes Steel Roofing Company, a member of the sheet metal contractors' association. The union, in fact, ordered them back and paid their car fare to Chicago.

When the Sykes Steel Roofing Company settled with these men it, on the advice of the contractors' association, deducted from the money due them the fares it had paid to send them to Moline, on the ground that they were sent to Moline with the understanding that they were to stay there until the job was finished, and if they returned before that time, and put the Sykes Steel Roofing Company to the expense of sending other men to complete the work, they must make good the expense of sending other men back to Moline.

Several months after these fares had been so deducted the union demanded of

the Sykes Steel Roofing Company that this money, some \$24.80, be returned to the men. The Sykes Company said they did not think that they owed it to the men; that the men came back to injure the Sykes Steel Roofing Company and to help establish the union, and that if anyone should pay this money to the men it should be the union and not the Sykes Company, adding always and reiterating that it was willing to arbitrate the question as provided by the agreement between the contractors and the union. An offer was also made to the union by another contractor to pay the expense of a suit in a justice court against the Sykes Company to establish the justice of the claim. To all these requests for arbitration the union replied that it did not have to arbitrate, and that it could collect the money due its members in an easier way than through the courts; that if the money was not paid the Sykes Company's jobs and shop would be struck; and that if the men were forced to strike by the Sykes Company, through its refusal to pay this money, they would not return to work until this \$24.80 was paid, and also until the Sykes Company had paid the men for all the time they were on this strike. The payment of the money being still refused by the Sykes Company, the union called off all of the Sykes Company's men who were at work on one of the city pumping stations, and threatened to call off all the men of the other trades the same job, which might have resulted, owing to the nature of the work, in damages running up into the thousands of dollars, which loss the union insisted would have to be paid by the Sykes Company before their men would be allowed to return. After the Sykes men at the pumping station had been out long enough for their wages to amount to about \$70, the men refused to stay idle any longer, but went back to work for the Sykes Company at other work, and the union paid the men those \$70 wages.

Soon after, the union called out all the Sykes men in their shops and on all their jobs. The Sykes Company then offered to pay the \$24.80 and arbitrate the question as to paying the time of the men who had struck. This offer the union refused.

The contractors' association then took the matter up and locked out all their men, notifying them that they need not come back to work until the Sykes men were sent back, pending arbitration. After the men had been out 3 or 4 days the matter was settled by the Sykes Company paying the \$24.80, the men going back to work, the union and the Sykes Company agreeing to arbitrate the question whether the Sykes Company should pay for the time of the men while they were out on the strike.

This arbitration has not yet been had; the names of some arbitrators were submitted to the union, who paid no further attention to the matter. The net result is that the union men lost about \$3,000 in wages to collect \$24.80, and at the time break their contract with the contractors' association.

We also want to say that for years past the wages per hour agreed upon to be paid to the Chicago sheet metal workers by the contractors has been higher than wages paid for equally good men elsewhere. The contract also provides that "Workmen sent out of Cook County shall be subject to the same rules as when in Cook County, and expenses, unless otherwise agreed."

There has not been a time when these union Chicago men would not go long distances from Chicago, often pay their fares and expenses, and work for less money than the union Chicago rates.

They do this because the work on country jobs is steady. Chicago work, owing to the large number of men here anxious to get these high wages, is not steady. Result: Chicago property owner has to pay more for his work than the owner anywhere else; further result, the Eastern manufacturer wanting to locate in the West finds that it will cost him more money for the same buildings in Chicago than anywhere else, and unless other compensating advantages outweigh that disadvantage he does not locate in Chicago.

There are one or two other matters I might mention here. One is, that I understand there has been some question as to the contractors breaking agreements with the men. I have a copy here of the agreement with our men, and it is the only one I have. That was made as a result of seven weeks' strike, and was made after we had been locked up for 48 hours in two or three rooms together. It runs until the 1st of January.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) When was it made? A. Last April, and it runs until the 1st of January. The only feature that the union agrees to under this is the arbitration matter. It agrees to arbitrate matters in dispute. That is the only thing it agreed to do, and that it broke in this Sykes matter, and we notified them if they did not arbitrate this matter we should consider that they broke the contract.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Do you wish to put the contract in entirely?—A. I would just as soon, if you think it is worth while. Another matter I would like to draw your attention to is that in the sheet metal workers' union, when the

man once gets in there, he is in for life. There is absolutely no way by which a man can withdraw from the sheet metal workers' union of Chicago; that is, they will give him a withdrawal card if he is not going to work, if he is going away, which simply means that he does not have to pay dues; but whenever he comes back to Chicago, and begins to work at his trade in Chicago, the obligations of the union, according to the union, still remain in force. I have read their constitution and by-laws very carefully. I have questioned them about it, and I know that that is the view they take upon it. Of course it is absurd that they have the power to fine a man and keep him out of work. So it is a most important thing, as far as the workman is concerned, to know how the union works at it.

Q. What is absurd about joining an organization and taking the obligations and abiding by them fully and remaining faithful to them?

The WITNESS. For life?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes; as they do in fraternal societies and many kinds of organizations.

A. It strikes me that it is absurd, that it is slavery. That is the way it strikes me. I may be wrong about it.

Q. Is there anything different in that, in their union, from any other union?—

A. I understand there is, but I am not familiar with the other unions. I understand that very few of the other unions refuse to let a man resign if he wants to withdraw.

Q. They certainly can not prevent a man from withdrawing if he wants to?—

A. They do in this union.

Q. But will they prevent it, supposing a man leaves the union and says: "I am done with it?"—A. If a man leaves Chicago he has got to meet a fine of \$50, and any man that he works for is struck until these back dues are paid, until his fine is paid.

Q. Well, it may be. It is his great American privilege to walk right out of that union and have nothing further to do with it, and to work at his trade, if he he can get work, is it not?—A. That is what I say, but it is not what the union says.

Q. The union may hold him a dishonorable man, may it not, yet he is free to go out and get a situation if he can?—A. I do not care to discuss the morality of it. They claim a man can not withdraw from their union.

Q. Well, that is absurd?—A. They do make that claim, and it seems to me an absurd one. I am not discussing the propriety of it. I can also show at least three cases from my own knowledge, at least three men who were competent to become members of the union, and who applied for admission to the union, and were refused admission. One applied for a card as a helper, which does not require any special obligation. They notified the man that only men under 21 years of age would be taken as helpers. That seems to me an absurd rule, because lots of their helpers are over that. Another one was not a union man. When the strike was over, we advised him to join the union. He was "blackballed." By the union rules he was only allowed to apply again in three months. When that time was up he tried again, and was again blackballed.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) What becomes of a man, let me ask, under such circumstances as that?—A. Well, he can work in our business. There are a lot of non-union shops; that is, they are not in the building business. For instance, they may be just making tinware and things like that, and a great many of those shops are not under the control of the union, as are those who do building work; and this man, I think, got work in a shop of that character. A man under such circumstance, where there is organized labor, is at a tremendous disadvantage, and is called an outcast. He has his remedy in law, but very few of those people care to take advantage of it.

Q. Would a remedy acquired that way be of any practical value in the case of an organization who are not themselves, as I suggested, responsible to the law?—A. Well, I wanted him to try it on, and he refused to do it. Of course that has not been tried here, and I do not know what the result would be. I am not a lawyer, but I would give a good deal to have a judgment of \$5,000 against those fellows for something of that sort. As I understand the matter, they would have to pay or go to jail as long as somebody wanted to pay their board there.

Q. In the light of the testimony that has been given here on both sides of this controversy, can a man under such circumstances be really protected? Is there any efficient protection for him if he has incurred the hostility and enmity of a labor union by violation of the rules or otherwise?—A. I think there is plenty of evidence to show that it is at any rate all a man's life is worth to incur the hostility of these unions.

Q. Is it true that at the present time nonunion men are being slugged and beaten?—A. I am chairman of the legal committee of this association, and I know we have had convictions of union men for that, and I can tell of cases that have been reported to us where we thought we could not secure a conviction.

Q. Have you attempted to prosecute for slugging nonunion men?—A. We have secured convictions against the people who did the slugging. We have never gone into the conspiracy case to hold the leaders of the union responsible for the actions of their men.

Q. Do you know whether these men were members of the union?—A. Yes; they admitted it on the stand. I know in one case a fight was pitched by the president of the union.

Q. During the strike?—A. Yes; within three weeks.

Q. Has your association employed men to slug union men?—A. No, sir; not to my knowledge. I know that the matter has been discussed, and I remember at one time at our meeting there was a question about sending some men to a job to give some moral support and encourage the contractor; as we found that the union men were a little afraid to be seen by the contractors doing these things.

Q. Does your council employ men secretly or openly to guard nonunion men who may be working for you?—A. We do. If we didn't, I don't believe we could get men to work for us.

Q. And the council pays that?—A. Yes.

Q. Whom do you largely employ to furnish this kind of protection?—A. I am not as familiar with it as some of the others. It is not part of my business there.

Q. Are you a mechanic yourself?—A. I have worked at the trade. I worked 3 or 4 years at it.

Q. What are the objects of your association, your council?—A. The contractors' council aims, more than anything else, to combat the unlawful demands of the building trades council and their unions.

Q. You are bound together?—A. You have a copy of the constitution and by-laws. There is absolutely nothing about that—

Q. Do you take an oath?—A. No, sir. I would not do so; I would not do that; I would not belong to such an organization; never have and never would.

Q. If the association is formed, what holds you together when you have no binding obligation?—A. I suppose what holds us together is the fact that we feel it is to our interest to remain together. There is no fine imposed upon a man when he withdraws. There is no fine imposed on a man if he does not keep his agreement.

Q. No way of punishing men who violate their agreements?—A. None whatever.

Q. Do they violate their agreements?—A. I think they have kept their agreements very well—only been organized for less than a year.

Q. Have you had an organization prior to that time?—A. We had what was called an employers' conference committee. It was merged into this, but did not amount to anything. The times did not seem to be ripe for it and it died.

Q. Does your association boycott men who are not members of it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you work against them as a body?—A. No, sir. I have been very careful in any association that I have belonged to, to keep away from anything of that sort. I believe it is unlawful in a union, and I believe it would be unlawful in any association that I belonged to.

Q. Had your council an agreement with the dealers in material by which those who are not members of your body are charged a higher price than your members are?—A. No; none whatever. Neither our council nor the sheet metal workers' association, I believe.

Q. You would know if such a thing existed?—A. I should.

Q. Is money paid into the treasury of the council by material dealers, being a certain per cent for material sold to members?—A. I can say there is absolutely nothing of that sort.

Q. It has been charged that such a condition existed.—A. There is nothing of that sort either in the sheet metal workers' association or the building contractors' council.

Q. You can state that absolutely?—A. I can speak absolutely for the building contractors and the sheet metal workers' association.

Q. Do you say that it is absolutely a fact that anyone outside of the building contractors' council can purchase goods as cheap as anyone inside?—A. If his credit is equally good.

Q. There is no discrimination?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are you sure that there is competition between the contractors' council and certain material dealers?—A. Oh, yes; certainly.

THE BUILDING TRADES STRIKES:—MILLER.

Q. Has your council at any time entered into collusion with material dealers to boycott other contractors and dealers and cause them trouble?—**A.** The nearest our council ever got into that—we had the so-called Madden arbitration committee, of which I was a member. The question was brought up in this body by Mr. Lillien, of the hod carriers' union, who was on that committee. First, if the building trades council will agree for its affiliated unions that their members will only work for members of the employers' associations affiliated with the building contractors' council, will the so-called ultimatum be withdrawn? The conference committee said: "That is too deep for us; we will refer it to the building contractors' council." It was left and discussed and laid on the table, and has never been taken from the table.

Q. In other words, you refused to enter into it?—**A.** We refused to consider it at all. There absolutely never was any understanding with the labor unions or any branch of them of that character.

Q. You know absolutely as to that?—**A.** I know absolutely as to that. I have been with the Building Contractors' Council ever since it was organized.

Q. Do you know whether there is any combine among the material men, for the purpose of enhancing prices?—**A.** No, sir.

Q. Has there been a very great advance in the price of building material?—**A.** There has been a very great advance in the price of iron, and that is the only building material that I have occasion to purchase. I know, almost everybody knows, that it was not caused by any local conditions.

Q. Has not there been a very large advance in the price of brick?—**A.** I do not use any at all.

Q. You are not prepared to speak now?—**A.** I am pretending to speak for the sheet metal workers' association and the building contractors' council only.

Q. But in a general way you are speaking for the council in these other matters?—**A.** In these other matters of which I have knowledge, yes.

Q. Now, what are your specific grievances against the labor unions?—**A.** I think the whole thing can be covered by the statement that we consider that they are maintaining a monopoly so that only union labor shall be employed; and that everything is in that. If they would allow us to employ nonunion labor, why we would simply employ the nonunion men, and the union men could do as they chose. They could demand \$10 a day if they wanted to. But as long as they take the position that they will strike our jobs because we don't want to pay them their wages, or comply with some of the demands, that they have the right to picket our establishment, or call sympathetic strikes while we may be at work, why that we object to.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Do you object to the employment of union men as such?—**A.** No; we object to their restricting us to the employment of none but union men. I consider everything else as embraced in that.

Q. If it were agreed that you could employ nonunion men, would not your leading associations employ nonunion men altogether?—**A.** It would depend upon what the union men did. If the union men behaved in the future as in the past I think they would; I know I should. It would amount to a disruption if the unions continue in the future as they have in the past. There is no reason why they should do that; it is not so in very many cities in this country.

Q. Do you find your association beneficial?—**A.** We have never in the past been able to make any stand against the different unions, because they were all combined together and backed up by the building trades council. We find now we are making a better stand against them than we have in the past. That is the only way in which it is beneficial, and that is all we expect of it.

Q. You claim your organization is the result of the organization of labor?—**A.** Absolutely so, as far as I am concerned. I will say that when the building trades council dissolves I am willing to dissolve our association.

Q. What are the specific demands you now make on the council?—**A.** That they let us employ whom we choose. There are other demands, such as no restriction in the use of machinery and material; but if they let us employ whom we choose, which I understand is a right inherent in everybody in this country, I would personally waive the others.

Q. Do you make the demand of the building trades council?—**A.** We say we will not treat with the present unions affiliated with the trades council until they withdraw from the building trades council.

Q. You have separate organizations, have you not, of contractors?—**A.** Yes, of each trade.

Q. And the contractors' council is the central body of those associations?—**A.** Yes.

Q. The trades council is the central body of the labor organizations?—**A.** Yes.

Q. So that you occupy the same relative position?—A. The same relative position, except there is all the difference that there is between daylight and darkness, which you will see by examining a copy of the constitution and by-laws of the building trades council.

Q. Do not labor unions find it necessary to have a central head, just as your organizations do, in order to act in harmony?—A. No; they do not. The leaders think they do, but they do not. I am prepared, I think, to demonstrate to anybody who is fair-minded that the building trades council never has been and can not be of any benefit to the labor men. I am prepared to demonstrate that the present high rate of wages paid here does not benefit the laboring men, and that wages can not be maintained at a high rate in one community by combination for any length of time.

Q. Does organization benefit labor?—A. It depends upon what organizations attempt to do. I do not profess to be familiar with organizations throughout the country. I am pretty well settled in my own mind that the organizations in the building trades in Chicago are detrimental to the labor of the country, not only to the nonunion men but to the union men.

Q. Has the organization of labor resulted in higher wages and shorter hours?—A. It has resulted in higher wages per hour, but, as I said before, I do not think it has resulted in higher wages per year. As I understand it, what the laboring man wants is an increase of yearly income. I think it is easily demonstrated that a high rate of wages per hour brings a lot of men to Chicago, which reduces the amount of work per year per man, and also decreases the amount of work to do. I think it is demonstrated by the fact that the unions have been forced to raise their initiation fees up to \$30, \$75, and \$100.

Q. Initiation fees?—A. Yes.

Q. Into the unions?—A. Yes.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) If the building trades council should be dissolved would the building contractors' council also be willing to dissolve?—A. I can not answer that question for the building contractors' council, because it has not been considered; but I will say very freely that I have not any desire to extend it or attend the meetings of an association of that kind.

Q. Do the conditions brought on by the building trades council have anything to do with the formation of the building contractors' council?—A. Everything to do; never would have been any building contractors' council if it had not been for the building trades council.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) A prominent citizen of Chicago informed me that his interests and the interests of Chicago were made the football of politics in this city. He said the Madden arbitration was a fair matter, and might have culminated to the satisfaction of all but for politics; that one side did not want Mr. Madden to have the credit of initiating that method because he was a Republican; that then Mayor Harrison took it up and tried to bring about an amicable settlement, and the other side did not want Mr. Harrison to have the credit of it, because he was a Democrat. I should like to ask you whether there is any such control of this situation as that?—A. As to the cause of the failure of the Madden arbitration agreement, I do not believe it was caused by politics. It may have been caused by politics, but my own opinion is that it was caused because the business agents of the unions thought it would curtail their power and their chance of getting money for calling off strikes. I may be mistaken about that, but that is what I think it was.

Q. You know nothing further about the politics in it?—A. Mr. O'Brien suggests—which may very properly come in here—that whatever politics there are must have been on the other side, because our council ratified that Madden agreement, and it failed through the failure of the building trades council to ratify it.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Is it not a fact that the building trades council, by a very large vote accepted the Madden arbitration, but under the rules and regulations were compelled to submit it to a referendum vote, and that the rank and file of the unions voted overwhelmingly against it on the theory that it took away their individuality and independence in the matter of arbitrating, each union for its own trade?—A. All I know of what took place in the building trades council is what I have heard from different members of the building trades council, and that is that when the arbitration agreement was presented the first thing was that it was read and referred to the different unions for action. We tried to find out what they were going to do about it or what they had done about it, and we did not succeed in doing it. I really do not know why they did not vote for it, unless it was that the business agents—the people who controlled the whole thing—thought it would lessen their power.

Q. You have had many opportunities of observing the processes of these differences between labor and employers; what way is there in which labor could protect

itself and defend its interests otherwise than by organization?—A. I do not believe there is any way by which the laboring man can defeat the operation of the law of supply and demand. I do not believe these high wages per hour have been observed. I know it stands to reason that if you get a high rate per hour, that must apply to every man; that the incompetent man will not get work until the better men are all taken up, and, therefore, the incompetent man will make some secret arrangement. I have been told our shop and one or two others are the only ones that have kept the scale. I believe the laboring man in the building business in Chicago in our trade does not get any more under the operations of the building trades council per year than he did before the building trades council. That is my belief.

Q. Is the condition of the workingman improved in your judgment?—A. I do not think it is as good now as it was 10 years ago in Chicago. Of course, we have had dull times, which has had something to do with it. I do not believe there are as many workmen in Chicago that own their own homes as 10 years ago.

Q. Is it your belief that the condition of labor would be better to-day without any labor unions than it is?—A. Without any labor unions that attempted to maintain a monopoly, that attempted to do something that in the nature of things they can not do. I think there are plenty of things in which an organization can be useful.

Q. What are these things, in your judgment?—A. They can do as they have done in England. They could make a benefit society of it. They could see that their men were improved, made better workmen, everything that would naturally tend to enhance their value to their employer.

Q. Your idea being that the whole subject of labor rests upon the law of supply and demand?—A. Yes.

Q. You think then that they really defeat their own interests in striving for higher wages and shorter hours of labor?—A. I think when they attempt to say they are going to get a higher rate of wages than the surrounding community, and then attempt to say that only their men shall participate in that, they defeat their own end.

Q. Suppose the rate of wages in Chicago was very low. On your theory would it be folly for the workmen in Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, or any other section of the country to attempt to raise their scale because the scale here was low?—A. Because the Chicago men would then go to the other places.

Q. In other words, they must accept the condition, whatever it may be. Is not that the natural deduction?—A. There are other ways by which they can get at it. They could change their trade. They could work harder. They could go into business for themselves, if they wanted to. It does not cost anything to go into the building business in Chicago.

Q. Is there not a difficulty in it for a man who has spent his lifetime learning a trade to change it? That is a good deal easier said than done, is it not?—A. Yes; I understand it is difficult. It is also difficult for that same man to get 50 cents an hour, if there are 3 men who can do just as much work as he can and more competent to earn that than he is.

Q. People engaged in any calling have a special interest in it, have they not?—A. Yes.

Q. They naturally give that interest their attention and time and thought?—A. Yes.

Q. The building contractor naturally looks after his side of the question?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you believe it is reasonable to assume that if a laboring man did not look after his own interests, someone else would look after them?—A. I am not objecting to their looking after their own interests, but I say they make a mistake in attempting to do some things.

Q. Among these things you include securing higher wages and shorter hours?—A. Higher than the conditions will permit.

Q. Are not the conditions very largely what they are made under these circumstances?—A. Well, it is pretty difficult where the line stops. If wages are below the normal conditions in Chicago, they might raise them to that normal condition; but when they raise them above, and other people come to Chicago, the result in the year will average up.

Q. Would not that have the effect of depriving those sections from which they come of labor, and raising the price there and equalizing itself in the end?—A. It would equalize, yes.

Q. The tendency, of course, of men is to improve their condition?—A. Naturally; ought to be.

Q. Now, do you see any real objection to laboring men associating themselves for beneficial purposes, and among other things striving to increase the amount

of wages they shall receive and to shorten the hours of their labor, to the end that they may improve their financial condition and their social condition, providing they do it legally, peacefully, and within the law?—A. I think that is a very laudable thing to do.

Q. You do not think there is anything wrong about that?—A. No.

Q. If they can secure an 8-hour law, they have a right to do it, and to do it for the benefit of themselves and their families, and for their own personal advancement?—A. I won't argue as to the advisability of the 8-hour law. The 8-hour law is all right in Chicago or any large city, where a man has to travel an hour or so to get to his work. It really makes a 10-hour day.

Q. A 10-hour day means a 12-hour day according to that?—A. Yes; pretty much. I know men who work 8 hours in the city, but whenever they go to the country they work 10 hours. We do not ask them to; they do it because they want to; they want that additional 2-hours' money.

Q. In what respect do these unions attempt to restrict your use of machinery?—A. They do not at all in our trade. I know they do in other trades: in the stone-cutting trade, for instance.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You say you are a member of the legal committee of the contractors' council?—A. Yes.

Q. Has any attempt been made by their side to this controversy to obtain redress at law?—A. I am sorry to say that there has not been any serious attempt by either side to do so.

Q. Have you investigated so that you know that the law is ample to afford remedies for violations of contracts?—A. I am inclined to say that the law is ample. I am also of the belief that the remedies at law, considering the obstacles in the way of getting cases decided, and all that sort of thing, are not as practicable as I should like to see them.

Q. Could you suggest how they can be made more practicable?—A. I do not like to offer too many panaceas, but I really think an appointive judge does better work in a labor case than the elective judge. I think educating public opinion is about as practicable a thing as can be done.

Q. Do you feel that nonunion labor or other labor, and also men engaged in business, have received prompt and adequate protection against disorder from the city authorities?—A. I will tell you. I think the protection that we have received is so much better during the last month, we will say, than it was before that time, that I do not want to criticise it.

Q. Has there been any picketing around any of the shops or buildings of members of your council?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you recognize picketing as a legal right?—A. No, sir; I do not. I think it is unlawful.

Q. Do you know whether there is anything in the city ordinances in regard to the right of persons to stand for any length of time in the street?—A. I do not know. When I say picketing is unlawful I do not refer to the city ordinances, however.

Q. How can picketing be broken up if a person has the right to take a position in the street and maintain it all day long and all night?—A. I do not think a man has any right—that is, one man may, but I do not think a number have—to blockade the street. When I say picketing is unlawful, I refer more to the common law and the proceedings of the courts than I do to city ordinances.

Q. Do you not know that some of the courts have decided that picketing is lawful?—A. No; I do not. I know the supreme court of Michigan has decided it is not lawful. I know the nearest that any court in this country has come to deciding that picketing was lawful was Judge Woods, in the Chalmers Case, in which he modified an injunction that had been granted by the master in chancery prohibiting picketing, and struck picketing out, going on to say that he considered picketing, so long as it was simply watching and seeing what was going on, to be within the rights of man, and then he went on to say that if they attempted to persuade the workmen—nonunion men or men who were at work—in such a way as would amount to a threat, as he put it—persuasion in words, but threats in manner—it was unlawful, and the whole thing was a question of proof as to whether it was persuasion. And while he allowed picketing, he limited the number of pickets to 10. That decision has been made a good deal of by the labor unions on the question of picketing. It was only a decision of a lower court, and the matter has not been passed on by the supreme court of the State.

Q. Whether picketing is lawful or not, do you consider that after a workman has left a shop he has no interest or any right?—A. No; the line is right there. When a man strikes in my shop he has no further relation with me. He has no

right to interfere in any shape, way, or manner with me, and anything he does to interfere with my business is an unlawful act, and I think the courts will come to that, too.

Q. Do you consider that it is the right of property owners and employers of labor to engage private detectives to protect their property and to protect their laborers?—A. I do.

Q. And that has been done by the building contractors' council?—A. Yes.

Q. Would that have been done if you had felt that you had adequate protection from the city government?—A. It is pretty hard for anybody to adequately protect a lot of nonunion men. It is pretty hard for any force, no matter how zealous they may be, to see that a thousand or 2,000 men, working on different buildings and living all through the city, are protected from violence.

Q. Is it an ideal condition of law and order?—A. No, it is not an ideal condition.

Q. When people have to employ armed men to protect themselves and property?—A. I should say not.

Q. Then you do not feel that you have received adequate protection at the hands of the city?—A. We shall have to talk about the practicability of it, I suppose. What I said was that I did not want to criticise the present protection from the police; it is so much better than what we were getting, say, 6 months ago.

Q. Do you know any members of the building trades council who have been appointed to positions under the city government?—A. I think there are a number. I do not at present recall how many or who they are. Of course you know Edward Carroll is a member of the civil service commission. During the campaign, I think last year, there were some criticisms of the administration of the civil-service law, and among the things criticised was the examination of one Thomas Redding, who is now foreman of the street-lamp repairers. It gave his examination papers in full, and went on to say that Mr. Redding was passed at 100, and that there were only two or three applicants, and they only answered 2 out of 10 questions. The next thing was that this was taken up by the sheet metal workers' union, this being a sheet metal worker's job, and they passed these resolutions:

"Whereas it has been brought to the notice of local union No. 73 of Chicago and vicinity that the examination given to the foreman of the 'city lamp repair shop' by the civil service commission has been adversely criticised by a political organization known as the Hamilton Club; be it

Resolved, by the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers local union No. 73 of Chicago and vicinity, in meeting assembled, That the aforesaid examination was given on the lines laid down by the examining board of this organization, whom this body consider more competent to pass on qualifications requisite to fill the above position than anyone that could be dictated to suit the convenience of the aforesaid political organization known as the Hamilton Club; be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this body and a copy thereof be transmitted to his honor the mayor, the civil-service commission, and the aforesaid political organization known as the Hamilton Club.

"ABE WHITE, Recording Secretary."

The only thing not stated in these resolutions was that this Thomas Redding was the president of that union.

Q. You think, then, that the union had considerable political influence in getting a civil-service board that was favorable to it, and in getting an examination before that board which enabled its own president to succeed?—A. That is exactly what I think.

Q. Do you entertain the opinion that the civil-service board is appointed for its particular competency, or because of its connection with trades unionism?—A. You have heard Mr. Carroll testify, have you not?

Q. We have.—A. I have only heard him speak once, but I am decidedly of the opinion that he is a very poor man for that position, regardless of his own educational qualifications, because it seems that a man on there whose whole idea is that nobody but a union man should have a job is doing as much as can be done to defeat the civil-service law.

Q. Then you think the case is mixed up with politics? Politics has something to do with it?—A. I do.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You spoke of the president of this union passing the examination at 100; if he passed at 100 and it were possible for any member of that union to pass at 100, is there anything really to criticise in the president's passing it?—A. My opinion is that it is an examination that nobody could pass at 100.

Q. Is that the only ground you criticise it on?—A. It seems to me on its face—if

the examination paper is prepared by the union and there are only three applicants for the job and the position is taken by the president of the union—that there was collusion. That is what I think about it.

Q. In all organizations is it not true, as a rule, that the men of ability, of force of character, are the ones who come to the front?—A. I do not think I am prepared—

Q. (Interrupting.) What has been your experience in organizations with which you have been connected?—A. I have never been connected with trade unions.

Q. I mean the ones you have been connected with.—A. I believe the people who come to the front in trades unions are not the men who ought to be in the front—that is, in Chicago. I believe they have put in lawless men. Of course they have to have a certain amount of force.

Q. It was his privilege, notwithstanding he was president of the union, to be a candidate for that position, was it not?—A. I have stated the facts. I do not know that I care to criticise any further.

Q. Do you get your work in competition with other sheet-metal men?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you have to figure, and submit bids, etc.?—A. Yes.

Q. Would it not be for your benefit to know what the others pay for labor?—A. It would eliminate uncertainties; but from the fact that the union established a minimum rate of 40 cents, it does not follow that that rate is paid by all our competitors.

Q. Have union men worked for less than the scale?—A. Yes. It is the incompetent man that must work for less to get work at all, unless there is so much work that everybody has to be employed.

Q. In bidding you would prefer to know what everybody else pays, that they pay the same price for labor as you do?—A. There are so many uncertainties—all we want to know is what the work will cost us. We have to place our bid on that.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) I should like to know more about the Madden arbitration; how many members on each side?—A. My recollection is that there were five on each side.

Q. You were a member?—A. Yes.

Q. In agreeing to the different provisions of that settlement you took a vote, did you, from time to time?—A. Yes.

Q. Did all the members on both sides of the arbitration vote for or against?—A. I think the most noticeable feature of the whole thing was the lack of interest shown in it by the labor men. I think there were two or three people who only attended for an hour or so.

Q. Did they approve the award?—A. Of course when the award was made, it had to be approved to be made. I think it was signed by only two or three or four of their members. There were some who did not sign it. A majority signed it.

Q. Any reason given?—A. No reason given that I have heard of.

Q. Then that was submitted to the two councils?—A. Yes.

Q. What became of it in your council?—A. It was at once adopted.

Q. What became of it in the building trades council?—A. It was read at the meeting of the building trades council Friday night and referred to the different unions to have the delegates from the different unions instructed by those unions as to how they should vote on the acceptance or rejection of that agreement.

Q. As I understand, under the present conditions no award can be approved that is not agreed to by every one of the 34 different trades?—A. I would not say that. I do not think that is so. I think the majority of the building trades council can carry the whole thing. Of course I am not a member of a building trades council. There was some question as to whether it should be a bare majority or two-thirds majority. I do not think that was fully settled; don't think they got so far.

Q. Is there no encouragement, then, to enter into another arbitration?—A. It seemed to us that we had wasted two or three weeks of almost constant sessions for a result that received very little attention after it was arrived at.

Q. Was that one of the reasons why the building contractors' council thought it was not worth while to arbitrate further?—A. That was one of the reasons. I think the principal reason is that we thought there were some things we would just as soon not arbitrate when we got so far—that is, the question whether we should be restricted in the men we were to employ.

Q. Some things in the award already agreed to?—A. We have got beyond that. I think that award provided for the employment of none but union men on buildings. It was insisted upon by them, and for the sake of having the award approved by their committee we accepted it.

Q. Under present conditions there is no possible chance for an arbitration

now?—A. I do not think there is upon that point. I think we have got to the point where we have made up our minds we will run our business as we choose, providing we run it according to law, and the other fellow is trying to stop us.

I would like to present this [indicating]. I will relate the history of it. There was a man by the name of A. Yeldhom, who had been a union man and run behind in his dues, and the union fined him; and the union struck the shop of the employer on his account, and the demand was finally that he should be discharged. Rather than have a strike that was consented to. Then the demand was that he should not only be discharged but an agreement be entered into that he should not be employed again either in Chicago or anywhere else, and finally that was agreed to, because the employer had to get the men. He has never since worked in Chicago—worked at this business. I thought you might wish to have this in your records—what they call a permit to work while the matter was under discussion. If you like, you can file that in your minutes:

CHICAGO, May 23, 1898.

No. 1864.

Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, Local Union No. 73, I. A. Permit the bearer, Mr. A. Yeldhom, to work until June 1, 1898. Received \$25 on fine on ———.

F. C. POUCHOUT.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Is it your opinion, as a member of the legal committee, that an agreement that a man shall not be allowed to work in Chicago, or anywhere else, is legal and binding?—A. No, sir; I do not think it is. I think it is an unlawful contract. I should like to see some of these people commence suit for damages against the building trades council for enforcing any such contract.

Q. Why don't they do it?—A. Don't dare do it.

Q. Why don't they dare?—A. Afraid to; bring all sorts of trouble. This man might. He has been out of town for so long that it would be hard to get at him. We offered to do it once—offered to bring the suit.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Whom would you make defendants in a case of that sort?—A. The particular union to which he belonged, every member, all the board of business agents, and the building trades council. They are all in the conspiracy to keep that man from working. While I am a member of that legal committee, I am not a lawyer.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 30, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY STRUBLE,

Cut-Stone Contractor.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m. March 30, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 11.45 a. m. Mr. Henry Struble was sworn as a witness and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. Henry Struble.

Q. Your post-office address.—A. 203 East Fortieth street, Chicago.

Q. Your occupation.—A. Cut-stone contractor.

Q. How long have you been engaged in business in Chicago?—A. Eighteen years in the line of business I am in. Not as contractor all that time, but in the business.

Q. Are you a member of the building contractors' council?—A. Yes.

Q. Go on in your own way and state the condition of your industry here and your relations to labor.—A. The cut-stone interests of Chicago and other large cities in this country have gradually introduced machinery to dress cut stone for building purposes. The dressing of cut stone by machinery is a great success, for it has cheapened the production of this material greatly, inducing builders to make the fronts much more elaborate, as contractors are enabled to furnish such fronts for even less money than it cost for plain fronts in former days. The cut-stone machinery in stone yards was not operated by stonecutters, but by such laborers as showed skill for operating machinery, similar to the working of machinery in planing mills, sash, door, and blind factories.

In the year 1896 the journyemen stonecutters' union of this city notified the cut-stone contractors that the planers and lathers in stone yards must, on and after

March 1 of that year, be operated by stonecutters at the rate of 50 cents per hour and 8 hours per day, and if not complied with the union would not allow stonecutters to work in such yards. The contractors would not accede to these demands, and a strike was declared which lasted about 3 months. It resulted in a compromise agreement that the contractors employ one-half stonecutters and one-half planer hands to operate the above-mentioned machines.

In 1898 a further demand was made by the journeymen stonecutters' union, the object of which was to further cripple the utility of the machines, namely, that the contractors must employ eight stonecutters for every one operating planer machines. To comply with this demand meant stopping the machinery, and a second strike was the result, which lasted 10 weeks, with a compromise agreement, to be in effect until May, 1900, that the contractors employ four members of the journeymen stonecutters' unions to every double planer in operation, and two members to every single planer.

In January, 1899, the cut-stone contractors were notified by the journeymen stonecutters' union that they would not allow any of their men to work in a yard where machinery (except saws and rubbing beds) was operated after the 1st of April, 1899.

The cut-stone contractors appealed to the building trades council, asking them to compel associations affiliated with that body to carry out the existing agreement that did not expire until May 1, 1900. We received no assistance from that source; they never condescended to answer the communication. We, as the association, through sad experience knew it was useless to fight the stonecutters single handed, as long as they were backed by the strong and arbitrary power of the building trades council. Consequently we submitted, and through conference gained an extension of time, but were compelled to stop the machinery after the 1st of June, 1899. At this time there were 28 yards in the city of Chicago who were employing machinery. These yards represented 75 per cent of the employing capacity of the labor market in this particular branch of trade. The value of the machinery which was in use at that time is estimated conservatively at \$110,000. This machinery remained idle ever since June, 1899, and in consequence of the arbitrary action of the stonecutters' union it is practically an absolute loss to the cut-stone contractors, as the machinery is fast becoming useless by reason of rust, corrosion, and loss of many parts due to its not being in active use.

The contractors of cut stone have in their yards three different unions to contend with. In fact, every man that works in a stone yard must be a union man.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) What are these three unions?—A. The three unions are the journeymen stonecutters' union, the hoisting engineers' union, and the sawyers and rubbers' union, which latter union includes all yard laborers, as well as teamsters, who have lately been brought in—in the last 6 or 8 weeks. They had to join, the men told me, because the union men refused to handle stone not handled by union laborers. So my teamster and all the rest of them joined the union for a consideration.

This is a case where the men struck on account of refusing to hire an engineer who had quit without cause:

AFFIDAVIT.

At the stone yards of Edwards & Ward, Fullerton avenue bridge, complaint was made by the foreman that the full time (10 minutes) had not been allowed them for the purpose of taking lunch. In order to avoid further disputes about this matter, Mr. Edwards instructed the engineer to blow the whistle according to the tower clock at the Deering Works, which could be conveniently seen by the employees of Edwards & Ward. The engineer, a member of the hoisting engineers, objected to this order, insisting that he would blow the whistle according to his own clock, and quit work at noon. Edwards & Ward then requested the hoisting engineers to send them another engineer, which they refused to do, claiming that the regular engineer had been discharged without cause. One engineer, not a member of the hoisting engineers, was employed, and after working a few days the building trades council threatened to call off the sawyers and stonecutters unless the old engineer was reinstated. Having contracts on hand with a time limit, Edwards & Ward were forced to again employ the engineer—who had quit of his own free will—in order to get stonecutters and sawyers to work.

Albert J. Ward, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he has read the foregoing statement, and the same is true to the best of of his knowledge and belief.

ALBERT J. WARD.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of March, 1900.

[SEAL.]

F. B. ROBINSON, Notary Public.

This 10 minutes time for lunch has got to be an arbitrary rule. For a number of years they got that much, when the boy is required to carry beer for their association to help wash down a little food. The time, though, is made up by the men; it is not a loss by the employer.

In regard to the unions that we have to contend with, the journeymen stonecutters have a rule, which I understand is an unwritten law, that when men of their organization bring a charge against a contractor, and the charge is proved or a forced settlement made regardless of arbitration, the man who makes that charge has an allowance from the fine, whatever it may be. I think in this case they have a half of the fine, whatever may be assessed and forced upon the employer.

Here is another sample of a fine assessed against an employer:

AFFIDAVIT.

Robert Reid, Chicago, June 30, 1899.

Fined \$250 by journeymen stonecutters' association, charged with doing the scraping of an old building at Fiftieth and Washington avenue, stone ashlar up to second story about 16 years old. Refused arbitration. Reid had about \$1,500 worth of work at that time. All Reid had to do with the building was to lend scrapers to laborers and tell them they could get the work. He did not have any contract, nor have any connection with the building or work whatever. Fine has never been paid, and Reid is working with nonunion men. Five months after the fine was assessed and Reid had his work completed, Jos. Sullivan, president of journeymen stonecutters' association, came to Reid at his home, offering to settle the matter for \$100, which Reid refused.

ROBT REID.

STATE OF ILLINOIS, *County of Cook, ss:*

Before me personally appeared Robert Reid, who being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that the above statement is correct and true.

[SEAL.]

F. B. ROBINSON, *Notary Public.*

For explanation I would say the work in this town is done with a toothed chisel, done with a machine 1 to 4 inches wide; that is called tooth-chisel work. Brought about by the use of machinery—becoming quite universal. Yards not having machinery instituted a hand-scraping machine, called a scraper, whereby the labor can be either stonecutters or laboring men. They passed a resolution in the journeymen stonecutters' union before this fine was assessed that they could not use these scrapers any more. So they brought this charge.

An agreement between the contractors and stonecutters existed, that for every stonecutter operating a planing machine 2 stonecutters were to be employed at the banker or bench. In April, 1899, the firm of John Olsen & Co., cut-stone contractors at Thirty-fourth and La Salle streets, had 1 stonecutter employed operating a planer, and the necessary 2 stonecutters working at the banker. Mr. Olsen was notified by Auerbach, president of the journeymen stonecutters' union, that the firm of John Olsen & Co. had been fined \$200 for not employing the necessary 2 stonecutters at the banker. Mr. Olsen pointed out the 2 stonecutters to Auerbach, whereupon Auerbach admitted that 2 men were employed, but that 1 of the men was an exempt member of the union, and therefore could not be counted. The plant of Olsen & Co. was shut down several days, and having work on hand, they could not do anything else but hand to Auerbach their check for the \$200.

In this case, as well as the others, arbitration was refused, and they took upon themselves to carry out the manner in which they were trying to get possession of \$200 on the ground that a man was an exempt member. They have a time at which a man who is unable to do the work naturally required of a younger man is allowed to become what they call an exempt member, and this was one of that character, and, although a member of the stonecutters' union, was ruled out.

This correspondence that will be read now is in relation to a fine against the yard of Henry Struble & Co.—myself—assessed by the journeymen stonecutters' union, because we were accused by certain members thereof of paying less than the union rate of wages. We refused to do anything at their demand without arbitration. At the solicitation of the president, who notified me of the fine and demanded the \$250, after several calls and explanations and strong arguments on both sides—I really for a few minutes made the man think there was not a case, I guess—he requested that I send a letter to the organization of the stonecutters,

that the matter might be considered by them all, which I did, and this is the letter:

FEBRUARY 14, 1899.

The JOURNEYMEN STONECUTTERS' ASSOCIATION OF CHICAGO.

GENTLEMEN: At the request of your president, Mr. Auerbach, we beg leave to present the following:

We feel that your organization have done us a great injustice, as well as one of your own members, Mr. Joplin. We have always understood our obligations to your society and have tried to conduct our business to conform to all your rules, and think the way in which we have heretofore handled our business will bear us out. While the conditions that bring about the agreement we are compelled to make with your society are not always as we should like, nevertheless we have never failed to keep such agreements. The objections to the assessment or fine against us are:

First. If you had a charge against us, it should have been called up and arbitrated during the year 1897.

Second. You have assessed the fine against us without proving your own member guilty or his even having a hearing before your body.

Third. Where we do not wish to meddle or advise regarding your member, we wish a fair arbitration of the matter, and at an early date.

Trusting this may have your fair and immediate consideration, we remain, yours truly,

HENRY STRUBLE & Co.

You gentlemen will notice when you look up this correspondence, as you will in the future, that the date of the correspondence relating to the fine is February, 1899, and the warrant charged it during the year 1897.

Although that letter was sent by request of the journeyman stonecutters' union, no reply was received from them, and, to the best of my knowledge, if the letter was read at the meeting, that was as far as it got, except to be placed on file or the table or some other place.

The conditions were such that our organization of cut-stone contractors could not induce the journeymen stonecutters' association by any plausible means to bring about arbitration of the case. They positively refused to arbitrate; would not meet, and would not countenance correspondence relative to the case. The association of which I am a member advised me to go to Mr. Carroll, president of the building trades council, explain the case to him, and see if the building trades council would countenance such things without arbitration. After several attempts, I saw Mr. Carroll myself and had a talk with him, and gave the case in as few words as I could, as I had to do. His time was very precious—more so than mine—and at his solicitation I drew up a letter to the building trades council, as he requested, which is as follows:

"CHICAGO, May 11, 1899.

"The PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL:

"GENTLEMEN: We are having serious trouble with the journeymen stonecutters' association, which we think should be of vital interest to your organization and unionism in general. The origin and cause of the present trouble is as follows: On January 19 last a strike was ordered at our yard by Mr. Auerbach, president of the journeymen stonecutters' association, and the men stopped work on that day. The reason given by Mr. Auerbach was that at the meeting the night before the journeymen stonecutters' association had imposed a fine of \$250 on our firm for paying a man named Joplin \$6 less than current wages during the year 1897 (no date named)."

That was about a year before they made the charge, you will always bear in mind, gentlemen, please.

"At that time Mr. Auerbach demanded \$250 at once, or the men would stop work. We refused to pay, and requested arbitration, which was denied us, and our men, as stated, were all stopped. It has always been the custom when any question arose between employer and employee that same was brought up and settled at once by arbitration; not to wait eighteen months or one year, then refusing to arbitrate and calling a strike, as in the present case."

I might explain that Mr. Joplin was a stonecutter and a member of their organization.

"On March 18, last, Mr. Auerbach came to our yard and stated that at a meeting of the journeymen stonecutters' association held the night previous Mr. Joplin had been given what is termed a hearing before the body; that he, Mr. Joplin, had proven himself innocent of the charge of receiving less than

wages, and that the association had voted to exonerate him. Mr. Auerbach further stated that there was now no charge against us, and that we could start our men at once, which we did.

"After the next regular meeting of the journeymen stonecutters' association, which was held April 6, we chanced to meet Mr. Auerbach, and he then said that the minutes of March 16 relating to our case were not accepted by the meeting of April 6, but no action was taken. We in the meanwhile had been taking work and employing men without any question.

"On Friday morning, May 5, our men refused to start work until Mr. Auerbach should come to the yard. The gentleman came about 10 o'clock of that day and told us that the journeymen stonecutters' association meeting the night previous had ordered him to come and demand \$250 from us before the men could go to work; that his association still considered the Joplin matter unsettled.

"We refused payment and again asked for arbitration, which was refused, and our yard is still idle.

"Now, gentlemen, we ask for justice by arbitration, which we consider one of the first principles of unionism, and we are willing to abide by the result of the same. If it should not be possible for the building trades council to bring about a settlement of this matter by arbitration, we ask, in justice to the hoisting engineers, and sawyers' and rubbers' unions (both of whom we recognize and employ), and ourselves as well, that, without interruption from the building trades council, we be allowed to proceed with our work with such men as we may select.

"We beg to apologize for this lengthy document, and ask that you give the matter your impartial and prompt consideration.

"Respectfully submitted.

"HENRY STRUBLE & Co.

"NOTE.—In consideration of the above you will please bear in mind that up to the present time our yard has been kept in idleness nine weeks, and we have been ready at all times to arbitrate before a committee from the cut-stone contractors or as might be selected.

"HENRY STRUBLE & Co."

The building trades council saw fit to reply to me. This is my copy. I have the original of the whole transaction.

CHICAGO, May 13, 1899.

MR. HENRY STRUBLE & Co.

DEAR SIR: Your communication of May 11, 1899, was read at the regular meeting of the building trades council held on May 12, 1899, and on motion was referred to the journeymen stonecutters' association. Any arrangement made with them will be satisfactory to the building trades council.

Respectfully, yours,

E. A. DAVIS, *Secretary*.

The journeymen stonecutters' association did not do anything at all in the matter, and in order that the work in their yard could be proceeded with they submitted to this outrageous demand by paying the amount of the fine, as will be evidenced by the following receipt and copy of the check used in payment of the same.

CHICAGO, May 26, 1899.

Received of Henry Struble & Company, check No. 950 on the National Bank of the Republic for the sum of two hundred and fifty (\$250) dollars, being payment in full for fine assessed by the journeymen stonecutters' association of Chicago on the charge of paying J. Joplin less than current rate of wages during the year 1897.

JOURNEYMEN STONECUTTERS' ASSOCIATION,
(per) DANIEL BURNS, *Treasurer*.

No. 950.

CHICAGO, May 26, 1899.

The National Bank of the Republic, pay to the order of Daniel Burns, treasurer, \$250. Journeymen Stonecutters' Association of Chicago, two hundred and fifty dollars. This check not payable until after 12 m., May 26, 1899.

HENRY STRUBLE & Co.

Indorsements on back of check as follows: "Daniel Burns, treasurer journeymen stonecutters' organization. Indorsement correct, Aug. Auerbach, president."

Out of consideration for my being willing to part with \$250 (I was reluctant),

they agreed to show their cards by starting their men at 8 o'clock in the morning and working until noon, to show me that they meant what they said; and they did so. The men started at 8, and at 12 o'clock I telephoned to the bank and let the check pass, and they went there and received it there and indorsed it, "Indorsement correct, Aug. Auerbach, president." That is all in relation to that part of it.

We have here a copy of a letter that we received from the journeymen stonecutters' association. That is simply the way we were instructed to do our business—at such times as they saw fit to notify us.

CHICAGO, July 16, 1899.

MR. HENRY STRUBLE.

DEAR SIR: At our last regular meeting of July 6 I was instructed to notify you a resolution was passed that no member of the cut-stone contractors' association shall let a subcontract of either stonecutting or carving on and after the 8th day of July, 1899.

Respectfully,

C. L. LARSON,
Secretary.

They stated here, as you note, that it was not to take effect until after the 8th of July, but the notice I received was dated the 16th. I had not violated anything, and consequently did not receive any fine, or any other of the members that I am aware of. Now, as far as the facts are concerned, this letter is not signed. That is the original copy of the building trades council—the original letter here and the check and voucher pertaining to this transaction.

I did not want to come before this commission with anything that they do not think is legitimate. If the gentlemen would like, I should like to have you look at that, if you wish to know the manner in which the indorsement was made, and the form in which the men told us what to do.

In addition to that matter already presented by the stonecutters' representative in this case, we desire to call your honorable commission's attention to one of the particular reasons why the building trades council should not be permitted to exist in a community or country of this kind. It has set itself up in defiance to all laws, State and national, that are now in vogue. I will be more specific in giving you one of the mandatory rules promulgated by them in regard to the setting of the corner stone of the national post-office in the city of Chicago. When the Executive of the United States was requested to lay the same, one of the representatives of the building trades council, as a committee, informed the committee in charge that in order to obtain permission to set the same it would be necessary for them to give them \$5,000 or they would not be allowed to lay the corner stone, which had already been cut and placed upon the ground to be set by His Excellency the President. The committee replied that they would report the matter to the management having the ceremonies in charge, and would give them an answer when acted upon. This proposition was made known to the public, and was denied by M. J. Sullivan, who was charged with making the proposition. Up to the present time he has not taken up the challenge that was thrown down by Judge Payne and Mr. Truax that they were willing to affirm by oath or otherwise that he had made such a demand. While I do not charge that the building trades council had a specific knowledge that that proposition was to be advanced by M. J. Sullivan, yet the very fact of their not expelling him from their organization, and insisting that the committee be not allowed to set the particular stone which had been prepared for that occasion, is, in itself, an indication that he was understood, by its consent, to represent the council, and that they were cognizant of what proposition was to be made. They would not allow that stone to be set as prepared. By calling on influential public men the only compromise that could be made was that a common limestone be selected in place of the granite which was originally cut and intended to be placed in position.

Now, when any organization sets itself in defiance to the laws of the land, and compels the Government which they are under to submit to any such outrageous proposition in a country of this kind, it is a deplorable state of affairs, and the sooner the public in general realizes the danger of allowing such a body to exist in a republic the better it will be for the nation at large. The most deplorable part of this whole matter, and one which I do not wish to comment on too much, owing to its being so humiliating to 70,000,000 free American citizens, is to think that the Chief Magistrate was obliged to become a member of the bricklayers' and stone masons' union before he could officiate as master of ceremonies in setting that stone.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Does that conclude your statement?—A. Yes.

Q. Did the stonecutters' union attempt to levy the fine on your firm?—A. Yes.

Q. Under what law?—A. The law of their union.

Q. And you submitted to pay a fine levied by a body not known to the law?—A. Yes; I did.

Q. What did you do that for?—A. To be able to keep in business and earn my living at the business that I am in. I could not proceed otherwise.

Q. That was called a fine, was it?—A. Yes.

Q. That is all.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 30, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. WILLIAM D. PRICE,

General Contractor.

The special subcommission met at 10.05 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 12.20 p. m. Mr. William D. Price, of Chicago, general contractor, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE): Having given your name, what is your post-office address?—A. No. 3476 North Fifty-sixth avenue.

Q. And your occupation?—A. I am a general contractor.

Q. The Commission will hear you state what you please concerning your business, and your relations to the employment of labor here in your line of business.—A. Well, gentlemen, my statement will be short. I have been fortunate or unfortunate enough during the past year to do a large amount of building, particularly in the factory line, building manufacturing buildings, amounting to nearly three-quarters of a million dollars. I have laid in the past year about 16,000,000 of brick, and put in these buildings about 6,000,000 feet of lumber. I merely state this to show you that I have had some experience in dealing with union labor as it exists in Chicago. I was enabled to do this amount of work simply because we complied with every rule and regulation that they saw fit to enforce, and I will just state a few of them. In July, Mr. Higgins, who was a delegate of the bricklayers' union, came upon a job one day, and wanted three or four of my stone masons to sign some building trades council order—that is, an order on me to pay on payday a certain amount of dues to the representative of the building trades council. These masons claimed that they were not in arrears, and they refused to sign these orders. Mr. Higgins turned around to me and said if I didn't discharge those men he would stop the job. I told him that the men were doing their work in a satisfactory manner, and the quarrel seemed to be a family quarrel, and of course I refused to discharge them. He turned around and called off all the bricklayers and stone masons on the building, and there happened to be a delegate from the laborers' union there at the same time, and he told him to call off his men, and in 5 or 10 minutes the entire work was stopped. I was employing at that time about 500 men. These masons came to me and said that they did not desire to make me any trouble, and rather than cause any trouble they would sign these orders. They all signed them, and afterwards they were fined by the bricklayers' union in sums ranging from \$3 to \$10 apiece, and under those conditions the work was resumed.

Another instance. This same union stopped a contractor on a building doing sewerage work, a large amount of large pipe, some 10 to 18 inch pipes, and some brick catch-basins. He intended to employ men belonging to the sewer makers' union, and this union did not belong to the building trades council. When the work got up, the bricklayers claimed the right to set this pipe and lay the brick in the basins, and the contractor came to me and said, "Well, now, this work is so important that though I feel disposed to fight with them on this proposition, rather than cause any trouble on the building I will agree to have this work done by the bricklayers," and he asked me to give him a man, which I did. This bricklayer went to work and worked about a day, and came around and said he would have to have a dollar an hour for doing that work, which was double work. I told him I did not understand that he had any right to make any such a demand as that, that this work was only ordinary work, and that the only place where a dollar an hour was paid was in underground sewers; and that we had had work done before that at regular rates. He went back to his work, and the next day he said he would have to have a dollar an hour or else he would be fined by his union. He showed me an order from Mr. Gubbins, the president of the bricklayers' union. He said, "You must demand a dollar an hour. If he

refuses to pay you, you must tell the steward on the job; and after the steward has called Mr. Price's attention, and he refuses to pay a dollar an hour, the steward must stop until you get your dollar, and the men get waiting time." Now, you will understand that I had at that time 125 bricklayers, and if I had to figure with this man, or had any dispute in the matter, or had conceded just what they demanded, why these 125 bricklayers would have cost me, at the rate of \$4 a day, \$500 a day. While this thing was being settled I had to pay this dollar an hour.

Then another instance showing the arbitrary demands: One of the first buildings that I built, after it was entirely finished—built, understand, with all union labor—the owners of the building took some millwrights out of their factory, who were, of course, nonunion men, and put them into this building to put up machinery and line shafting. Delegates from the building trades council came there and went to the office and told them if those men were not taken out of that building, all this work would be stopped. This was done on another building in the steam fitters, and another instance was with the metal workers. In one of the other buildings we had made a contract with a sheet-metal worker who employed nonunion men to put up a large amount of these blowpipes for taking shavings from the machines to the boilers. Delegates from the metal workers' union came there and told them unless those nonunion men were taken out of their building, work would be stopped, and they had to do it. I believe myself that a large majority of the union workingmen—I have found it from my experience—are intelligent, honest men, and I believe that they have no sympathy at all with the arbitrary action of the building trades council. I believe, from all conversations I have had with them, that if they could have their say, if it could be put to a vote by any secret system of balloting, the building trades council would cease to exist to-morrow. I have talked with a great many of my men, large numbers of them, and I have yet to find a man who supports and will uphold any of the arbitrary rules and exactions that are now enforced by the building trades council. The fault is that the rules are so arbitrary that any honest single man can not oppose them single-handed. He is liable to fines, the same as Mr. Struble has related to you, and the work being stopped, large financial expenses would accrue.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Has this condition of affairs seriously affected the building trades of Chicago?—A. I think that it has, from the fact that as near as I can learn during the past year Chicago has only laid about 300,000,000, while New York has laid about 1,200,000,000, four times as much. I have heard personally of several people who intended to build manufacturing plants here that have decided not to come here on account of labor difficulties. I know that the people that I have done a great deal of building for have shelved a large amount of work that would have gone ahead otherwise.

Q. Is there no chance, by arbitration or otherwise, to get this difficulty settled?—A. I think there is not, with the building trades council. I think that with the individual unions arbitration could be effected.

Q. Why not with the building trades council?—A. Because in the sympathetic strike they have a power which alone maintains them. If they should give up the power of the sympathetic strike, they would be a nonentity.

Q. Do you think that by virtue of the power given to each one of the trades unions, by being members of the building trades council, they are more exacting and tyrannical, I may say, in their disposition?—A. I do not think there is any question about it. The power that they possess is enormous, not only over their own members, but over the contractors, owners, and builders. I can give you another instance on one of these buildings: They had large coal bunkers to erect, built of boiler iron. The subcontractor who had the contract for erecting that work intended to do the work with men belonging to the boiler makers' union, and was ready to start his work, and the structural iron workers' union claimed the right to do it. This contractor had nothing to say; the architect had nothing to say; the owner who paid the money had nothing to say. It must be relegated to the building trades council. For 3 or 4 weeks before this labor trouble started this work was held in abeyance, awaiting the decision of the building trades council. Another instance on this same building: The steam fitters claimed the right to cut holes through the wooden floors for their pipes. This work had always been done by carpenters. I understand the building trades council decided that the steam fitters should do it, and the work was done in a manner that was not satisfactory to the architect and the owner, nor the contractor; but they had to have it done, because their decision was final.

Q. The incident that you related in regard to the dollar-a-day man that you mentioned; is that liable to occur at any time in your work?—A. Liable to occur at any time under the conditions that have existed during the past year.

Q. Could they fine you as well as Mr. Struble for any infraction?—A. I do not see why they could not.

Q. Could they make your fine \$500 as well as \$50?—A. I do not see why they could not.

Q. Or \$5,000 in place of \$500?—A. Yes.

Q. If you were fined, would they compel you to pay it?—A. Compel me to pay it.

Q. Should you have any redress in court in any way?—A. Well, I am not a lawyer. I presume I should have if I wanted to carry it into court, but I might be driven out of business by so doing.

Q. Is that the lever that is behind it all—the question of either paying the fine or going out of business?—A. Yes.

Q. That is the condition of affairs to-day in Chicago?—A. That is the condition that has existed for the last year or two.

Q. Are you a contractor in any other city?—A. I have done considerable building in other cities. I am not doing any now.

Q. Did you meet with such a condition of affairs in other cities?—A. Nowhere.

Q. That seems to be maintained in Chicago alone, does it?—A. As far as my experience goes, yes.

Q. How long have you been a contractor?—A. Started as a contractor in Chicago in 1881.

Q. What was the condition when you started?—A. There were unions here, but individual unions. There was no building trades council or central organization of any kind.

Q. You settled your troubles, if you had any, with the trade?—A. With the trade unions.

Q. How long has it been since this condition of affairs that you have mentioned has been in existence?—A. Since the existence of the building trades council, about four or five years, I think. The building trades council until the last two or three years has not had quite so much arbitrary power, because some of the large unions were not affiliated with it. The bricklayers' union, until the last year, were not affiliated with the building trades council, and that deprived them of a large amount of that arbitrary power which they now have.

Q. If this condition of affairs continues, what will be the future of Chicago?—A. In my judgment, people that would like to locate here on account of its advantages as a manufacturing center, railroad center, will take their buildings elsewhere.

Q. Has it peculiar advantages over other places?—A. It has, aside from the conditions of the labor market.

Q. Some mention has been made of an industrial union. Do you know anything about a union of that kind?—A. Not personally, no.

Q. You do not know whether it is a union of mechanics or not?—A. I do not.

Q. Can you tell me the proportion of mechanics who are unionized and those who are not?

The Witness: In the building trades?

Q. In the building trades, yes.—A. I think that 80 per cent of them are union men; 75 to 80 per cent.

Q. And they control the destiny of the 25 per cent that are outside?—A. Yes.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Are you a member of the Master Masons' Association?—A. Yes.

Q. Were you ever fined \$1,200 by that association?—A. No, sir; not \$1,200.

Q. Sixteen hundred?—A. No, sir.

Q. Any sum?—A. Yes; I was fined.

Q. How much?—A. Two hundred dollars.

Q. What was the cause of that fine being placed upon you?—A. For violating a rule of the association.

Q. In that you employed a certain class of workingmen?—A. No; that was not the charge.

Q. What was the charge?—A. The charge was in relation to the matter of buying brick.

Q. Will you state the circumstances of the case?—A. I had been down here erecting a building down in Harrisburg, and while I was gone some rule relating to the purchase of material was passed by the association which I was not very well informed of, and about the time I got back I made a contract for brick in violation of those rules and was fined in my association, which fine I paid.

Q. Did you consider it an arbitrary act on the part of the association to fine you?—A. Well, to some extent, I did.

Q. Quite as arbitrary as the way in which the union fines members?—A. No; I do not think it is.

Q. You have purchased brick from the supply people of Chicago, I presume?—
A. Yes.

Q. Do you have any advantage as a member of the master masons' association, in purchasing those supplies, over persons who are not members of that association?—A. I do not think so.

Q. Do you not get a rebate of a dollar a thousand on a certain quality of brick that you buy?—A. I do if I pay my bills before the 15th of the month.

Q. Are not other contractors who are not in the association compelled to pay \$8 a thousand and get no rebate whatever?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. It was so testified here by a man who has built seventy houses in Chicago—owns seventy houses. Do you know anything of that kind?—A. I know nothing of it. I never have. I have bought a large amount of brick this year at the rate of \$5.15 a thousand, which is very much cheaper than I have paid a great many times in the past. In 1892 I paid as high as \$7.50 for brick many a time.

Q. Did you ever have an understanding with the labor organization that they should not work for any other employers outside of your association?—A. I have not been as closely associated with the workings of the builders' association as a good many other contractors.

Q. Did not your association have an agreement of that kind with a certain labor union of this town?—A. I am not prepared to answer that question.

Q. A written or signed agreement. Don't you know?—A. I think they did.

Q. Don't you know that they did?—A. No, sir.

Q. Can you give the Commission the name of any stone mason who could give the Commission definite information on that subject?—A. I presume it would be easy for the Commission to get the names of the officers of the association.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) You say you were fined \$200 by this association?—
A. Yes.

Q. Is there any difference between being fined by this association and being fined by some other association that you have no connection with?—A. I should think there was very much difference. If I become a member of an association and agree to abide by its rules and regulations and violate them, I am subject to a fine; I am subject to pay it. But for some organization that has no connection with me whatever, and should have no control or power over me whatever, to fine me, is another matter. It would be the same as if I fined some labor union that has done something wrong.

Q. Would that be submitted to? Would the labor unions submit to a fine imposed upon them by your organization?—A. I do not think they would.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 30, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. CHARLES W. GINDELE.

General Contractor.

The special subcommission met at 10.05 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 12.40 p. m., Mr. Charles W. Gindele, of Chicago, a general contractor, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your name?—A. Charles W. Gindele.

Q. What is your post-office address?—A. No. 3333 La Salle street.

Q. And your occupation?—A. General contractor.

Q. How long have you been in business in Chicago?—A. Thirty-two years.

Q. Belong to the contractors council?—A. Yes.

Q. Please go on in your own way and state your relations to the industrial situation here and to labor.—A. First of all, Mr. Chairman, I want to take you back to the testimony given by Mr. Klein and Mr. Gubbins; Mr. Klein, of the international bricklayers' organization, and Mr. Gubbins, of the local. I am the person with whom those gentlemen had the conversation in which in their testimony they used the words "Rule or ruin," and "To the victors belong the spoils." As I read their testimony, it was given in such a manner that the words might be interpreted in a different spirit from that in which they were spoken. On Wednesday last, when Mr. Klein, and Mr. Gubbins, and Mr. Preece, and one other gentleman called, to have a conference with the members of the masons and builders' association, I happened to be present. One thing led to another, and finally I asked Mr. Klein what he wished and for what purpose he came. The others had been discussing certain matters that I knew were not leading up to the purpose. He said he had come here to have a conference with some of the prominent mem-

bers of the masons and builders' association, to see whether the difficulty that was existing could be arbitrated between the two organizations, providing their organization would withdraw from the building trades council and the masons and builders' association withdrew from the building contractors' council. I said, Gentlemen, I do not know whether you are here in a fair spirit or not. As far as you are concerned, Mr. Klein, no doubt perhaps you are, but as far as the other gentlemen are concerned, I do not know, and it is something that will have to be considered. In the first place, our organization can not withdraw from the building contractors' council until such time as all other organizations affiliated with it have withdrawn from it, for the reason that if we withdrew and your organization withdrew, there might have been an understanding between the officers of your organization and the officers of the building trades council, where, by getting our organization to withdraw from the building contractors' council would weaken it to such an extent that perhaps it might cause a disruption, and meantime the building trades council would come out victorious. "Well," he said, "Mr. Gindele, then you are really on a rule or ruin policy. Would you want that to be known to the world?" I said, "We want anything we do to be known to the world. We are not on a rule or ruin policy. The building trades council has done both. We do not propose to ruin, but we do propose to rule our own business. There will be a fight and a battle, and I suppose, whoever wins, 'To the victor will belong the spoils.'" Mr. Gubbins said, using emphasis on it, "You bet; and we will make you pay for it dearly." Mr. Klein turned to me and said, "Mr. Gindele, I suppose you will make us pay for it dearly." I said, "Yes, we will make you pay for it in this way: that we will pay your men the prices that are on that card. We will try and get your men employment, and we will make our utmost endeavors for a return of prosperity to the building industries of Chicago. That is the spoils we seek, and we will be satisfied with the victory." Now, that is the way those two phrases were used.

Now, Mr. Chairman, you have heard a number of complaints; a number of depredations have been committed, and other things connected in the attack of the building trades council and organized labor. I do not propose to give you any of that, but with your permission I do want to make a comparison of the laborer's or mechanic's condition of to-day and his condition in years gone by, and try to demonstrate to you what has come out of organized labor as organized at the present day. I will try and make it as brief as I can. I speak from the experience of 48 years. I was brought up and have lived on the outcomes of the building business. I am a son of a mechanic that came to Chicago in September, 1852, the head of a family of 5 children, 4 boys and 1 girl, his wife and himself. He had 7 people to feed and clothe, and 5 children to educate. When he arrived here he received a position in his profession, which was that of a stone-cutter, at the sum of \$1.25 a day of 10 hours' work. You will see the amount of money the man got, the family that he had to take care of, and, as I said before, 5 children to educate. I, being the youngest, had received the least education, for the reason of not attending schools to which I had been sent. At that time there was very little, if any, organized labor in this city. There was no minimum rate of wages. A mechanic was put on his merit, and was paid accordingly. It was but a short time that he was in the employ of these parties before his salary was raised from \$1.25 to \$1.75, and a little while after that to \$2 a day, which remained with him until the spring of 1853. The employer with whom he was working ascertained the ability that he possessed, and he was appointed foreman at a salary of \$3.50 a day. He continued in that until 1857, the time of the "cat-tail and stump-tail money," which to a certain extent at that time created considerable difficulty in the business world, and business became slack during the years of 1857 and 1858.

There was not much of anything done in those years. In 1859 he went into business for himself. He had taken care of his family in good shape, educated his children, and also had partly secured a home for them, though he had been paying rent.

After he got into business, which was really, you might say, in the spring of 1859, things progressed a little more advantageously, and finally, being an employer of men, he got a certain number of mechanics and laborers around him, and he started a stone yard. Those men worked for him at that time for \$1.50 a day. Work was continued through the season, and in the winter months, most generally, some job was obtained at a somewhat less price, and the men worked through the winter at reduced wages. By their continuous work they accumulated something, for the reason that there were no strikes, there were no assessments for unions, and each and every one of them prospered. In many cases the laborer as well as the mechanic allowed a certain amount of money to stand with the

employer, and only drew it as his wants and necessities demanded, and enough accumulated to enable him to go and purchase a lot for the purpose of giving himself a home. Finally matters commenced to progress a little faster. The war came on. During 1860, 1861, 1862, business was not as prosperous as it was thereafter and finally labor organizations commenced to creep in. The first that I think was really started was the stonecutters' association, which was formed in 1866, and the first attempt that they made in reference to anything as organized labor was to increase their price per day from what they had been receiving to \$2. They failed, but during that season the supply and demand finally regulated it, so that some of them got \$3 a day and others got less, in accordance with their ability. Meantime, in the following spring of 1867, they again started an organization, and finally, with the help of the employers themselves, established the 8-hour day, although at the same time if there was any real necessity they were perfectly willing to work 10, and also they have added several raises of wages for the men. The mechanics of those days were better mechanics than they are to-day, on account of the minimum rates of wages that have been established. In those days, after 1866, up to the time of the panic in 1873, all mechanics and laborers were prosperous, and were buying homes for themselves, for the reason that from the spring of the year, or along in the latter part of February or the fore part of March, work was continuous until December and pretty nearly up to Christmas, without any interruption as far as strikes and such things were concerned, and a man had an opportunity to earn a good amount for a year's labor. They purchased homes and were doing well.

After the panic of 1873 there was a lull again in the business, and meantime, in 1879 and 1880, a few months, more organizations sprung up. The first real trouble that occurred was in 1883, when the bricklayers' and stone masons' association made their demand for 40 cents an hour. This demand, after a short strike, I think, was conceded. They obtained 40 cents an hour, and in 1886 they also obtained the 8-hour day. In the summer of 1887 we had our lockouts, one of the biggest strikes we have had in Chicago, up to the present time. It was caused by a very trivial thing with reference to changing the pay day from Saturday to Monday. That really was the first great trouble that we had, and everybody had been prosperous and everybody had been working right along up to that date. The outcome of that strike was an article of agreement for arbitration between the two associations, which was entered into and which held good for 10 long years without any strike or any interruption in the mason line. That brought us up to 1897. In the meantime different officers were elected to both organizations. The building trades council had already been installed in 1894, but were not as compact as they wanted to be. They finally brought pressure to bear on the bricklayers and stone masons' organization to enter into their council, and after a year or so they finally got them to yield and go in by a certain compulsion, telling them that if they did not join they would go to work and organize another bricklayers' organization from the international union, which this organization did not affiliate with at that time.

From 1897 we have had a continuous cessation of work, one strike after another, thereby debarring men from continuous work, so that at the present date the labor element is not in as flourishing a condition, with all the high prices that have been made by organized labor and the rules they have enforced and adopted, as they were before labor organizations existed to the extent they do to-day. I claim that the condition of the workingman, especially of this city, has been impaired by labor organizations. As Mr. Price has said to you, if there could be a secret vote taken it would be demonstrated at once that they have lost in wages; that they have lost in not having the flourishing conditions; that they have been prevented from purchasing their little homes as they used to in the past when they had an opportunity to work in the season and accumulate something. The change has all been brought about by the central organization, which is known to-day as the building trades council. Before the building trades council, especially as it was with the bricklayers and stone masons' organization, they used to do business among themselves, and they worked continuously; but that has not been in the last year or two.

Last evening when I was here there were questions asked with reference to the conditions of the building industry in 1898 or 1899, whether all of the mechanics or laborers in the building line were employed. Mr. Griffiths made a statement that they were, but he did not tell why there really was a certain demand for them last season. There was quite a draw on the labor market of Chicago last season, as well as the season before, through the construction of our drainage canal; through the construction of certain city works, such as intercepting sewers and tunnels, which made a scarcity as far as that trade is concerned, not saying

anything about the labor, and especially the mechanics, who left the city to hunt work elsewhere than in Chicago. In my own line of business, which brings me more outside of Chicago than in Chicago, we have a certain number of mechanics that choose to work outside of Chicago, even at a less price than the minimum rate of wages in Chicago, for the reason that at the end of the season they will be money ahead, even by sustaining their families and the board they will have to pay in a country town. They know the moment they get employment on a job there that there is no cessation of work on account of strikes, and everything runs along smoothly. That, to a certain extent, has been the cause of there being some of the demand for labor in 1898 and 1899 in our city. As for the building business itself there has been very little of it in comparison with what there has been in former years.

The question was also asked of some of the gentlemen who took the stand last evening why we, as the building contractors' council, want to exist after the building trades council has been done away with, and why they do not have just as much right to exist as ourselves. The building trades council and the building contractors' council represent really two entirely different policies. The building trades council has been in existence 5 or 6 years. It has been tried and found wanting. The rule and action and everything else that they have done since they got the bricklayers' organization into it, which was really the missing link, have been detrimental to the members of the unions and to the city at large. That is the reason as far as myself and a number of contractors are concerned, for seeking our business outside the city.

Questions were also asked as to minimum rates of wages. The minimum rate of wages, especially as it exists to-day, is a disadvantage, first, to the mechanic; second, to the contractor; third, to the member who wants to be honorable with the organization of which he is a member; fourth, the same with the contractor who is a member of an organization which has agreed to a minimum rate of wages. The minimum rate of wages, where there is only one and where there is no grading, is so high that there is no inducement for a good mechanic to remain a good mechanic, or for a poor mechanic to become a good mechanic. To-day we have not the class of mechanics we had in days gone by when the minimum rate of wages did not exist. As for the contractor and the honest man of the organization, the minimum rate of wages is a fictitious figure if it is not regulated in accordance with supply and demand, which the labor organizations of this city have never regarded. The minimum rates of wages were established by these organizations in days when there was a demand for their line of work, and has always remained and, in fact, has been increased. If the demand for labor and mechanics is not in the city, the mechanic who wishes to be loyal to the organization of which he is a member will not go to work for the contractor unless he is paid the minimum rate of wages which he has agreed with his organization to abide by. There are a number of others who pay no attention to that, and the consequence is, they work under the minimum rate of wages, and the man who is loyal is walking the streets. If the contractor is a member of the association which has agreed to this minimum rate of wages, it is a similar thing with open competition. As the Senator has said, we should have established prices to base our figures on. If we knew that every member would abide by it, we should have a good basis to work upon; but it is just the same with the contractor as it is with the honest mechanic and laborer of the organization. A contractor who means to be loyal to his organization, in estimating the price of his labor will estimate what the minimum rate is, with the expectation that his brother member is doing likewise. His brother member has an understanding with those who are not loyal to the labor organizations as to the minimum rate of wages, and the consequence is he figures under the prices. There is an injury in that and it ought to be cured.

There has also been a good deal said here on arbitration—whether it wouldn't be best to arbitrate all matters. I for one thought it would be, provided the arbitration were just. I have been a member of a board of arbitration for a number of years between our two organizations, and every time that we have met, we have always made a number of concessions which really ought not to have been made but were made for the purpose of keeping harmony and peace between the two organizations for the prosperity of ourselves and the city at large. I understand from some members who are on the arbitration board of these two associations for the last year that it finally got to such a point that they would come in with a written document and say, "Gentlemen, before we go to arbitrating, that is what we want, and if you don't allow it, we won't arbitrate." That certainly is not arbitration and, as I understand, that has been one of the main reasons that broke up the articles of agreement for arbitration

between the two organizations. The other organization got to feeling in a similar way and they demanded these things.

As to the police protection that has been called for, I want to say that within the last several weeks, and perhaps the last month, I guess we have received protection about as well as it could be given to us, taking into consideration the size of the city and the number of men who are employed; but had the same protection and the same endeavor been made in years gone by in strikes of this kind, and especially in the last 12 or 14 months, as has been made recently, I do not think that things would have happened that have happened lately. I think that labor organizations and the members would have had more respect for our police authorities than they have had in the past. Really they have only been encouraged to do what they have been doing by not having sufficient respect for the police department until the last few weeks.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Your association has certain rules and regulations which bind you together?—A. Yes.

Q. You act practically as a unit. That is the purpose of your council, is it not?—A. It is supposed to be.

Q. Have you any rules by which you agree to buy your material from certain firms only?

The WITNESS. Have you reference now to the building contractors' council or the organization which I belong to which affiliates with the building contractors' council?

Q. The organization either individually or as represented in the council?—A. There is a verbal understanding of the members of the organization with certain material dealers that if the members of the association will buy only through these material dealers they will give a trade discount, provided the bills are paid promptly. If they are not paid within a certain time the trade discount is not allowed.

Q. Then a person, say an independent builder, who does not belong to one of your associations can not secure the advantage of that discount?—A. That I do not know exactly. I can't tell what the material dealer does with him. As I understand it, as we purchase, there is a stated price for the material. Brick for instance: brick last summer was \$6.50 a thousand. Each and every member of the organization which I affiliate with was charged \$6.50 a thousand. If he paid his bill promptly on the 10th day of the month he got a trade discount, \$1 discount, or, in other words, the net price of these bricks to the 10th day of the month was \$5.50 or \$5.25 as the case might be.

Q. Did you secure any advantage by virtue of your organization?—A. To a certain extent. We consider, as well as a number of material dealers, that a man who chooses a profession and follows it for his livelihood had a right to obtain a certain discount that other parties are not entitled to.

Q. Is it not a fact that the independent builder, not a member of the organization, can not purchase at a discount?—A. He could purchase it at the same price we could purchase it at, \$6.25 or \$6.50 a thousand. What the material dealer did with him that I do not know; but it is natural, I suppose, that he was to pay \$6.50 a thousand.

Q. That is really the essence of the arrangement, is it not, that the association was to have that advantage?—A. The association was to have that advantage on account of being an organization affiliated together, and it was also obtained so that there might be prompter payment of bills. Before this verbal understanding came into existence there were too many instances in which material dealers failed to receive the payments on their material, and there were a number of unscrupulous contractors who would estimate against the honest contractors, and knowing when they started out that he might beat the material man he would take that advantage, and as a consequence, getting the work, could start on it, get a certain amount, and in the meantime let it go by.

Q. Does your association as a whole, as a council, stand responsible to the people from whom you make purchases—that is to say, if you as an individual belonging to an association buy material and then fail to pay and fill your contract, does your association agree to make it good to the people who sell to you, as a compensation for this discount?—A. Morally—

Q. (Interrupting.) I am not speaking morally. Do they do it?—A. No; quite the contrary.

Q. Then you have a combination between your association and the dealers in materials by which you secure reduced rates?—A. By which we secure a trade discount.

Q. A lower price than is charged to the general purchaser?—A. Well, that, as I said, I do not know. The price is the same to all. Now, the outside man—brick is billed to him at \$6.50. Now whether he has any understanding, or

whether the dealer will give him the same discount that he gives the members of the organization, I do not know; he is supposed to charge him that much money.

Q. You simply state what arrangement you have?—A. As to the discount we get, yes.

Q. Now, in this combination, is it a fact that certain material dealers are boycotted—that is, are left out of the deal?—A. Well, the material dealers have an organization of their own, but I do not know that they are left out if they don't affiliate with this material dealers' organization. We, as an association, or our members, in return for the trade discount we get, state that we will buy only from those who give the trade discount.

Q. Now, then, the material men have their combination. You have your combination, and you mutually agree to deal with no one that is not in the combination. That is it, is it not?—A. No; I can not just say that; we agree to deal with those who will give us the trade discount.

Q. But you agree that you will not deal with those that do not belong to the material dealers' association?—A. To a certain extent.

Q. So that in effect there is a combination all around?—A. Well, if you call it that. We consider like this: We ought to have a certain advantage, as far as our material is concerned, over those who do not affiliate with the organization, which organization gives its members standing in a community, and helps them as far as contracts and such work is concerned.

Q. And that is one of the advantages that you derive from their organization?—A. To that extent.

Q. The lessening in the cost of material that you use?—A. Oh, it doesn't lessen the cost of material as far as the contractor is concerned. He does not benefit by it. It comes right back to the party who builds or the owner of the real estate. Each and every member understands that if he pays his bills promptly for the month, he gets the discount, and he is going to figure the contract at the net price.

Q. So he makes that allowance for the discount in putting in his bid, and the builder gets the benefit of it?—A. Yes. Now, there is another thing, as far as the building material dealer is concerned, that the majority of men—I think every one of the masons and contractors of the city of Chicago, who are outside of the masons and builders' association—are men who work themselves. The men of the stone masons' association get prices to offset whatever difference there may be. It may be we have this little advantage.

As far as the material is concerned, the members of the masons' and builders' association are supposed, or have been before these things came up, to pay the minimum rate of wages that was agreed upon by arbitration between these two organizations, and were held responsible for a violation. Now, a man who don't affiliate with that organization, if he should cut under the price to even up to a certain extent, there is a verbal understanding or an agreement that the material dealers cut under the contract.

Q. Should an independent builder contract, not being a member of an association, still wouldn't he be under that disadvantage in making his estimate for a building—unless he gets a rebate also? A. Oh, he gets this advantage by not belonging to our organization—when the system of arbitration was in existence—that he is independent, and he hires the labor and the mechanics for less money than our association will allow us to hire them for, on account of arbitration that is between us.

Q. Do the unions favor the independent contractors? It has been testified here that they do not. One man has testified he was knocked down because he employed nonunion labor.—A. As I have said before, and as Mr. Miller said to you, it is regulated by supply and demand. I have always considered that the minimum rate of wages established is a fictitious figure. An honest man in the association will abide by it. There were a number of others last year. When the agreement of arbitration existed between those two associations, our organization was to pay the minimum rate of wages agreed upon, and there was a penalty on a member who did not pay it, just as well as there was on the other side; but the men who did not belong to the masons' and builders' organizations had that advantage—they could get the labor and mechanics as the supply and demand required, and in all instances they got the advantage of us.

Q. In the rules of your organization you fine members for failing to do the things which they have agreed to do?—A. Yes; it has been done.

Q. As conditions existed before the lockout, was it demanded that you employ union labor in building? Was that practiced?—A. As far as that was concerned anyone who had work to do on contracts of any size knew well enough he could not do work without union labor; he was in the field to hire union labor.

Q. Was the demand made by the union that no nonunion labor should be employed on a building?—A. Well, I can not just answer that in the way that you have stated it. There was no demand made that they should not be employed, but the demand was this: that union men would not work with nonunion men on a building.

Q. So that it was made effective in that way? Has your association entered into any agreement or arrangement with any labor organization to boycott some other builder or contractor?—A. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

Q. Or to boycott some dealer in material?—A. No; not to my knowledge.

Q. Or any agreement? Has there been any collusion at any time within your knowledge between any builders, contractors' association, or council with any labor organization, for the purpose of injuring a competitor in business?—A. As far as the council itself is concerned, none whatever. The council has never done anything in any way, shape, or manner, and is not in any way connected with any organization, excepting those that affiliate with it, and only to this extent so far as the masons' and builders' association is concerned, as I have said to you.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Are you a member of the masons' and builders' association, Mr. Gindele?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you not have an agreement with certain labor unions that they should not work for any contractors except those in your association?—A. There was one at one time. Both organizations, as I understood, passed resolutions whereby they agreed not to work for anybody except in these organizations, and we agreed in that arbitration business to employ their men. But under the circumstances we thought it was like this: As long as they held us under that system we could not hire anybody but their men, and their men were going to do the work, and they arbitrated the question and got the benefit of our organization from arbitration to such an extent that we thought they were not entitled under this unless they became members of our organization; and the initiation fee was so limited.—

Q. They did agree with you, then, that they would not work for anybody outside of your association?—A. I would not say they agreed. They passed a resolution, which is on record, that their members should not work for anyone except members of the masons' and builders' association, but I understand they also passed resolutions under which they would not hire anybody except members of that union.

Q. That was the whole arrangement?—A. Yes; that was the actual arrangement and the conditions of arbitration.

Q. And you desired that alone?—A. They passed it of their own free will.

Q. That would have the same influence?—A. I do not know of that personally. Personally I was not connected with it at that time.

Q. Didn't you say you believed that because you agreed to employ only their men they should agree not to work for anybody outside of your organization?—A. That is what I believe, yes; but I was not a party to it.

Q. Well, there was such an understanding or agreement between the two associations?—A. We understood it that way, as far as the members of the organization, yes.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) And you reasoned that inasmuch as the unions demanded that none but union labor should be employed on the one hand, you had the right to demand that none but organized employers should work them on the other; is that it?—A. Just for the reason that at that time we could not do anything else but hire members of their organization. We did not see why they should go to work for somebody else, because we were trying to get our association in good condition.

Being also interested in the printing business, I have been requested to read this—it is a statement made by Mr. Carroll D. Wright—showing what power organized labor has and how much more powerful it will be in the future if it is not stopped:

"With reference to unions insisting on the throwing out of machinery, we find that this does not apply to Chicago unions alone. In Washington, where the Government operates what is probably the largest printing establishment in the world according to a statement of Carroll D. Wright, United States Labor Commissioner, the typographical union has carried its point in keeping out the use of the linotype and other typesetting machinery.

"Furthermore, in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing a few years ago the Government was compelled to do away with the machines which were printing the paper currency money of this country, and comply with the demands of the union that only hand presses be used. The fact must be recognized that through this action the work is costing the people a great deal more than it would if machinery were there in operation. Every large newspaper office in this country

has introduced some one of the various improved typesetting machines, and it stands to reason that this would not have been done if it had not been made apparent to the proprietors that not only was better work brought about, but a saving of time and expense was effected. It furthermore should be noted that in the United States Printing Office there is such an accumulation of matter that, with its present force, which is said to be something over 1,500 hands, it would take six months' time to catch up. In order to do so, either more men must be installed or some typesetting device made use of."

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to state that I am connected with a printing establishment in Chicago which occupies a space which we pay \$5,000 a year for. In that place we have had to concede 9 hours, which, in fact, is a plant that cost \$80,000, and we have to pay \$5,000 a year when it is idle. There is no redress as far as the landlord is concerned. He does not give us anything back on the rent.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Do you know that both the appropriation committees of Congress and both Houses of Congress had decided that money made by hand-roll presses is the only money that almost defies counterfeiting? Do you know that the Congress of the United States is responsible for the continuance of the hand-made money, for the hand-roll presses in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing?—A. I do not know. This was handed to me.

Q. It is a fact, because it was settled in the last Congress. Both Houses of Congress settled it.

The WITNESS. About the type machines?

Mr. KENNEDY. There are no typesetting machines, but you have stated the number of hands in the Government Printing Office to be 1,500. There are over 3,000, working presses and in the other departments of printing.

The WITNESS. This states from Carroll D. Wright that the use of them is kept out by the typographical union.

Mr. KENNEDY. I have no doubt that the typographical union has used its influence in keeping the machines out of the Government Printing Office, and it is for their interest to do so.

(Testimony closed.)

Whereupon at 1.35 p. m. the subcommission took a recess until 2.30 p. m.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 30, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. J. J. WALSER.

Machinery manufacturer, Chicago.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m., March 30, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 2 p. m. Mr. J. J. Walser was sworn as a witness and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. J. J. Walser.

Q. Post-office address?—A. Austin, Ill.: now the Thirty-fifth ward of Chicago.

Q. Occupation?—A. Manufacturer of machinery.

Q. With what company are you connected?—A. I am president of the Goss Printing Press Company, located at Sixteenth street and Ashland avenue, this city.

Q. How long have you been in business in Chicago?—A. I have been in business in various ways for the past 30 years; in this particular business for the past 15 years.

Q. We shall be happy to have you proceed in your own way to make any statement regarding the industrial condition here from the standpoint of your business.—A. Our company, with the rest of them, is just passing through the machinists' strike. We know of no reason why any such strike should exist. Our men have had no grievance; they have not spoken to the company in any way, but have simply felt inclined to quit our employ. We have in a way endeavored to run by advertising for men. We have no doubt but we should have received a large number of men had it not been for the fact that the pickets would pull them away by intimidation and otherwise. We had succeeded in getting probably ten or a dozen men. These men we got to the shop from their homes through special officers, and in a way we have had the premises guarded by regular policemen so as not to have the pickets overrun us too much. We found after a while that it was too much of an effort on our part to continue on this line. We found one evening that when the workmen quit and were escorted

to the elevated station we ran into a mob and a riot occurred, in which 8 of the men were hurt rather badly, and we came to the conclusion the next day that rather than jeopardize life we would close down our factory indefinitely until some arrangement could be made by which we could get a force of men.

I suppose that, in a general way, if the laws, even those that are on the statute book, were enforced, it would give the manufacturers a great deal of protection, but we have found that there is nothing in the shape of law that a workman need respect. He can commit an assault with impunity, and he is sure to be released from any obligation he might owe to the law. Much of that, I presume, is from the fact that our present mayor does not give the proper instructions to his officers to enforce the law. I have no doubt but he is a good politician, and through not enforcing the law through the proper officers he endeavors to gain prestige and votes from the laboring man. I believe that we have one of the best police departments of the world in this city, but policemen are powerless unless they are instructed through their superior officers to enforce the law; and until such time comes, and we can get some reasonable protection under the laws as they appear on the statute books, we have got to simply lie idle.

Even to-day for men to go to work for you seems to be a criminal offense, because the labor element had a law passed last year which says in effect that, during labor troubles, if you advertise you must insert the statement that there is a strike on in your factory. There is no way, consequently, for you to get help from that source. We are at the present time threatened with arrest under that law.

The machinists claim to be gentlemen; have a gentleman's trade. The statement is made by them that even a hod carrier will get as much money as they do; but they do not stop to consider that a hod carrier is working for his boss and can only work probably a quarter or a third of the year, and that his boss that he is working for has his capital in his hut.

It is a local condition with the building trade. They do not compete with interstate, national, or foreign trade. If a man in this city wishes to put up any improvement it is from his reserve capital, and whether the building would cost him \$20,000 to \$30,000 does not cut any figure, since he starts in to build. The men in the machinery line are situated entirely differently. We work with machinery that goes to all parts of the world. We compete with machine shops that are located in all the principal cities of the United States. If we, for instance, should grant what has been asked through the head of the International Machinists' Union, we should be paying anywhere from 15 per cent to 25 per cent more than competing points. That is an utter impossibility.

What we are aiming at and what we have accomplished so far is an association of machinery manufacturers, not for the purpose of putting down strikes or grinding the workman down in his pay, but as an offset against the local labor element. We have gone further than that. We have organized an association in our line of business called the International Metal Trades Association. It has a membership of manufacturers from all parts of the United States. We are endeavoring to submit any grievance that there may be to the heads of these different international associations. We are willing to admit that there is an International Machinists' Union and also local unions, but we find we can not deal with local conditions in our particular line. It must be national. If the interests of this city are to be preserved, it must be placed on a par with any other manufacturing center. Local conditions may make some slight changes, but not enough to amount to anything.

I notice in the paper this morning that President O'Connell, of the International Machinists' Union, favors the proposition we have advanced for international arbitration, that the workmen are to be called back to their work, because, as it is at present, we have nothing to arbitrate. The men have left our employ. They have had no grievance. We have paid them every cent we owed them, and we can not see anything at all on which we could get together in some way to arbitrate this question. But if the International Machinists' Union will return the men to their work—place them in the old conditions—if there is any grievance to be settled in reference to the wage scale or labor, or any other grievance that has to be taken up by the international heads and equalized, we wish to deal fairly with the labor element and we wish the labor element to deal fairly with the manufacturer. What is one's success is the other's success. When it comes down to wages, I had a great deal rather pay a man \$3 a day than \$2 a day, because it shows the tendency of the times; labor is a commodity, and supply and demand regulate the price just the same as in any other article.

We are in hopes that by to-morrow some arrangement will have been made by which this international arbitration arrangement will be completed; and that is

the first instance of any labor disturbance on record where the manufacturers are broad-minded enough to concede the point that it is better to arbitrate and to place all the different manufacturers on a par so that no one will have a large advantage over another.

If the laws were made more stringent, especially referring now to laws passed by Congress, the workman would respect them a great deal more, and so would the manufacturer. We have all great respect for the upper courts, but there does not seem to be any justice in the lower courts.

In our line of business we have to have large investments in our plants, and if you do not own them your rentals are heavy, your machinery is all in place, and, as a rule, we have got to stick where we are located. If we could pull up and get out to some place in the country where we could get away from these labor troubles, I think we should have easier sailing in our line of business. In my way of thinking, the true salvation from labor troubles for this country is to enact laws by Congress and create a commission, similar to the Interstate Commerce Commission, only that this would be of manufacturers, with full power to investigate, regulate, and arbitrate anything that may come up in any line of business. I would have laws passed so that the manufacturers would have to make sworn quarterly reports showing in detail the class of labor they employ, the wages they pay, the time that is worked, etc., which should be filed with the commission, so that in case any grievance comes up in any line of business they might be enabled to produce the statistics and settle the matter in an amicable way without compelling these strikes to continue as they do now. The laws should be made so that there can be no strikes to speak of nor any lockouts, because there can be no grievance if the men quit your work; but if they continue at work and there is a grievance, there can be committees on this commission to adjust all these differences while the men are continuing work in the establishments. It would be an advantage to this Government to spend \$10,000,000 a year for such commissions to deal with the labor question. It is a serious matter to this country. There is nothing but discord among the laboring classes, and as long as we have no better laws to protect the manufacturer as well as the workman things must keep going from worse to worse. Any commission of this kind should be strictly neutral; nothing political should enter into anything of that kind. That is the great trouble in this city—the politics that has crept into the labor element. Even in the by-laws of their unions they have one clause which says that they shall work with all their might to elect men so that they can get laws passed for their benefit. As far as the unions are concerned, I think they are a good thing for the workman, and they are a good thing for the manufacturer, provided they stop after they have organized their union and work under it; but when they are allowed to make laws and rules and regulations by which a workman is allowed to do only a portion of a day's work for a day's pay it is the grossest injury to this American Republic, and will surely stop a great many manufacturers from putting up plants, especially those that are in competition with foreign business. With vicious rules eliminated from the unions, I think they are all right and help to elevate the standing of the workman. It is the workman's own salvation to say whether he shall get to be a good workman or a poor workman. It should be the boss's privilege to hire and discharge his man and to pay him what he is worth. When the union says you must pay this man, whom you are paying \$3 a day, \$3, and he is not worth it, it is wrong, and it can not be done. Every man has got to live; he has got to work at his trade; until he is proficient enough to become a skilled mechanic the union should not take him in as one of their members. If they are working alongside of him, they should try and help elevate him to a standard high enough to become one of their members and do work equal to themselves. That is about all I wish to say on the labor question. I have here a copy of an agreement that falls in our line of business—the metal workers—and I should like the commission to take it and read it. It is one of those papers that puts a rope around the manufacturer's neck.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) That is an agreement between whom?—A. That is an agreement supposed to be between the union of the metal-trade workers and the boss who signs it.

Q. By whom was it submitted to you?—A. Oh, that was not submitted to me. That is the metal workers' agreement. It is not an agreement that is submitted to me at all. The agreement that was submitted to us through a foreign party was not nearly as strong as that. It was simply the first stepping stone toward getting to this end.

Q. From whom does this come?—A. This copy here?

Q. Yes.—A. It was given to me at one of our meetings.

Q. Do you know what union or what organization puts forth such an agreement and demand as that?—A. You can tell by the names of the officers on top there; I can not.

Q. Have you any idea whether or not it is genuine?—A. No; I have not; I do not know anything about it. I suppose under those conditions you had better not accept it.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) I hardly think we want to lumber our record with a matter you can not identify better than that.

The WITNESS. That is right; I guess you are right. I just had it in my pocket.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Are your works running now?—A. They are open, running with apprentices only; and a few of the other departments have not quit, such as the pattern makers, wrapping room, and blacksmith shop.

Q. Is it because of the strike or lockout?—A. It is neither, in my estimation. I do not see what the men have to strike for. There was no grievance of any kind whatever. I am sure there was no lockout, because we have plenty of work for our workmen.

Q. Most of them left your employment then?—A. Yes; without notice and without grievance.

Q. And no complaint has been made to you in reference to anything, either wages or hours of labor or as to whom you should employ or anything of that sort?—A. No; a good many men have stated that they would be glad to come back to work, but that they dare not do so.

Q. Is it what is called a sympathetic strike?—A. No; not that. It can not be anything of a sympathetic strike, because there were no other lines out on a strike which would call for this sympathetic strike.

Q. Is it your understanding that your men were called out by the union leaders?—A. It is my understanding that the men were called out by a committee of men that were appointed in their lodge room. They came to work at 7 o'clock in the morning, and at 7.30 the men saw certain signals and signs given and they simply quit work.

Q. Have you conferred with considerable numbers of them since in regard to the cause of the trouble?—A. I have spoken to some, yes. They said they had no trouble whatever, no cause, no complaint to make.

Q. Have you asked them to return to work?—A. I have.

Q. Have they declined to come?—A. They have, stating that they were afraid their life was in danger.

Q. Stating that their lives were in danger?—A. Yes.

Q. Has your shop been picketed?—A. Yes.

Q. Is it picketed now?—A. Yes.

Q. Are the pickets on your own premises or in the streets near by?—A. They are all around the building, on the sidewalk.

Q. Occupying those positions day and night?—A. I could not say for the night; I do not think they are there nights; only in the day, from 6 in the morning until quitting time.

Q. Are any of those pickets your former employees?—A. Most of them.

Q. Do you recognize their right to picket your premises after they have left your employment?—A. I do not.

Q. What do they do besides stand there, do you know?—A. Yes; I know there can not a single man pass up and down that sidewalk, or enter our building, but one of those men will tackle him. The first question they will ask him is to find out if he knows there is a strike. If he says yes, they will simply tell him he had better not go in there for work. That is about as far as they will go the first time. If a man attempts to go to work, if they can—which they have done in a number of cases—they will take him to their lodge room and make a good union man of him, no matter what he is. If they can not, why they will give him a lecture and probably he will stay away.

Q. Have you any objections to their attempting to persuade a man not to go to work for you?—A. I have.

Q. Do you claim the right to solicit men to go to work for you?—A. Yes.

Q. And think that nobody has any right to interfere with them?—A. No; I do not think they have. That is what we have our plant for; that is what we are in business for—to have workmen continually in our line of business.

Q. Have you objected to employing union men?—A. No.

Q. Are you willing to employ union men?—A. It makes no difference to our company whether a man is a union or a nonunion man; it has always been our rule that we ask no questions.

Q. As a matter of fact, have you employed both union and nonunion men?—
A. Yes.

Q. At the same time?—A. Yes.

Q. If international arbitration can not be arranged, have you any objections to trying to arbitrate locally?—A. We have endeavored to do so, but have found it impossible to deal with local men. We have no objection, and never have had, to trying to settle this matter on the part of the manufacturers.

Q. Have you applied to the mayor to prevent the placing and maintaining of a picket?—A. Not exactly; no. I have applied to the subpolice station in our district, and they have furnished us policemen, the number that was called for—four policemen, two in the morning and two in the afternoon; good men, but they have their instructions.

Q. You know what their instructions are?—A. Yes.

Q. What are they?—A. In a general way, that they have no right to interfere with anybody that is on the public highway; that they have no right to molest anybody unless after an overt act or an assault has been committed. That is the rule that they work under. I asked one of the policemen whether he had not had it called to his attention at roll call several weeks ago that there was an order issued by which they were to be more stringent and keep these pickets away from the premises, and he said he was not informed of anything of that kind. If there was an order issued by headquarters I suppose that it has fallen astray somewhere. The policemen themselves are good men and willing to do their duty, but they evidently have their orders how to deal with the workmen.

Q. Do you think that the maintenance of a picket over shops where there is a labor difficulty is a menace to public order?—A. I do; and an insult to the manufacturing industries of the United States.

Q. In what respect do you connect politics with the difficulty that has arisen here?—A. Well, of course, the people that are in politics figure that every head holds a vote, and I presume that our honorable mayor is aware of that fact. As has been stated in the papers a number of times, he may have a bee in his bonnet and want to get up a little higher somewhere in the State or the nation, and if he can assure the workman here and get on the right side of him to the detriment of the interests of this city. I think in a political way he is furthering his interests in the right direction.

Q. In what respect do you think he favors them as against those who are having difficulties?—A. Well, to what particular thing do you refer to in that?

Q. That is exactly what I want to have you do, point out in what respect you think he favors them.—A. The workmen?

Q. Yes.—A. By not enforcing any of the laws, which he might do according to the statute books.

Q. Do you know whether the mayor has appointed to any political office under the city government any member of the manufacturers or machinists' body or association?—A. I do not know.

Q. Do you know whether he has appointed trade-union leaders to political office?—A. Only what I have read in the papers, that he has appointed political leaders to office, and that several of them draw at least one salary from different departments.

Q. Do you look upon that as carrying politics into this difficulty?—A. Most assuredly.

Q. Or getting this difficulty into politics?—A. Yes; I do. The laboring man knows that he is protected and that he can do just about as he pleases. That is the way I have found it. I have simply become disgusted and closed down the shop, and they can run over the place, if they want to, as long as they will be kind enough to let me walk into the building and out. I think it is all I can ask, considering the way that the laws are enforced.

Q. Up to the time of this difficulty was your business prosperous?—A. It was.

Q. Were the various machine shops in Chicago, so far as you know, doing a good business up to that time?—A. Yes; they were all doing a good business and the labor market participated in it. We had been advancing wages for the past six months. That shows the pulse of the industry.

Q. Do you know any reason to think that business prosperity will not be resumed as soon as the labor difficulty can be settled?—A. That is, providing it is not carried on too far. For instance, if we were not able to resume for 3 months, it would injure us materially. Probably if we could get the run, if we had room, for half the men we had before, we should be in great luck.

Q. Do you consider Chicago a good place for your business, and for the manufacturing business generally, in case laws are enforced and life and property and personal liberty are protected?—A. Outside of the industrial disturbances, I do.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) About what was the average pay of your machinists?—A. Of the machinists?

Q. Yes.—A. Only?

Q. Of the machinists only; yes?—A. The average pay of the machinists, such as they are classified in the union, has been about \$2.60.

Q. Per hour?—A. That is 26 cents an hour.

Q. How many hours a day did you work?—A. Ten hours a day.

Q. How many days in the year?—A. Every day that the men would work.

Q. That would be every day except Sundays and holidays?—A. Yes.

Q. Have the machinists submitted to you a contract to be signed?—A. No; not the machinists; what they call their walking delegates and business agents.

Q. Have the business agents submitted to you a contract to be signed?—A. Yes.

Q. Did that establish a minimum?—A. Yes.

Q. What was that?—A. That established—well, maybe you would like it.

Q. I think we have one.—A. All right. In the first place, it established a recognition of the union; in the second place, 9 hours' work; in the third place, it has a minimum wage rate; those are about the three principal conditions in it.

Q. There have been some agreements made between the business agents of the machinists and the factories in this city, have there not?—A. There have been some agreements among a few of the local machinists that have anywhere from one to half a dozen men; there has been one agreement signed by the Siemens & Halske people, but it has been changed materially from the original one. They were compelled from force of circumstances, as they claim, to operate the plant at any cost. It did not make any difference if it would bankrupt them. They had to start. That was the condition they were in.

Q. Were those terms liberal or not, in your judgment?—A. You mean with Siemens & Halske?

Q. Yes.—A. I do not think they can stand it in any competition with the Eastern manufacturers.

Q. You think you would want better terms?—A. Well, it would either have to be that the Eastern men should pay more money or else we should have to pay less.

Q. If all of your competitors would sign a similar contract, then, would you entertain a proposition of that kind?—A. Most assuredly.

Q. The trouble is that you do not desire to be locally put in such a condition that you can not compete?—A. There is no desire about it. We simply can not. If we could not resume business here in 3 months, and if we did not own our own plant here, which has cost \$25,000, I should move and go East where the other fellows were, because I could save that in a year's time.

Q. Where are your points of competition mostly?—A. Mostly in the Eastern country, east of Buffalo and east of Pittsburg and abroad—all parts of the world.

Q. Competes with you?—A. No; not competes; where our product goes. Our competitors are in the East—New York, New Jersey, and the New England States. We have the freight and all that expense against us to start with.

Q. As I understood, there was a disposition to have an international agreement?—A. That is the object of the Metal Trades Association, which is international in its scope. It takes in all the manufacturers in the United States, large manufacturers; it treats only with the international body of union men, so that the wage question, which is the most prominent one and the greatest rate disturber that there is, can be equalized as to the different localities. If there was a strike in Chicago in our line for 28 cents, this international body would take up this labor question, and they would go over the field from the statistics that they would make up, and both heads would get together by a board of arbitration, and if the East was not paying enough, or if the East is paying 22 cents while we are paying 28, or when the people are striking for 28 here, that body would simply have the power to say that these men striking have no cause for it. Now, if the men in the East would strike for from 22 to 28, that commission would probably say, local conditions being similar to what they are here, the men are entitled to 28 cents, because they are having the same rate out here. It makes no difference whatever whether we pay 25 or 28 cents, just so long as we are on a par.

Q. All you want is such a condition that you can live?—A. That is it.

Q. We have a copy of the metal polishers' agreement.—A. Yes; that is the same thing.

Testimony closed.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 30, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. A. E. WELLS,

General Contractor.

The special subcommission met at 2 p. m., pursuant to recess, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 4 p. m. Mr. A. E. Wells, of Chicago, a general contractor, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. A. E. Wells.

Q. Your post-office address.—A. 1014 Monadnock Building.

Q. Your occupation.—A. General contractor.

Q. Are you a member of the building contractors' council?—A. I am.

Q. How long have you been in business in Chicago?—A. I learned my trade here and started in the trade in 1872, and I have been actually engaged as a contractor since 1880.

Q. Please give the commission your views on the industrial situation here from the point of view of your business.—A. I am chairman of the committee on architects in the contractors' council, and as such chairman a number of cases have come under my notice, which, I think, might bear upon this subject. One was the building of Mr. L. Mandel, on Division street, on the North Side. He runs the department store. This building was partially completed when this strike was inaugurated, and the work was stopped. After a time the architect notified the mason contractor that he must proceed with the work with union men, or proceed with the work; the first notification was to proceed with the work. The committee on architects, or a number of us, went over to see the architect and told him that the nonunion men, or men affiliated with the industrial union, the new union which had been started, could be furnished to complete the work; but the work was allowed to stand for a few days, and then the contractor was notified that the owner would not allow the nonunion men to complete the work, because it would affect his trade as a department-store dealer. The thing was finally completed, I believe, with union men.

The case of the Northwestern Yeast Company, which also came under our observation; that is on North Ashland avenue. That building was nearly ready for the roof, and we at once notified them that we could complete it with contractors who were willing to go to work on the walls and complete them, but the owner said that he would not allow anybody but union men to complete the building, because if he did so every window in his building would be broken; and not only that, but he would not be able to sell his yeast. So that building was finally completed by union men. So far as our own business is concerned, we have had in the last 2 or 3 years quite a number of very annoying occurrences. For instance, on the McClurg Building, 215 Wabash avenue, when we had the roofing tile in place the owner decided to make a change and make 2 or 3 of the upper floors into the office portion of the building, and introduce a large skylight to light down through the proposed hallway for these 2 or 3 upper stories. We had just got the tile torn out of the roof when there was a strike declared among the sheet-metal workers, 15 days or more in advance of the time which had been set for the signing up of a contract or a settlement of some dispute between them; and that building stood open there for, I think, about 6 weeks, and we did not dare do anything with it, because if we had, the balance of the work—every man would have been pulled off the work. In other words, a sympathetic strike was held over us there, and prevented us from doing anything to inclose that skylight. And in the settlement of the building we had to pay \$500 to the landlord for the loss of rent for offices that were delayed through the noncompletion of that skylight; and it also allowed so much dampness to permeate the building that it ruined a large amount of our calcimining, which was another very large expense. On that same building we ran up against the same situation as regards setting the mullions which was noticed last night—the fact that one union claimed they should set them and another claimed they should not set any. We decided that the ornamental contractors should set it and we should set the structural iron ourselves—had to have our men set it in order to avoid a dispute, after they had wrangled about it for some time. On this same building, about the time we were to complete the marble work in the toilet rooms—there were quite a number of good-sized toilet rooms—a marble strike was declared, and we were not able to complete that marble work until about 2 weeks ago. The tenants moved in last May and took possession, and the building was completed all but the marble work. We had to put in temporary plumbing and temporary wooden floors to allow the building to be occupied, and we just completed that building a very short time ago. Since last May the building has been standing there in this uncompleted condition.

We had a contract for the McCormicks, one portion of the McCormick Works, at the woodworking department. It is a very large building. For the rough building it took about 5,000,000 brick and about 2,250,000 feet of yellow pine lumber, and some ironwork, etc., and we found there for the first time in our experience there was a limitation of work in a rough building like that. Of course, that covered a very big bill because there was so much labor. Labor cost a great deal more, notwithstanding the fact that we had machinery of every kind to help the work. The labor on that work, both in brickwork and carpenter, cost us more than ever before. We called on our foreman there, and he said that if he tried to invigorate or hurry the work he would be fined by the union. On the Cable Building, at the corner of Wabash and Jackson streets, a 10-story fireproof building, we had a lot of marble work, and we got up against it again. We let that marble work to Sherman & Phelps, and they were unable to get union men under such terms as they thought they should have. This strike still continued—this was in November—and we had finally to take that contract away. They allowed us, being good friends of ours, to take the contract away from them; but we paid between \$700 and \$800 to a man who would do it with union men, in order to not produce a sympathetic strike. You see as general contractors we get it from all quarters on this sympathetic strike question. If there is any dispute, one can lay off all the branches in the building. The walking delegate can do that. From that you can see that a strike is produced on any building for a dispute in any one line on almost any question that you can bring up.

The most serious thing to-day, I think, that we have to contend against in the labor situation here is the way this sympathetic strike question is held over the contractors, as so many branches, of course, enter into this building. We are at the present time engaged in erecting the Butler Building, on West Randolph street and the Viaduct. Till we posted notices there, such as were promulgated by the building contractors' council, we were getting along very well indeed; and when we did post the notices our men informed us that they should still continue to work; but the very next day they went; the laborers were told to quit. That necessarily knocked off the bricklayers, but they have kept the contract. The carpenters had to follow suit, as they ran out of work. We had with the structural-iron men a personal contract. With the other lines there were no contracts. They had all been abrogated, I believe, at the instigation of the building trades council; at least, they were abrogated and not in force. But we worked the iron men as long as there was anything possible for them to do. They worked for about 2 weeks after we had knocked off the other men, or the other men had quit. We have since proceeded with the work with men who are affiliated with the industrial union. We notified the iron setters under our personal agreement that we should be very glad to have them come back under that agreement and proceed with their branch of the work, they not having quit, but simply knocked off, because there was no more work for them to do, and there being no dispute between us in any way, shape, or manner.

The only possible dispute that could have occurred would have been one possibly which we did not enforce, because it was in the agreement that it should run to the expiration, which was May 1, I think—was the Saturday half holiday. We do not give it at all, because we simply work under the rules which had been promulgated the year before. When we notified them that we should be glad to have them proceed with the work, they said they could not do so because they were on a sympathetic strike. The sympathetic strike was in all the agreements which had been signed before—that they were not in any way to be disturbed or did not interfere with the agreement when a sympathetic strike was called and they were obliged to knock off. The consequence was that we never could be sure for five minutes that we had a gang of men in any branch or the whole work. We were forced to sublet that ironwork, not being able to get iron men. We sublet that iron work to people who could do it—the Holland Construction Company. I do not know whether they have started to set that work or not yet. We are working at the present time about 80 men on that building in different branches, all affiliated with the industrial union. I want to say that there is a crowd that congregates over at that building. They had night before last—I am not informed how it was last night—about 400 men; but I want to say that the men are taken away from that building every night. The contractors' council keeps special policemen inside the building to take care of it, and a city force is sent there of detectives and policemen every night in sufficient number to surround all the men who are working there and take them away from that building. That occurs every night. There have been quite a number of men who have been singled out from time to time and badly beaten, but they have courage

enough to come back and go to work; and, as I say, our gang has been increasing all the time, both in nerve and in number and in the quality of their work. I think that is all, gentlemen.

Q. (By Mr. KENEDY.) Do you belong to any other association than the building contractors' council?—A. What do you mean?

Q. Any other organization which is subordinate to this?—A. Yes; we belong to the master carpenters, the carpenters and builders' association, and the Chicago Master Masons and Builders' Association.

Q. Did you have any relations with what is called the architectural iron league? Was that an association of ironmasters in Chicago?—A. There is such an association; yes.

Q. Do you know anything about it and its workings?—A. We do not deal with them.

Q. You do not deal with them?—A. No, sir; we buy our steel direct from Carnegie, or whoever makes it.

Q. You say you belong to the master masons' association?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you have any agreement with the bricklayers that you would employ only union men and they should not work for anybody outside your association?—A. There was such an agreement as that, sir, I am very sorry to say.

Q. You were a party to it, were you?—A. We were a member of the association. I must confess that I never believed in it in any way, shape, or manner. I do not think it is a proper agreement, and I certainly should be very strongly opposed to any such agreement ever being put in force again. I do not think it is a proper thing.

Q. Do you consider that a conspiracy against the right of other men who are not in your association?—A. I think to some extent it could be considered so; yes.

Q. Has your association any arrangement with the brick supply men's association by which you get bricks at a cheaper rate than anyone not in your association can get them?—A. I do not think so, except as it might apply to owners. What I mean by that is that there is a trade discount.

Q. A trade discount?—A. A discount. If you pay your bill within a certain time you get a discount.

Q. Have you not an understanding that independent owners or contractors do not get the benefit of what you call the trade discount?—A. I do not know anything about that.

Q. Have you not an agreement by which your association will buy brick only from certain parties?—A. We have been told that if we bought brick from certain parties we should get a certain discount.

Q. Certain discount?—A. I have never known about any agreement. We buy all our brick, anyway, from one concern, and I only want to say, so far as the material situation is concerned, that all material in Chicago—and I have figured pretty much all over the country—all material, I think, is cheaper than it is in any other place in the country.

Q. Do you know Mr. Harding, who owns many stores and tenement houses in Chicago?—A. No, sir.

Q. You believe that the independent contractor has the same advantage in buying brick that you have?—A. I do not know; I have no knowledge on the subject whatsoever. I know that he can buy material and does buy it and gets ahead with his work. I do know that a large part of the independent contractors—I have been told by material men; that is my only way of receiving the information—that they were very largely men to whom they would only sell for cash. That is all I know about the independents. I do not know that I know any of the men who are members of it.

Q. Mr. Falkenau, who spoke first last night, said that we have had a good deal of experience in settling strikes by purchase. That is not the language, but they could settle it for a consideration with the walking delegate. Have you had any experience in that line?—A. I never paid a dollar to a walking delegate in that line.

Q. Did you ever have an opportunity to do it?—A. I never gave anybody an opportunity to give me an opportunity to do it.

Q. Do you know whether you might have had?—A. I know it has been done of my own knowledge, yes; but I have never done it.

Q. Can you tell something about the circumstances?—A. I should not care to.

Q. Is it a common belief among the contractors in Chicago that they may settle strikes it that way or have men go back to work?—A. I think it is. I have heard men so express themselves. I have acquaintance with only 2 or 3 men who are connected with the union, and I believe them to be strictly honest, honorable men. I have heard, of course, of many instances where this thing has occurred.

We had a contract for the McCormicks, one portion of the McCormick Works, at the woodworking department. It is a very large building. For the rough building it took about 5,000,000 brick and about 2,250,000 feet of yellow pine lumber, and some ironwork, etc., and we found there for the first time in our experience there was a limitation of work in a rough building like that. Of course, that covered a very big bill because there was so much labor. Labor cost a great deal more, notwithstanding the fact that we had machinery of every kind to help the work. The labor on that work, both in brickwork and carpenter, cost us more than ever before. We called on our foreman there, and he said that if he tried to invigorate or hurry the work he would be fined by the union. On the Cable Building, at the corner of Wabash and Jackson streets, a 10-story fireproof building, we had a lot of marble work, and we got up against it again. We let that marble work to Sherman & Phelps, and they were unable to get union men under such terms as they thought they should have. This strike still continued—this was in November—and we had finally to take that contract away. They allowed us, being good friends of ours, to take the contract away from them; but we paid between \$700 and \$800 to a man who would do it with union men, in order to not produce a sympathetic strike. You see as general contractors we get it from all quarters on this sympathetic strike question. If there is any dispute, one can lay off all the branches in the building. The walking delegate can do that. From that you can see that a strike is produced on any building for a dispute in any one line on almost any question that you can bring up.

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stand, this trade discount was inaugurated in order to insure the prompt payment of bills.

Q. It has been alleged here that there are firms engaged in the manufacture or sale of building material, bricks, for instance, upon whom a practical boycott is instituted by the contractors' association, because they do not belong to the dealers' combination and have no inside agreement or arrangement with the contractors. Is that a fact?—A. I could not tell you. I know this, that if I wanted to buy material from any man in the city of Chicago, I go and buy it to-day without regard to anybody or anything. Of my own knowledge I do not know anything about any agreement of any kind. I know of nothing that would bind me or in any way compel me to buy material from any man against any other. I would go out in the market and buy where I could buy the best and cheapest material.

Q. You are at liberty as a member of the association to buy where you please and of whom you please?—A. Yes.

Q. But can you negotiate practically as favorable terms with all the dealers in building material and supplies?—A. Oh, there are some little differences as to location in different parts of the city that would operate on one dealer as against another; but outside of them, yes.

Q. But there is no inside agreement with any dealers in materials and supplies for the benefit of the association?—A. Not to my knowledge. I only say for myself, if I want to go out, I will go out anywhere and buy material from any man in the city of Chicago, and I do not know of anything to prevent it.

Q. Does any combination or any set of men dealing in building supplies contribute anything into the treasury of the building contractor's council?—A. No, sir.

Q. In the nature of a discount or a per cent of sales?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you state that an independent contractor or builder, not a member of your association, can buy as cheaply, his credit being equally good, as any member of the builders' association?—A. I believe so; yes.

Q. What is your remedy for the difficulties that confront you and the public at this time?—A. I think there is only one remedy.

Q. What is that?—A. I have been in this thing from the start. I think we have got to do away with the building trades council.

Q. Do you think that will cure the difficulty?—A. I think we can then have permanent arrangements with the different unions which will be lived up to in a good straightforward manner, as they have in former years, and that business will go along smoothly.

Q. Is not this central trades council a development of the sentiment which insists on the individual unions which go to make it up?—A. No, sir; I do not think so.

Q. Has it different separate arbitrary powers not possessed by the individual unions?—A. I think so; yes.

Q. Is it not made up of delegates of the individual unions?—A. Yes.

Q. Are the delegates instructed when they are sent to the central trades council?—A. I could not tell you that. I do not know their workings.

Q. Is not the central council representative of a great number of individual unions? If it got a policy not in consonance with the policy desired by the individual members of the unions?—A. (Interrupting.) Well, it depends on how the consonance of the opinion of the individual unions is obtained, possibly, to some extent, as to what that may mean. If I am correctly informed, that is held in the hands of comparatively few men in each union. Consequently, it is not the opinion of the body of men that goes forth to the world as the union opinions. If I am misinformed, I should be very glad to be corrected, but that is my understanding.

Q. You think that the men in the subordinate lodges or unions debate the questions which concern them and pass upon them?—A. They are there, sir, to say what they think.

Q. Do you find the central council of your own organization useful in acting for the individual associations, as concentrating the wish and desire and purpose of the individual organizations?—A. The central council would never have been formed, and never would have been possible, if it had not been for the conditions which exist to-day in the building trades.

Q. Does it not facilitate the conduct of the business of all the associations?—A. No, sir.

Q. To have a head to which all matters can be referred?—A. No.

Q. It is no advantage?—A. No, I do not think so in the least, except as it combats this principle of the building trades council.

Q. Is the existence of your individual organizations and of your central body resultant from the organization of the labor unions?—A. I think so, entirely.

Q. Have they existed also contemporaneously with the labor unions?—A. No; they have not. I think that the labor unions were started very many years before these organizations of contractors were started at all.

Q. Do you say that the organization of the contractors is a logical result of the organization of labor?—A. You mean of the contractors' council or the contractors' association?

Q. No; of the contractors, their individual organization?—A. Yes; it has been forced upon the men for self-protection.

Q. You find it beneficial to act together, do you?—A. Yes.

Q. In preserving your interests and protecting and advancing them?—A. Yes.

Q. You see no other way to alleviate present conditions and correct existing evils in relation to the matters we are discussing except by the dissolution of the building trades council?—A. That is my solution of it.

Q. Can you give any legislation which you think would be beneficial, or any other method or plan?—A. If there was any legislation that could make men honest, I think that legislation could probably be made very effective; but unfortunately it has never proved very effective in that respect. If men will not keep their word their agreement is of no use.

Q. I suppose you know that the gentlemen on the opposite side of the controversy allege the same condition of affairs with respect to the contractors—that they do not keep their word or live up to their agreement?—A. Well, I am very sorry for that. I do not think that is so. Of course there may be individual cases, as there always will be and always have been, where men do not live up to their agreements. There may be men who will not, but they are but few. Before this thing came up I had had very little to do with the association's work. In fact, I had been a very busy man, had not had the time, but I had found out in visiting these organizations of which I am a member, the master masons and the master carpenters, that there were men who did not live up to the agreements in our association. I regret very much to say it, but it was a fact. And I want to say right here that the only way that I could defend the keeping intact of the building contractors' council and the dissolution of the building trades' council would be that we should enforce absolutely and strictly the rules which should be laid down, and see that every man carried them out.

Q. Is not the central trades council necessary also for the same purpose?—A. No, sir. I believe we can effect it by penalties if we have proper agreements through arbitration, which always has been in force, with the separate unions, and then I see no reason on earth for any building trades council. They have always been a disturbing element and always will be and always would be. I do not know that I blame them. They rose to power very quickly, and were men, very many of them, at least, who had not been used to wielding power, and they simply lost their heads. They did not think there was anything on earth that could stop them. That was very unfortunate. It was said here last night in the history of the agreement which was entered into with these men for a permanent arbitration board, which they did not qualify on—as we understand, instructions were sent to the individual unions along with the agreement not to ratify it.

Q. That was the Madden agreement?—A. That was the Madden agreement, yes; it was an agreement for a permanent arbitration board.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Have you instituted any suits at law against men who have interfered with your business, and in your opinion unlawfully?—A. No, sir.

Q. Why not?—A. I question whether that would avail us anything if we did. It would be an exceedingly hard thing to prove, probably, and I think altogether it would be too troublesome an undertaking.

Q. Why would it be hard to prove?—A. There would be a great many things that would enter into it, I suppose. We have never taken it up and never given it a thought.

Q. Why not give it a thought?—A. That might be a good thing. We have simply suffered along with the rest, and we have suffered so long and so much that we have made up our minds it is not a wise thing to do, for the contractors' sake and the laboring men's sake. We believe the time has come to help a man and make him a little more independent. He is not an independent man to-day; he is not his own man; he works absolutely and unqualifiedly at the dictate of the walking delegate. He can not say 5 minutes of the day that he can work.

Q. It is not a fundamental principle of popular government that it is and must be a government of laws and not of men?—A. Yes, I believe that is so, but it is not carried out in that way in this city to-day.

Q. Is not the best way to protect personal liberty to enforce the law?—A. Yes, that is a pretty good way to do it if you can do it.

Q. Why not try it?—A. Well, as I say, we have never thought of trying it.

Q. In your opinion, are person and property and opportunity to earn a living jeopardized in the building trades in Chicago by existing labor conditions?—A. I do not think anybody could gainsay that. It is an absolute fact. If we had time I should like to have this Commission visit the Butler building and see the gathering of men there when the men are taken away at night—hooting, yelling, trying to intimidate in every way possible. It would be a little matter of education to see 300 or 400 men gathered around a building to hoot at men pursuing their peaceful callings.

Q. Is that going on every day?—A. Yes; every day. The police and detectives take those men away from the building not one day, but every day.

Q. Can not those gatherings be broken up?—A. They are not broken up. We have requested that they should be broken up, but they are not.

Q. Do you feel that the law is not enforced by the authorities?—A. I do not know that I care to go into that. The situation speaks for itself. I do not care to have anything to say on the subject. The situation is as it is. It does not look as though there was any law on the subject at all.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 30, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. A. W. BONNER.

Flgor Tile and Ornamental Mosaic Contractor.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m., March 30, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 3.12 p. m., Mr. A. W. Bonner was sworn as a witness and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name.—A. A. W. Bonner.

Q. Post-office address.—A. No. 2519 South State street, Chicago.

Q. Occupation.—A. Contractor.

Q. In what particular line?—A. Tile and mosaic; floor tile and ornamental mosaic.

Q. You are a member of the building contractors' council?—A. Yes.

Q. We should be happy to have you make a statement in your own way on the industrial condition here from the standpoint of your industry.—A. I have sat here and heard so much said that it would be almost impossible for me to make any statement without, in some particulars, covering the ground already covered by those who have testified before me. Of course you understand at the present time there is an industrial condition in the building line in Chicago which is probably unique. We had in Chicago prior to a few years ago labor unions which to a great extent acted independently of one another. I never had any difficulty with them, and in fact I might say that I never had trouble with the building trades council, as an individual. I have been brought into trouble with them through sympathetic action on their part.

I think the only thing I could give of any interest to you would be on the line of what the effect on the general condition of affairs, local and national, of an organization of the kind that exists in Chicago at the present time will be. When the thing got into such a condition that the dealers in mantels and tiles in Chicago had to get together, they asked me to join them in forming an association. I refused. The organization was a failure. They ran for a few years longer and the conditions got a little bit worse. They again tried to form an organization. They again asked me to join them and I again refused. The thing went on for about a year longer and conditions commenced to get a little worse, and I commenced to feel it a little bit myself, and of course, self-preservation being the first law of nature, I went in to see what they wanted to do. We formed an organization for the purpose of acting in unison against the community that worked for us. We made an agreement with them, a collective agreement—one agreement for the mantel and tile dealers' association and one for the tile setters and mosaic layers' union; also with their helpers. By this time they had become affiliated with the building trades council. The agreement went along for a little while until they commenced to place fines on the members of the mantel and tile dealers' association for acts in different parts of the city. For instance, there was Hawes & Dodd, 24 Adams street. They were setting a

vestibule up on the Lake Shore, about 5 miles from their place of business. They sent out a tile setter and his helper. They were working in the little vestibule. Of course the employer does not go near these buildings once in a hundred days, except to see whether it is in good condition after it is completed. Some time during the day the mosaic layer or tile setter for some reason or other left his work for a few moments, and the helper, in the absence of the setter, started to tear the paper—the dampness takes it off and leaves the mosaic. In doing that a few of the pieces stuck to the paper. He picked those off and put them back in the cement. About that time the walking delegate came to the door and saw him. He did not remonstrate with the man; called his attention to what he was doing, and walked off and fined the concern \$50 for having the helper set that mosaic. We refused to allow the man to pay it. We threatened to lock them all out and quit the business.

Then they went after the Interior Wood Working Company. I think they are on Wabash avenue, just south of Congress street. They had an old man working for them, probably 60 years old, and they had a rule in a part of their agreement that all men over 50 years old could work for \$3.50 a day. This man had reached the age probably of 60, somewhere about that, and they passed a special rule in their union that they would allow him to work, as a case of charity; so he went to work for this concern, and after he had worked there for several weeks they came back and demanded \$3.50 a day for him. He had been working for \$2.50. They had a clause in their contract for arbitration in all these cases. In no case was arbitration allowed. It was on the mandate of the walking delegate. On the spur of the moment the fine comes and you don't get any men if you don't pay it. They fined the Interior Wood Working Company a hundred dollars. We sent the communications to the union. The walking delegate suppressed them; would not read them to the union; and we told them through our officer several times—sent them communications—that they would have to put the man back on his work or there would be trouble. They did not do it and we locked them out for 6 weeks. I must say that prior to that the contractors had individual contracts with the unions. When this came to a settlement we refused to sign any more individual agreements with them. You must have a joint agreement. That is what we insisted on. The question went on for 3 or 4 weeks. Nothing could be done but slugging. They did not allow even the employer to work himself. One employer went to the north side and was working. Two men came in, one on one side and one on the other. He did not pay any attention to them. One hit him on the head with a piece of pipe and cut his head open and put him in the hospital. They organized a squad that goes out on bicycles to slug and disappear quickly. Those are facts that nobody can controvert. When the question of this settlement came it had been referred to me, as a member of the mantel and tile dealers' association, and I stated I would take the case in hand if the rest of the dealers would keep their hands off. I want to tell the gentlemen of the commission this, that when we went into this thing I believed it was a case of self-preservation. The laws did not give us any protection. We were thrown on our own responsibilities, just the same as if we were defending ourselves against a band of highway robbers on the highway. We had to do it. I claimed, when it came to a case of that kind, we were justified in doing things even if they were not legally within the law. I said, "Gentlemen, turn this case over to me." I went down to the office and threw my chair back and put my feet on my desk and said, "Gentlemen, when you want to sign this in writing come down here and do it; but I will not do a thing until you do." They signed it.

This is the time when the citizens of Chicago should have no fear of the kodak or the wrecking crew! This is the time for the citizens of Chicago to come to the front and determine at once whether the laws of this land are for one class and not for another; whether a society called the building trades council can within itself do that which if put on the statute books of the United States would produce a revolution inside of one week! These conditions prevail here to such an extent that it has brought about an organization, a contractors' council, in the city of Chicago, which I do not think would have been possible if the conditions had not got so extremely bad that the Molly McGuires in Pennsylvania never, in their palmiest days, could compare with them. They had not learned the finesse of the times. I was in Pennsylvania during the time of the Molly McGuires. They had never attained such finesse in doing these things as the walking delegates of the building trades council of the city of Chicago. They have murdered men in their own halls and on the streets; slugged them, their own members, and driven them from the city, and driven business men out of the city. I think myself that most of this is done through a great deal of thoughtlessness. I think they do not really think they are doing wrong, and the great mass of

workmen do not know anything about it. The workman is intimidated to such an extent that he is afraid to say to his partner in any branch of the trade what his feelings are, if opposed to those in authority. I would not like to say they actually send men out to do it, but the men do it thinking they have a right to do it. They have an idea that the man who works with his hands on certain conditions in a building is a laboring man, but nobody else is a laboring man, and if anybody does things that don't meet his ideas he has a right to go out and use a club or piece of gas pipe to slug him, and has got a right to picket your shop or home.

If such a thing can be sustained by the laws of the United States, if an organization can be brought together to picket your home, I want to know if that is not pretty near as bad as having a highwayman stop the coach on the highway? If that is law, if that can not be stopped, I don't see any use of putting laws on the statute books against mobs, riots, and intimidation. Men have a right to organize and demand wages; have a right to refuse to work for me and all that; but if men can organize to stop other men from doing work or going peaceably about their different vocations. They went to the north side here on Wilson avenue, and split a man's head open; and twenty of them came in and swore that the man charged was in Fort Wayne, working on the freight house at the time. There was a preponderance of evidence against a man who was half-murdered. They knocked a man senseless on the street; policeman catches a man kicking him and knocking him all over the street. Because that man was in a senseless condition and could not identify the man, the prisoner was discharged. Another man on the north side was charged with assaulting a man. On the witness stand he admits he struck the man—almost killed him. Six men come from the bricklayers' hall and each one goes and swears one after the other that the man was in the bricklayers' hall; the whole six of them. All stood up and perjured themselves. That is the way they run this organization. As I said before, gentlemen, these things are done, and if there is no way to lead these men to understand that they have no more right to do those things than the doctors and the lawyers and the business men themselves, there is bound to be revolution in this country. It can not be stopped. The men are foolish; they are injuring themselves. The contract I have in my pocket—I do not wish to produce this contract unless I understand it will be returned to me; it don't belong to me; it belongs to the organization. Here I have a contract which we were forced to sign and which I am ashamed my name is attached to, as an American citizen. I did it under stress of emergency, as all these things came to us. We gave away to that, until there were so many of them we could go no further. Here is one that stops an American from ever going into business for himself. This contract stops any tile setter from being a business man in his own trade. It stops me, who learned the trade as an American, from handling tools; it stops me from teaching my son the trade; I can not even teach him by letting him into the union, because the union won't let him in.

Q. Because he is your son?—A. If he is a tile setter's son he can not get in.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Will you furnish a copy of that to the commission?—A. Yes; I will have one struck off for you. No apprentice is allowed in this business in the city of Chicago. There is no apprentice in our line, and I am very creditably informed there is not one in New York. There has not been a man allowed to join this union in about 5 years. It is a close corporation. Nobody gets in. When a tile setter comes into this town and I hire him and he does not belong to the union, they will give him a privilege of some kind to work until his application is passed on. They will immediately run off to where some one has three or four or five men working and steal one and bring him down and put him in his place, and thus run him out of town.

This stops my children from getting into the trade. It stops the man himself from going into business. It doesn't allow the employer to handle the tools. In ninety nine cases out of a hundred when the employee goes into business probably 90 per cent of his capital is ability to do his own work. He can get credit for his material, but he can not get credit for his labor. If he has not the money he can not get it. It stops him from going into business.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Does it specifically do that?—A. No; it stops him in the manner in which the contract is drawn up. It says no member of the mantel and tile dealers' association shall handle tools. It allows for no apprentices. There is not an apprentice in the city of Chicago.

Now we have another here which is for laborers. We can make a laborer in about fifteen minutes, though that is a simple thing. The only thing in this that I am ashamed of—my name is attached to both of these agreements as president of the mantel and tile dealers' association—is that I have allowed myself to sign my rights of citizenship away.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Why did you?—A. I don't believe in gentlemen coming here, whether contractors or otherwise, and trying to deny what they did in the past. I was, probably, in some instances really just as much to blame as the others. We did it because we had to have these men. We needed them and they were a unit, and we had to act as a unit. We had to do it or go out of business. When I went into the building every other branch of mechanics walked out of the building. The contractors, not being united, they had no sympathy for one another. They were disunited. That is the way these things occurred on us all. They have the rules in this here—the limitation of work.

Q. You mean a day's work?—A. A day's work. And after we made these agreements they would issue cards. After agreeing not to do it they would issue cards to the members, putting a limit on the work in different places.

Now, gentlemen, I want to tell you there is no use in coming over here and making complaints. We could cite you, probably, innumerable cases of assault—I think they could also, probably in the nature of clothesline stories, or clothesline fights that come before the justice courts. Every American citizen who knows anything about this question of strikes knows there is only one thing in the world that ever carries these things through successfully—intimidation and physical force; only those two forces; they never can be carried without them. Now, it is up to the American people whether any band of men, whether they have wrongs or whether they have not, have a right to take to themselves the power to enforce, by physical force and intimidation, their wishes in this matter.

Now, I am saying this more forcibly because I know there is a large delegation with the president of the building trades council sitting at my back. I say, as an American citizen, it must be done away with or the workingman's rights in the United States are gone. I say it for him; not myself. I can go out and make a living. The masses must be stopped from enforcing their rules in this country or they will live under a military government. The business of this country can not be at the beck and call, the whistle, of a few irresponsible men who can close down all the large, varied industries of this country with the snap of their finger. It is a right no man should have. The Czar of Russia hasn't it. If the Czar of Russia were to attempt to force the mandate issued by a gentleman named O'Connell, in the city of Chicago, they would drive him out of Russia. The man does not breathe who thinks more and will do more for the laboring men in Chicago than I will. The only time I was ever interested was when we locked them out for fining members, and this time. The contractors' council—I went in with this because I knew it was necessary that men who had the moral courage to do it must come to the line and do this—I knew when I went in with it that it was going to be a national affair before I was through with it. You gentlemen who are at the front in the United States and in power in Congress and in the Senate must consider that even for the workingmen—not for the employer; the manufacturer, the business man, the contractor, can take care of himself—but for the interest of the workingman—for himself, for his interest—it must be taken care of somewhere; you can not stop it by arbitration. There is no such thing as arbitrating the question of patrolling my home or my factory or where I am working. That question can not be arbitrated—whether a man can patrol me on this side of the street or the other side of the street; or the question of whether I have the right of hiring and discharging whom I please, and whether a man has the right to work for whom he pleases. That question can never be arbitrated; it has got to be settled without arbitration. It must be free to every man to do those things without any handicap whatever on either party. There will always be a class of people in the world who will come to the top, and there will be a class who will stay at the bottom. It is the duty of the class at the top to help along those who are a little bit weaker, physically or mentally; but when you commence to say these rights must be arbitrated, then you have got to arbitrate it with military force.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Do you include compulsory arbitration?—A. Any kind. Compulsory arbitration, to enforce it, must be forced by a power behind it; that means military force.

Q. If a law were passed providing that as a last resort all disputes of this sort must be submitted to compulsory arbitration, and the participants bound by law to abide by the arbitration, the power of government would be behind it, would it not, to enforce it, if it were the law of the land?—A. Yes.

Q. Would it not be effective then?—A. I don't think so.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What you mean, as I understood you, is that certain fundamental rights, guaranteed to a free-born American citizen, are not to be questioned?—A. Not to be questioned or arbitrated a minute. The minute you do they are gone. The history of the world is the same to-day as it always was.

The minute there is a body in any country that has a right to say what are a man's rights—fundamental rights I am speaking of—that minute the masses lose their rights. He loses his rights—I am speaking now for the workman. The masses lose their rights when the question is put into arbitration. That question must be free and full, as it is laid down in the Constitution to-day—the question of my right to hire and discharge whom I please.

Q. Well, now, isn't it quite possible that a condition may arise, probably has arisen, between labor on one the hand and capital or the employers on the other, where both sides keep clearly within the law, within their rights, and yet where great loss might ensue, and a necessity arise of bringing it to a termination for the good of the public?—A. I think there is an emergency of that kind.

Q. Assuming a case of that kind, would not some law allowing an appeal, as a last resort, to arbitration be beneficial? That would not touch the fundamental rights of the individuals.—A. I do not know whether it would be beneficial or not, but I will say this: I do not see how you can enact a law that will make us as members of the building contractors' council, or individually, pay anybody any certain wages or live up to any kind of rules. I do not see how a third party can come in and tell me what I can afford to pay. In some few places there is a certain thing manufactured on a certain line, day in and day out, such as a piece of cloth. You weave that thing day in and day out for years, and you pay so much for the stuff that goes in the warp and so much for the filling. I can see how you can go into a settlement of wages on something like that, but in the general business of the country I don't see how you can do it. But even if you can, I don't see how you could force me out without taking away from me my right to employ whom I please, as an American citizen, and also taking away from the workman the right to work for whom he pleases.

Q. You do not see any hope from legislation at all? I understood you to say a while ago that there must be some legislation.—A. No; the legislation must be that the laws in the land must be enforced. The men must be given to understand that they have a right to work for whom they please, and to refuse to work, and when they have enforced that right they have no other right.

Q. Is not the presumption now that there are such laws in existence?—A. Well, I am not much of a hand for enacting laws and amending laws. I believe in electing the men who will enforce the laws. I think the laws of the United States and the State of Illinois and Chicago are perfectly ample to cover all these questions, if enforced. I am not saying now that they are not enforced; I say if they are.

Q. You think there is law enough?—A. Law enough, plenty. Making laws doesn't help matters if dishonest men are put in office to carry them out.

Q. Then I gather from your position that the fundamental difficulty here lies in the fact that the laws are not enforced.—A. No, I won't go so far as that. I don't want to go into politics on it at all.

Q. There is no politics in that.—A. I want to say this, that as the building trades council is constituted, as it carried out its objects and aims—not as its constitution and by-laws lay them down, but as it carries them out—most innocent—I will put it this way; the most innocent; and I think a society that probably started for the best object in the world was the Whitecaps of Indiana; started with a very laudable disposition to do what was right, and probably corrected some wrongs that prevailed in that locality. But it took a vigilance committee in Indiana to get rid of them. The law would not do it; could not be enforced until the intimidation was stopped.

Q. Who got rid of the vigilance committee?—A. The vigilance committee was composed of such men that the minute the Whitecaps were out of the road they disbanded. And they did the same thing in California; and they did the same thing in Kentucky. Now I was in Pottsville, Pa., when the Molly Maguires were being tried. I was also in Mauch Chunk, Pa., when they were all in the jail. I was around through the other places there. I was afraid to say to my brother, unless I was in position to see for a mile around me, what my opinion of the Molly Maguires was. You know there was not a judge or an officer on the Reading Railroad anywhere who dared to express his opinion; but, gentlemen, they were wiped out; it had to come to an end. And this organization, as it is run to-day in the city of Chicago, with its president sitting here, is not one iota better than the Molly Maguires of Pennsylvania.

It can only enforce its rules by intimidation and force, both as to the contractor and the employee. You gentlemen who come from other parts of the United States know that there are thousands of men glad to work; and do you not know why they do not go to work? Does not the press tell you? Does not every man, woman, and child in Chicago know why they do not come here and get work?

Fear of life and limb. If that is not a reign of terror, what is it? Your life is not safe except you are some fellow like one of us who is up so high that they are afraid there will be too big a stink if we are hurt; that is all that keeps their hands off us. Not fear of us; it is fear of the impression it will make on the public which is the only thing that makes them keep their hands off. They are carrying out even, to make this thing more perfect—they are carrying out the Bertillon system with their own employees. They are taking a man's measure and his photograph and erecting a rogue's gallery and sending it all over the United States—of the workmen, not the contractors. I do not know but we shall be in it after a while. Now, that is not put to you, gentlemen, so that you can take it back to Washington. This condition in Chicago has got to be stopped in some manner; I do not know how.

Q. I gather from your remarks that there is no remedy for this except making an impression upon public sentiment.—A. Yes; public sentiment has wiped all these out. It did it in California; it did it in Kentucky; it did it in Indiana, and it did it in Pennsylvania. Have public sentiment take the right course and the authorities seek the right course. But an officeholder will not enforce the laws against organizations of this kind, because he does not know whether I am a member or who is. I do not know when I am talking whether I am talking to a sympathizer or not; therefore I keep still and do nothing. That reign of terror is in Chicago to-day. A man stood at my desk—I will name one—James Harding, an English tile setter. He stood at my desk here about 3 or 4 weeks ago and told me that he has had his brother here from England for 4 years, and he has tried to get him to be a helper to help him set tile, and he has failed up to the present time to do it. They will not allow it in the union, and he can not do work for his own brother. The men have stood at my desk and said, "Mr. Bonner, if we were allowed, we would hire out to you as we used to do in the old days, and we would work for \$2 a day if you gave us a contract, but we can not take it." But they walk the streets. The way business is run they are afraid they will do too much; they are afraid they will do it right. In a great many cases the intimidation is such that the men will go down to the meetings when they are ordered just like a lot of slaves: just come to the meetings when they are ordered and go when they are ordered, because they do not know whom to talk to; they are in fear of one another. I defy any man that belongs to the building trades council to show that any builder or contractor, or any man he employed, ever attempted to interfere with them or do any bodily injury to them in the city of Chicago unless he was attacked first and did it in self defense. All of this trouble is done by them, and they do it by regularly constituted committees. I know of my own personal knowledge the very building where their wrecking crew has gone into a building and torn out the plumbing work. They went in there and smashed and tore it all to pieces. They would go into a room like this and take a sharp hatchet and chop every piece of woodwork all to pieces. That is the wrecking crew. The flying squadron has to go to the right place to meet a fellow and leave him for the patrol, the police, or somebody to pick him up. There is no use of denying that. They can not enforce the rules, you can not, and I can not, and anybody else can not force the men to go to work except with physical force. You can not do it if they do not want to do it. I will leave this with you or give you copies. I should like to say that in being forced to sign this we also forced them to say that they would not work for anybody but us. We forced that in. You will see that is written afterward. We forced that clause as the best we could get out of them.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) Do you know of any arrangement made by members of your council and committee with anyone in Chicago to secure the slugging and beating of members of the union?—A. No, sir; never heard of such a thing.

Q. Have you a committee of your council that has those things in charge?—A. No, sir; never knew of anybody being slugged by them, either. I never heard of a union man being what is commonly called slugged.

Q. What committee of your council has charge of the matter of protecting men whom you may employ, nonunion men?—A. The executive committee.

Q. Are you a member of that committee?—A. Yes, sir; I am a member of that committee.

Q. Do you know a man named LeVin?—A. No, I never met him in my life that I know of. I never came in contact with him; never knew his name until I saw it in the paper. I think Mr. Behel knows if there were any detectives hired to protect the men—take them home and protect them on the buildings. I think Mr. Behel did it.

Q. I gather that you see nothing to be done but fight it out?—A. Fight it out.

Q. And depend upon public sentiment?—A. Depend upon public sentiment and let nobody interfere.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) I should like to ask you if you do not believe that when you signed this article 10 of this agreement you entered into a conspiracy with the labor unions against the public good and against the rights of other individuals?—A. Yes, sir; I believe I did. I acknowledged that before I showed it to you. I am confessing now my sins. I acknowledge that I did it, and that is a thing I am ashamed of.

Q. Were you forced to do this?—A. Yes, or go out of business.

Q. Go out of business?—A. Yes.

Q. Are you a party to any other sort of conspiracy against the good of society and of individuals in particular—I mean a conspiracy with the building supply people to purchase— A. (Interrupting.) No, sir.

Q. To purchase only from them, and they to sell only to members of your organization?—A. No, sir; there is no combination at all.

Q. Do you know of anything of that sort?—A. No, sir.

Q. In Chicago?—A. No, sir; a man came in from the west and showed me that he had received some of the same goods that I deal in. There was the difference between 12 and 14 cents—a difference of 2 cents cheaper than I could buy in the United States. And he is not a member of any association. He is not a tile dealer or anything else. He bought the goods cheaper than I could buy them.

Q. (By Mr. MANTLE.) There seems to be a contradiction between yourself and Mr. Gindele. Has not your association an understanding or agreement with dealers in building materials by which the members of your association get a rebate?—A. No, sir. Now, I want you to understand the facts thoroughly. I do not want to hoodwink you or take advantage of a technicality.

Q. All we want is the truth, you know, about these things.—A. These goods that Mr. Gindele speaks of, of course I do not buy. We have this understanding among ourselves for self-protection. We as the mantel and tile dealers' association have an understanding between ourselves—not with any manufacturer. The manufacturer has nothing to do with it, because we can not control the manufacturer. I have an idea—I do not say this positively—that all the tile manufacturers in the United States are in a trust; because I can buy just as cheap from Brown as I can from Smith. We have an understanding among ourselves that if they sell outside of us in Chicago we withhold our custom—we will not buy from them. We can not buy any to sell outside, but there is no combination between them and us. We can not control them.

Q. You are not a general contractor?—A. No, no; deal in general material. We are seeking the right to deal with whom we please.

Q. You do not know anything about this agreement between the general contractors' association— A. (Interrupting.) No, sir; no, sir.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 30, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. FREDERICK P. BAGLEY,

Wholesale Marble Dealer, Chicago.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m., March 30, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 4.40 p. m. Mr. Frederick P. Bagley was sworn as a witness and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Your name?—A. Frederick P. Bagley.

Q. Post-office address?—A. Eighteenth Street Viaduct, Chicago.

Q. Occupation?—A. Wholesale marble dealer.

Q. How long have you been in that business in Chicago?—A. Twelve years.

Q. Are you a member of the contractors' council?—A. I am.

Q. The commission will be pleased to hear any statement you may wish to make concerning the condition of your industry and of the building trades generally in Chicago, and in relation to labor.—A. In relation to labor in my own trade, the difficulties in that have practically been confined to the last year. In April of last year the marble cutters and setters' union of Chicago presented an agreement to the manufacturers here, who also set work in the buildings, in which the union wished to control the coping, the cutting, the fitting, and the setting of building marble coming into the city of Chicago—that is to say, no marble work for the city of Chicago could be brought in here in a finished state. All of it would have to be finished here and by the members of that union—the association here. At that time we did not have practically any association, but the dealers were called together and this agreement that was presented by the union was considered. It was seen that if that agreement was enforced the largest firms in town here, who

practically control 80 per cent of the capacity here, would be forced to confine their business to the city of Chicago. In that agreement the men demanded practically a raise of a dollar a day and the cutting down of their time from 1 to 2 hours. Some of the shops at that time were running 10 hours and some 9 hours. The wages they demanded and the hours would make it impossible for any manufacturer to manufacture his goods here and send them outside of Chicago and compete with firms located outside of Chicago on account of the increase in the price of labor. In addition to that the manufacturers realized what it would be to have an organization in their shops that was affiliated with the building trades council. The difficulties that the other trades had had here with the building trades council or the rules of the unions that were enforced by the building trades council taught us that we could not run our business in the factories and have an organization in control of the shop that was affiliated with that council.

Those were the two questions—the question of raise in wages, the cost, and these restrictions that would be sure to follow if we let an organization into our shops affiliated with that council. The manufacturers here then went into an association to fight that question. They did not object to the raise in wages or the hours in the building; we were perfectly willing to pay that, because everybody else paid the same in the building. In addition to that we felt that any restriction or rules—that all those things in the way of limiting the amount of work they would do—that every one would have to suspend who did business in Chicago. We had conferences with the officials of the unions and explained these conditions to them. We explained that we could not pay these wages and compete outside, and it was necessary, in view of the productive capacity in our line of business, to get business outside to keep the plants going. The union refused to do anything in reference to leaving the shops alone. They attempted to compromise on the question of lowering the wages in the factory. They offered to reduce those, but they wanted the control of the shops, and that lead we refused to give. A number of firms by force of conditions were compelled, after two or three months of struggle, to sign the agreement. There were four or five firms who would not sign, who represented 80 per cent of the business, and they have been forced since then to put their work in the buildings here with non-union men. That is the condition in the marble business in Chicago to-day.

There is one thing I want to take this occasion to say; that this fight in the marble question has been conducted, on the part of the union, in an entirely different manner almost, except on two or three occasions, from any other fight I know of that has been carried on between the employers and the unions. That is as far as I know at the present time, there have been, I think, but three cases of assault, and I think only about three or four cases of destruction of property. One of the members of the union and his fighters went up and assaulted a man on the North Side. The man, I think, was putting marble work in. I think they used hammers on him, and then they destroyed the property that was in position, so as not only to injure the man, but to injure the contractor who was putting the work in. One or two others have been assaulted. It is a small number in comparison with what has happened in other trades. I want to say that for the union. They have conducted themselves in that respect very well.

There is another thing I want to speak about, and that is the tendency of the unions in this town, that is, a number of them—marble men, and especially the stonecutters—where it is not a question of unionism, but it is a question of their own union. About a year ago we had the contract for the exterior marble work for the Montgomery-Ward building up here on Michigan avenue, which went into Georgia marble. On account of the conditions that govern marble building, the exterior, in order to produce a good effect and do it at a price that is at all economical, the material must be cut out at the quarries. No two blocks of marble are alike. After you get a block of marble sawed you may discover a defect in it or something that will make it so it won't match with the block taken out previously. That has to be thrown aside and another one used. You save the freight and the handling. At the quarries where that marble was taken out they always use union men. They work them 8 hours. That union is affiliated with the National Association of Stone Cutters, with headquarters at Washington. They have a charter and are in good standing in every respect. When it became known that we were to do this work, Mr. Auerbach, the president of the stonecutters' union, came to me and asked me where we were going to have it cut. He said it must be cut in Chicago. He said they would not allow any work to go in here and be set unless it was cut in Cook County. I asked him if he would let his men go from here down to Georgia and cut it. He said no. I explained to him those were union men down there, were paid union wages and working union hours. He said that made no difference; that it would have to be

cut in Cook County. That work was gotten out down there by union men, working union hours, 8 hours during the week and 4 hours on Saturday.

Now, mind you, that was up in the mountains in Georgia. There is not another quarrying firm in the marble line of business working union men in that sense. There is not another quarry in the State of Georgia that is working union stone-cutters. That material was shipped here, and the local union here went to the George A. Fuller Company, the contractors for that building, with whom our contract was, and told them when the first car arrived here they would strike on that building, because that stone had not been cut in Cook County. They did not raise the question that it was nonunion work. The George A. Fuller Company, after a number of conferences, were forced by that organization to bring—I think it was over two carloads of that material here in a sawed state, but uncut, and cut it here with this local union. They did not care anything about the outside unions. They did not care whether that union was affiliated with the national association, because the money did not go into their pockets at all. That shows that these organizations are for themselves and not for anybody else.

On this building the price for the carving was given on the basis of the privilege of using a pneumatic tool for the carving.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Won't you explain that a little?—A. It is a tool for cutting, run by compressed air. It is a tool that has been invented probably 6 or 7 or 8 years, and is used in all branches of business for caulking pillars, carving stone and marble, and various uses. It is now used practically all over the world. It is a tool that for delicate work in carving and undercutting is almost indispensable now; it is used everywhere.

Q. Is the work done by a blow or by turning?—A. By a blow. When the contract came to be let the contractor discovered that the union here would not allow him to use that tool, and the architect told me yesterday that they had increased the price of that contractor 10 to 15 per cent because the union would not allow the use of that tool.

There was another piece of work in town here; it was a residence on the north side. The work for that was gotten out outside of Cook County also, the same as this other. That work was brought in here. It was the trimmings of a building. The union discovered it, and they would not allow that work to be set in that building nor that building to proceed, because it was gotten outside of the sacred confines of Cook County. The only way the owner was allowed to put that work in was by the payment to the union of \$250. In addition to that he had to pay \$83 for two men to go up to that building and take a tool and scrape over the surfaces of the trimming that had been cut by a machine. Why? Because a stone-cutters' union in Chicago will not allow a planer to be used on any building. In other words, it is as though you three gentlemen, before you arrived in Chicago, before you were allowed to alight from the train, had to pay an organization with which you were not connected \$50 apiece because you came over the route you did instead of some other, or because the engine that drew you was a compound engine instead of some older type. You should have come over the road on a different engine. There is the whole thing.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Before you get too far from this Montgomery-Ward building, I want to ask you a question; you started to speak of another difficulty. Was that the difficulty settled by the business agents taking the men off?—A. We had no strike on that building. We had the contract for the delivery of the stone f. o. b. cars here. I think if we had had to settle that thing it might have cost us more than it did the George A. Fuller Company; but fortunately we were in a position where they could not put the screws on us.

These are the instances I wanted to speak of in my own craft, and the two experiences in this building line, which I know from my personal experience.

Q. Do you know anything about business agents or walking delegates being paid money to settle these difficulties?—A. That statement has been made. Personally I do not know that; but the statement has been made by a number of people, and by people that I have confidence in. I also want to say in justification of the union of my own trade that that I don't think is a possibility, either with the men or with Mr. McCullough, the president of the union. That is a question that has never entered the minds of the manufacturers in our trade, but I feel afraid I do know that that has been in other trades.

Q. Do you think that has been rather a common practice in Chicago?—A. That I do not wish to say.

Q. You have no knowledge of the particular cases where business agents or walking delegates have been paid money to call off strikes?—A. No; not personally; but that has been told to me. That is mere hearsay; and I do not wish to repeat it. The statement I made I wanted to be very careful about, because

I did not want in any way to have any impression get out that I felt any such thing was possible with either the union or the officials of the unions I have come in contact with in my particular trade. I also wanted to take that opportunity to express the sentiment of all our manufacturers in regard to the way the union has done; that there have been so few cases of destruction of property and injury to employees compared with other cases.

We also object to the way politics has crept into the situation. We feel a great deal as the typographical union did, as shown in the protest they made to the American Federation of Labor, in regard to officials of that organization holding political office here. We feel that thing should be outside of the trade.

Q. I think it is a deplorable condition, if true, that these troubles are brought about for the purpose of enabling walking delegates or business agents to enrich themselves by settling them, and the charge has been frequently made here that that has been done, and they say they have knowledge of it. Now, I think the general public would not only condemn the organized labor of Chicago in the building trades if that were true, but organized labor throughout the country generally would condemn them; and I think if you gentlemen know it to be true, instead of stating it in a general way, you ought to get specific cases and give the testimony here—that can not be disputed.—A. Your statement, in a general way, is perfectly pat and to the point, but you will realize that the walking delegate of a union possesses, as a rule, the qualifications, or, rather—I do not know whether you would say the qualifications, but the peculiarities, as a rule—that make the ward politician. It is not the best men, it is not the best mechanics, it is not the broad-gauge men, in the union in the building trades in the city of Chicago—I don't know how it is outside, but it is that way in Chicago—that as a rule come to the front; it is the man who is an organizer, who has these qualifications that make a ward politician, the man that controls those votes; and that man comes up into the council as a delegate. It is that very power that comes from the concentration of those men there that enables them to get these things and produce these results. Those men come up there as a rule untrained in business methods, untrained in a broad way, and without a knowledge of the business they attempt to control at all. They change them very often. I think the time is very short. I think it is 6 months or a year these delegates come up for; then they have to be reelected. I only believe that; I do not know that it is so. They come up there, and, without any training in the particular line of business they are to govern, they produce rules and regulations that absolutely revolutionize the business; and they get in there and say, as the marble men said to us, "We can not change that." "Why?" "The building trades council ratified it, and it has got to go that way." We wrote to the building trades council and asked them to investigate this thing, and examine it, and appoint a committee, and we got an answer back, "We think that is all right, and hope you will get it settled quick."

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Q. I should not think they would.—A. That is just it. Now, fortunately for the community, one of them did forget himself. That was Mr. Sullivan; and he demanded—his graft ran up to \$5,000, but fortunately he made it to two men; one was Judge Burton Crane and the other was Mr. Charles Truax. Those gentlemen were in position to come out and show it, and the man couldn't get away from it. That man has been charged in the public press, in the news columns and editorially, and his picture has been put in the paper, as a blackmailer, and charged so; because there were witnesses there who could swear to it, and those men did not hesitate a minute. But if you ask somebody else for a specific case, while he may know it and may be the one who paid, it is only his word against the others.

Q. If it is the practice in Chicago, for one, I should like to know it. Several members of your organization have not hesitated to show the evidence, even of the fact that they were in a conspiracy against what you might call the public welfare, and against the interests of individuals who were outside of their associations; and I should think if they could give the evidence in any way that this is a custom in Chicago, in the interest of Chicago and the public generally, and in the interest of organized labor, they ought to give it to us.—A. I understand that to a certain extent you represent organized labor on this commission. Am I right? You are a union man yourself?

Mr. KENNEDY. I am a member of the typographical union.

The WITNESS. I want to give you one thing and maybe put you in position to get this thing you want. A gentleman came on here from the East who is a student of these matters, that is, of economic conditions, the same as you gentlemen are trying to get your information, only that is his business; a man that knows a great many of the labor men all over the country. He investigated the situation. I have known him for some time. I gave him these facts and the conditions that exist here. I did not see him again for a week, and the next time I met him he said, "Mr. Bagley, I did not believe you were correct in all these statements you made, but I have had them verified from the other side, every one of them." Now, Mr. Kennedy, if you will go to the members of your organization, to the members of the typographical union in Chicago here, if you have personal acquaintance with any of them through your being a collaborer with them, you will be able to ascertain from them what they think and whether they consider this state of things to exist, and I think you will find a corroboration of every statement that has been made along these lines; I think you will find the statements that have been made here are right.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 30, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. W. F. BEHEL,

Carpenter Contractor, Chicago.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m., March 30, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke, presiding. At 5.05 p. m., Mr. W. F. Behel was sworn as a witness and testified as follows:

- Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name. A. W. F. Behel.
- Q. Post-office address. A. 115 Monroe street; room 404; Chicago, Ill.
- Q. Occupation. A. Carpenter contractor.
- Q. Are you the chairman of the executive committee of the contractors' council?

A. I am.

Q. How long have you been in business in Chicago? A. Since 1887.

Q. If you have any statement to make concerning the industrial conditions here, particularly in relation to building matters, the commission will be pleased to hear it. A. I will commence my statement with a contradiction of the evidence given by Messrs. LeVin and Gubbins, as that was referred to last evening. Here is the statement of one of their own men.

Many of the statements made by some of the labor men before your honorable body I feel should not pass without denial. It has been said by one LeVin that he was employed by the contractors' council for slugging service. This is absolutely false. He was employed to do watch service at the Butler Building and the Ogdensburg Docks, to arrest all strikers interfering with the workmen on those jobs. After three weeks, we thought best to dispense with his services, as they were not of a character in keeping with the contractors' council.

As regards the statement made by Mr. Gubbins, that he found it imperative to ask protection from the mayor and chief of police, as he believed that his life was in danger, he, Mr. Gubbins, knew perfectly well that when he was making a statement of that kind that it was not a truthful statement, as he is well aware that he, in person, called for volunteers to do slugging in his association, and 18 volunteers offered their services promptly, which were designated as the slugging committee, and immediately after the volunteers had given their names, they started in the following morning promptly to perform the duties for which they were assigned, and which they had volunteered to do, and made several assaults upon innocent men and citizens, who were exercising their right to make an honest living for their families.

Among those was a man by the name of Major, who, unfortunately for himself, was arrested after committing an assault, and imprisoned. When appearing before the magistrate, Justice Mahoney, he was asked by the justice if he had a lawyer to defend him. He replied that he had not, and the justice volunteered his services to act as his attorney. The attorney for the prosecution then asked of the justice a ruling that the witnesses for the defense should retire. The court requested the witnesses to retire, according to the demand of the counsel, and the complainant was requested to take the stand, which he did. The court asked him to proceed in the usual course, as is done in such cases, and he gave his name as Mr. Grund. Mr. Grund testified as follows: That he had been assaulted, giving the place and time, and identified the prisoner as being the person who committed the assault, in manner and form as it has been alleged by the witnesses.

I did not want in any way to have any impression get out that I felt any such thing was possible with either the union or the officials of the unions I have come in contact with in my particular trade. I also wanted to take that opportunity to express the sentiment of all our manufacturers in regard to the way the union has done; that there have been so few cases of destruction of property and injury to employees compared with other cases.

We also object to the way politics has crept into the situation. We feel a great deal as the typographical union did, as shown in the protest they made to the American Federation of Labor, in regard to officials of that organization holding political office here. We feel that thing should be outside of the trade.

Q. I think it is a deplorable condition, if true, that these troubles are brought about for the purpose of enabling walking delegates or business agents to enrich themselves by settling them, and the charge has been frequently made here that that has been done, and they say they have knowledge of it. Now, I think the general public would not only condemn the organized labor of Chicago in the building trades if that were true, but organized labor throughout the country generally would condemn them; and I think if you gentlemen know it to be true, instead of stating it in a general way, you ought to get specific cases and give the testimony here—that can not be disputed.—A. Your statement, in a general way, is perfectly pat and to the point, but you will realize that the walking delegate of a union possesses, as a rule, the qualifications, or, rather—I do not know whether you would say the qualifications, but the peculiarities, as a rule—that make the ward politician. It is not the best men, it is not the best mechanics, it is not the broad-gauge men, in the union in the building trades in the city of Chicago—I don't know how it is outside, but it is that way in Chicago—that as a rule come to the front; it is the man who is an organizer, who has these qualifications that make a ward politician, the man that controls those votes; and that man comes up into the council as a delegate. It is that very power that comes from the concentration of those men there that enables them to get these things and produce these results. Those men come up there as a rule untrained in business methods, untrained in a broad way, and without a knowledge of the business they attempt to control at all. They change them very often. I think the time is very short. I think it is 6 months or a year these delegates come up for; then they have to be reelected. I only believe that; I do not know that it is so. They come up there, and, without any training in the particular line of business they are to govern, they produce rules and regulations that absolutely revolutionize the business; and they get in there and say, as the marble men said to us, "We can not change that." "Why?" "The building trades council ratified it, and it has got to go that way." We wrote to the building trades council and asked them to investigate this thing, and examine it, and appoint a committee, and we got an answer back, "We think that is all right, and hope you will get it settled quick."

Now, when those delegates get up there they have that power and nothing is over them. There is a peculiar state of affairs. There is nothing that controls that building trades council; absolutely nothing. That gives them that power to levy tribute, or graft, as they call it. That is what they get. As one of them told me, "What are we up there for?" With all their intelligence and the qualifications that make the ward politician, do you suppose they are going to take their money in such a way that the proof can be brought into court against them?

Q. I should not think they would.—A. That is just it. Now, fortunately for the community, one of them did forget himself. That was Mr. Sullivan; and he demanded—his graft ran up to \$5,000, but fortunately he made it to two men; one was Judge Burton Crane and the other was Mr. Charles Truax. Those gentlemen were in position to come out and show it, and the man couldn't get away from it. That man has been charged in the public press, in the news columns and editorially, and his picture has been put in the paper, as a blackmailer, and charged so; because there were witnesses there who could swear to it, and those men did not hesitate a minute. But if you ask somebody else for a specific case, while he may know it and may be the one who paid, it is only his word against the others.

Q. If it is the practice in Chicago, for one, I should like to know it. Several members of your organization have not hesitated to show the evidence, even of the fact that they were in a conspiracy against what you might call the public welfare, and against the interests of individuals who were outside of their associations; and I should think if they could give the evidence in any way that this is a custom in Chicago, in the interest of Chicago and the public generally, and in the interest of organized labor, they ought to give it to us.—A. I understand that to a certain extent you represent organized labor on this commission. Am I right? You are a union man yourself?

Mr. KENNEDY. I am a member of the typographical union.

I will cite you a case in point, where one of our men was followed by a howling mob, as though he were a wild animal, driven through the public streets of Chicago, fleeing for his life, as they were determined to take it from him. He ran to the entrance of a residence in one of the most respectable neighborhoods in Chicago, whereupon the lady of the house, noticing the danger in which the unfortunate man was, and with a kind feeling of humanity to protect life, presented him with a revolver to protect his life. Such is the class of men that the contractors' council have to deal with, and that are encouraged, aided, and abetted by the building trades council and the Molly McGuires of Chicago.

It may be surprising to you, gentlemen, coming here from the East, where you are not exposed to such outrageous violations of the law, and it is with regret that we are obliged, as Western men, to make such an admission, that we are obliged to bring our men to work in 'busses, paying as high as \$5 an hour, as the proprietors said that they would not do it for less than that amount, as their 'busses and the lives of their teamsters were in danger. Those men are taken to and from their work in 'busses, and to their homes accompanied by special policemen to protect them. This is only a portion of the enormous expense that the contractors are put to in the protection of those who are willing to earn their living by honest labor.

If this is a credit to Mayor Harrison it is a disgrace to the city of Chicago that such things should be permitted in a city having in the neighborhood of 2,000,000 inhabitants. We have a great many instances where those people have entered buildings that are in the course of erection and have destroyed, with their wrecking crew as it is called, the material that had been put in place, and wantonly destroyed the property because it had been done by industrial-union men.

There is another matter I desire to draw your attention to, and that is the fact that there have been employed by the said city of Chicago somewhere in the neighborhood of 15, or more of those labor leaders, holding positions which they were not the proper persons to fill, as their only qualification for those positions was that they are leaders of the different associations affiliated with the building trades council. I will cite you one of the positions that is held by a steam-fitter. He is filling the position of a vehicle inspector. He gets that position, I suppose, from his qualification as a steam-fitter, that it gives a superior knowledge of what vehicles are constructed for.

Another instance is where Mr. Lillien, president of the hod carriers' union, was appointed by the building trades council as an expert to go over and examine the structural iron work of an elevated railroad, and to report to the honorable body of the building trades council whether in his judgment it was safe to allow trains to run over it. You are well aware of the qualifications a hod carrier has for an examination of that kind; but nevertheless he performed the duties and made a report of his finding. These are only a few of the absurd interferences by the building trades council, as in others, stipulating extra pipe in steam fitting that experts insist is not necessary, and insisting upon an additional coat of plastering; where the specifications already call for two, that there shall be three applied.

STATEMENT OF ASSAULTS AND DISORDERLIES.

Thomas Bryne, assaulted William Golden; case heard by Justice Prindeville; fined \$10 and costs. Fine paid by H. Lillien of the laborers' union.

James Connors, assault with weapon on John Gabrielson, tried before Justice Severson; case nolle prossed on error in complaint; new warrants issued for assault and intimidation; no arrest made yet; officer thinks he has left city.

John Ryan and E. P. Sexton arrested for intimidation and making threats, 4 continuances taken on account of absence of Justice Eberhart. Both held in bonds of \$500 to keep peace with the people of the State of Illinois.

Jacob Poplinski and Joseph Witlewicz, assault on John Gola of 155 Wabansia avenue. Justice O'Donohue refused to allow the complaints to be amended; case nolle and new warrants issued for assault with deadly weapon and intimidation.

Mr. Major, assault on a Mr. Grund; case tried before Justice Mahoney; Major fined \$10; he admitted he was guilty. Six witnesses who did not know of his admission, swore he was not present when the assault was committed, thereby perjuring themselves.

W. J. Sloan, assault on Edward Shaw; case still pending before Justice Martin; will come up March 29, at 9 a. m.

Charles Dux, disorderly, with a crowd who assaulted Charles Henry and William Beecher, employees of Andrews & Johnson; fined \$15 and costs by Justice Doyle.

I did not want in any way to have any impression get out that I felt any such thing was possible with either the union or the officials of the unions I have come in contact with in my particular trade. I also wanted to take that opportunity to express the sentiment of all our manufacturers in regard to the way the union has done; that there have been so few cases of destruction of property and injury to employees compared with other cases.

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Mr. KENNEDY. I am a member of the typographical union.

"ATTACK SCHOOLHOUSE WORKMEN.

"The labor troubles at last reached the affairs of the board of education yesterday, when at 2 schools, the Hendricks, Forty-third and Tracy avenue, and the Calumet Avenue School, Twenty-sixth street and Calumet avenue, there was a clash between the rival labor factions. Although neither affray had any serious results, there was much excitement for a time, and the pupils as well as teachers were frightened.

"At the Hendricks School there were three plumbers who, according to the officials, did not belong to the union. The men were sent by Nilson Brothers, the contractors who are in charge of the work at the school. The men had not been at work long before a party of men assaulted them, but Principal John McCarthy appeared on the scene and put a quietus to the trouble.

"At the Calumet Avenue School a party of nonunion steam fitters were set upon by others, presumably union men, when they refused to do their work. One of the workers was struck on the head with a brick. This aroused his companions, and they set upon the invaders with pipes and hammers. The alleged union men at once took to their heels, but were closely followed by their opponents. The chase continued for almost a block, when the two factions met. A riotous scene ensued, in the course of which several men were hurt about the face and hands. The appearance of a policeman on the scene soon ended the small riot, and the nonunion men returned to their work.

"ANOTHER BREAK LIKELY.

"Because labor organizations of the country do not approve of the methods of some Chicago unions another break in the labor ranks may come Sunday. It is reported that it is the intention of the Chicago Federation of Labor to withdraw from its parent body, the American Federation of Labor, rather than accept the decision of the national body to the effect that it recognizes no boycott on two Chicago newspapers.

"When the federation goes into session Sunday it is said that one of the first things to come up before it will be a communication from Typographical Union No. 16, virtually asking to be reinstated, but that this may not be granted because of the resolution to abolish politics which the printers have ready to introduce. The federation will then go into executive session to consider the question of withdrawal from the national body.

"PICKETS SIEGE POLICE STATION.

"Nonunion men were held in a state of siege at the Desplaines street police station by union pickets Wednesday evening. A crowd of 35 union pickets boldly surrounded a few nonunion men from the Butler Building, in charge of special policemen, at Washington and Desplaines streets, within sight of the police station, and were so threatening that the special police took their charges to the station for protection. The pickets hung around for some time waiting for their victims to come out of the station. The city police did not interfere.

"A woman defied a big crowd of strikers at the Butler Building last evening and marched off triumphantly with her nonunion husband without being molested. Stirred by the same spirit that moved Mrs. J. S. Robb to go before the industrial subcommission and tell the story of her husband's wrongs at the hands of the union, this woman came to the building at quitting time to escort her husband home. The strikers looked on in amazement, but were too much surprised to interfere. With her hand on her husband's arm she walked proudly away, while the army of other workmen, surrounded by a strong guard, started on its march."

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Are we to understand that the woman who did this was Mrs. Robb?—A. No, sir.

Q. Or was your allusion merely as a witness before the commission?—A. Yes. (Witness continues reading printed extract:)

"CIVIL SERVICE TAKES A HAND.

"The present labor situation found an echo yesterday in the civil-service office. City engineer Ericson, through James Wallace, reported that he was compelled to lay off F. D. L. Austin, foreman of the carpenters in the pipeyards, because the men under him refused to work. It appears that Austin is not a member of the carpenters' union, and his men were ordered out on this account. Austin was laid off because work had to be done.

I did not want in any way to have any impression get out that I felt any such thing was possible with either the union or the officials of the unions I have come in contact with in my particular trade. I also wanted to take that opportunity to express the sentiment of all our manufacturers in regard to the way the union has done; that there have been so few cases of destruction of property and injury to employees compared with other cases.

We also object to the way politics has crept into the situation. We feel a great deal as the typographical union did, as shown in the protest they made to the American Federation of Labor, in regard to officials of that organization holding political office here. We feel that thing should be outside of the trade.

Q. I think it is a deplorable condition, if true, that these troubles are brought about for the purpose of enabling walking delegates or business agents to enrich themselves by settling them, and the charge has been frequently made here that that has been done, and they say they have knowledge of it. Now, I think the general public would not only condemn the organized labor of Chicago in the building trades if that were true, but organized labor throughout the country generally would condemn them; and I think if you gentlemen know it to be true, instead of stating it in a general way, you ought to get specific cases and give the testimony here—that can not be disputed.—A. Your statement, in a general way, is perfectly pat and to the point, but you will realize that the walking delegate of a union possesses, as a rule, the qualifications, or, rather—I do not know whether you would say the qualifications, but the peculiarities, as a rule—that make the ward politician. It is not the best men, it is not the best mechanics, it is not the broad-gauge men, in the union in the building trades in the city of Chicago—I don't know how it is outside, but it is that way in Chicago—that as a rule come to the front; it is the man who is an organizer, who has these qualifications that make a ward politician, the man that controls those votes; and that man comes up into the council as a delegate. It is that very power that comes from the concentration of those men there that enables them to get these things and produce these results. Those men come up there as a rule untrained in business methods, untrained in a broad way, and without a knowledge of the business they attempt to control at all. They change them very often. I think the time is very short. I think it is 6 months or a year these delegates come up for; then they have to be reelected. I only believe that; I do not know that it is so. They come up there, and, without any training in the particular line of business they are to govern, they produce rules and regulations that absolutely revolutionize the business; and they get in there and say, as the marble men said to us, "We can not change that." "Why?" "The building trades council ratified it, and it has got to go that way." We wrote to the building trades council and asked them to investigate this thing, and examine it, and appoint a committee, and we got an answer back, "We think that is all right, and hope you will get it settled quick."

Now, when those delegates get up there they have that power and nothing is over them. There is a peculiar state of affairs. There is nothing that controls that building trades council; absolutely nothing. That gives them that power to levy tribute, or graft, as they call it. That is what they get. As one of them told me, "What are we up there for?" With all their intelligence and the qualifications that make the ward politician, do you suppose they are going to take their money in such a way that the proof can be brought into court against them?

Q. I should not think they would.—A. That is just it. Now, fortunately for the community, one of them did forget himself. That was Mr. Sullivan; and he demanded—his graft ran up to \$5,000, but fortunately he made it to two men; one was Judge Burton Crane and the other was Mr. Charles Truax. Those gentlemen were in position to come out and show it, and the man couldn't get away from it. That man has been charged in the public press, in the news columns and editorially, and his picture has been put in the paper, as a blackmailer, and charged so; because there were witnesses there who could swear to it, and those men did not hesitate a minute. But if you ask somebody else for a specific case, while he may know it and may be the one who paid, it is only his word against the others.

Q. If it is the practice in Chicago, for one, I should like to know it. Several members of your organization have not hesitated to show the evidence, even of the fact that they were in a conspiracy against what you might call the public welfare, and against the interests of individuals who were outside of their associations; and I should think if they could give the evidence in any way that this is a custom in Chicago, in the interest of Chicago and the public generally, and in the interest of organized labor, they ought to give it to us.—A. I understand that to a certain extent you represent organized labor on this commission. Am I right? You are a union man yourself?

Mr. KENNEDY. I am a member of the typographical union.

number of the working card, and the union to which they belong. The first journeyman carpenter going to work on a job shall be steward, and if two or more carpenters start to work at the same time, they shall elect a steward. Any violation of this rule shall be subject to a fine of not less than five dollars (\$5.00).

RULE 14. Any member acting as a steward shall have the power at any time, and when requested by the business agent or any member working on his job, to demand of any member to see his money immediately after he is paid, so that he may know whether such member is receiving the full wages or not. And if any member, when requested by the steward, or other person acting for or as steward, refuses to show his money, the steward shall report the same to the union, and on proof of any member refusing to comply with the above request of the steward, or other person acting for or as steward, shall be subject to a fine of not less than twenty dollars (\$20.00).

RULE 15. Each steward shall report to the District council headquarters the exact location, name of contractor, owner, architect, and general condition of the job within one week after work is begun. Any violation of this rule shall be subject to a fine of not less than five dollars (\$5.00).

RULE 16. In no case shall the steward be discharged from any job because he has acted as steward; and should the steward be discharged the business agent shall stop all carpenter work on said job, and in no case shall a member or members be permitted to return to work until the steward is reinstated, and no discrimination shall be permitted.

These rules may be amended by resolution, which shall be read at a regular meeting of district council united brotherhood, and if adopted or indorsed it shall be referred to the local unions for a popular vote.

Respectfully submitted,

A. W. SIMPSON, *Chairman*,
GUS. MOHME,
TIM CRUIE,
O. E. WOODBURY,
R. H. CROSBY, *Secretary*,
Committee.

(Testimony closed.)

Whereupon the subcommittee at 5.45 took a recess until 7 o'clock p. m.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 30, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. A. R. CLARK,

General Contractor, Room No. 411 First National Bank, Chicago, Ill.

The special subcommittee met pursuant to recess at 7.10 p. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At that time Mr. A. R. Clark, of Chicago, general contractor, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name and business address.—A. A. R. Clark, room No. 411, First National Bank building, Chicago.

Q. And your occupation?—A. General contractor and builder.

Q. Are you a member of the contractors' council?—A. Yes.

Q. How long have you been in business as a contractor?—A. Something over 18 years.

Q. Please go on in your own way and state your observations on the industrial situation here, particularly in regard to the building business?—A. I want to speak gentlemen, from the standpoint not only of a building contractor, but as an owner. Sometime in the spring of 1895 I concluded that it was for my best interest to drop the field of competition and build and sell, since which time we have erected something over 100 flats and 56 residences, the latter selling at from \$8,500 to \$35,000. In that period we have experienced a great deal of difficulty with the labor market. We have had repeated strikes of various natures, and it is something of this experience that I am going to relate to you to-night. Some 2 years ago last summer Mr. Lillien, president of the hod carriers' association, called to see me and demanded that I work none but union laborers, and that I pay them 25 cents an hour. I refused, on the ground that my competitors in like business in the community and through the city had not as yet been required to do so. The going wage at that time was from 18 to 20 cents, and we were paying 20 cents. I told Mr. Lillien that when the time came that he would not single me out but would require all contractors in our line to comply with their demands, he could count me with the rest. In a few days I found

I did not want in any way to have any impression get out that I felt any such thing was possible with either the union or the officials of the unions I have come in contact with in my particular trade. I also wanted to take that opportunity to express the sentiment of all our manufacturers in regard to the way the union has done; that there have been so few cases of destruction of property and injury to employees compared with other cases.

We also object to the way politics has crept into the situation. We feel a great deal as the typographical union did, as shown in the protest they made to the American Federation of Labor, in regard to officials of that organization holding political office here. We feel that thing should be outside of the trade.

Q. I think it is a deplorable condition, if true, that these troubles are brought about for the purpose of enabling walking delegates or business agents to enrich themselves by settling them, and the charge has been frequently made here that that has been done, and they say they have knowledge of it. Now, I think the general public would not only condemn the organized labor of Chicago in the building trades if that were true, but organized labor throughout the country generally would condemn them; and I think if you gentlemen know it to be true, instead of stating it in a general way, you ought to get specific cases and give the testimony here—that can not be disputed.—A. Your statement, in a general way, is perfectly pat and to the point, but you will realize that the walking delegate of a union possesses, as a rule, the qualifications, or, rather—I do not know whether you would say the qualifications, but the peculiarities, as a rule—that make the ward politician. It is not the best men, it is not the best mechanics, it is not the broad-gauge men, in the union in the building trades in the city of Chicago—I don't know how it is outside, but it is that way in Chicago—that as a rule come to the front; it is the man who is an organizer, who has these qualifications that make a ward politician, the man that controls those votes; and that man comes up into the council as a delegate. It is that very power that comes from the concentration of those men there that enables them to get these things and produce these results. Those men come up there as a rule untrained in business methods, untrained in a broad way, and without a knowledge of the business they attempt to control at all. They change them very often. I think the time is very short. I think it is 6 months or a year these delegates come up for; then they have to be reelected. I only believe that; I do not know that it is so. They come up there, and, without any training in the particular line of business they are to govern, they produce rules and regulations that absolutely revolutionize the business; and they get in there and say, as the marble men said to us, "We can not change that." "Why?" "The building trades council ratified it, and it has got to go that way." We wrote to the building trades council and asked them to investigate this thing, and examine it, and appoint a committee, and we got an answer back, "We think that is all right, and hope you will get it settled quick."

Now, when those delegates get up there they have that power and nothing is over them. There is a peculiar state of affairs. There is nothing that controls that building trades council; absolutely nothing. That gives them that power to levy tribute, or graft, as they call it. That is what they get. As one of them told me, "What are we up there for?" With all their intelligence and the qualifications that make the ward politician, do you suppose they are going to take their money in such a way that the proof can be brought into court against them?

Q. I should not think they would.—A. That is just it. Now, fortunately for the community, one of them did forget himself. That was Mr. Sullivan; and he demanded—his graft ran up to \$5,000, but fortunately he made it to two men; one was Judge Burton Crane and the other was Mr. Charles Truax. Those gentlemen were in position to come out and show it, and the man couldn't get away from it. That man has been charged in the public press, in the news columns and editorially, and his picture has been put in the paper, as a blackmailer, and charged so; because there were witnesses there who could swear to it, and those men did not hesitate a minute. But if you ask somebody else for a specific case, while he may know it and may be the one who paid, it is only his word against the others.

Q. If it is the practice in Chicago, for one, I should like to know it. Several members of your organization have not hesitated to show the evidence, even of the fact that they were in a conspiracy against what you might call the public welfare, and against the interests of individuals who were outside of their associations; and I should think if they could give the evidence in any way that this is a custom in Chicago, in the interest of Chicago and the public generally, and in the interest of organized labor, they ought to give it to us.—A. I understand that to a certain extent you represent organized labor on this commission. Am I right? You are a union man yourself?

Mr. KENNEDY. I am a member of the typographical union.

ceased building operations for the year. Our average buildings have been for the last three years over a quarter of a million dollars in a year (\$250,000). Therefore, in the year 1899 that much was lost to the craftsmen, and we were largely sufferers also. It was not until it was given out publicly through the press that an agreement had been entered into with the building trades council, leaving all these unjust demands to arbitration, that we concluded it was safe to begin building operations. After this information had been given out I went in person and saw the officers of the master masons' association to make sure that that was the case, and they assured me that they had a perfect understanding. With that understanding we went about erecting further buildings; drew plans for two buildings to contain 44 flats. One of the buildings was started. The foundation was in and up to grade when this present trouble was inaugurated. We have been unable to complete the work without taking a great deal of risk. So we concluded it was not wise to resume building operations further until this matter was adjusted. A gentleman called upon Mr. Trainer—a gentleman associated with my brother and me—and stated that he had been informed, I think by Mr. Sullivan, and Mr. Sullivan was the man he had in mind, to say to me that if I would call and see Mr. Sullivan, for the sum of \$150 I could make arrangements to proceed with the cutting of the stone on this building (as there is several thousand dollars in stone work to put up), and I would have no trouble in proceeding with the work.

I take these matters as they come to me, not connected. Last Saturday and Sunday and Monday I spent in Grand Rapids, Mich. While there I improved the opportunity of investigating to some small extent the labor conditions there. I went a short way out of town, and rode home with a band of carpenters employed in the construction of a mill plant. I asked these men how much they were being paid per hour. They said 20 cents an hour. I asked the men, "How can you afford to work for that money?" They said, "Yes; we get along all right." I said, "Why don't you go to Chicago? We can pay you 42½ cents an hour if you are a good carpenter." "Oh, no," one of them spoke up and said; "we have been to Chicago, and we can make more money here at 20 cents an hour for a year than we can at Chicago at 42½ cents an hour, and we can live in peace with our families." That was the sentiment of all the men that were in this group, some 6 or 7 of them. Now, gentlemen, this is a fact—that there are companies and concerns that have been forced to leave the city of Chicago on account of its labor conditions; as, for instance, the Compounding Door Company, a company employing at the time they left Chicago somewhere in the neighborhood of 300 men. They were in continual trouble. They concluded to move to St. Joseph, Mich., which they did, and establish a factory there, and they took with them 250 craftsmen. Their business has grown, and they are now, I am informed, employing somewhere between 400 and 500 men. This is only a sample of a number of such cases where people have been forced to leave the limits of Cook County because of the radical demands of the unions.

I want to give you an example of a plasterer. For some 12 or 15 years back I have been doing the carpenter work, masons' work and plastering myself by the day; that is to say, I have not contracted that portion of the work. Other departments I have. I had working for me as a foreman for 6 or 7 years, a man by the name of John Campbell, a very clever man in his line. When the plasterers' demands got to be so tyrannical and unreasonable, I found it was a losing game to me to continue the plastering business, so I ceased to do the work myself and contracted the work. In most cases of this kind Mr. Campbell was the contractor. While I was constructing this warehouse building I referred to, where Mr. Smallridge was assaulted, they carried the trouble to the plasterers on their work on some 20 buildings that I was building on Forestvale avenue and Forty-fifth street, and the strike continued for some week or 10 days, after which we yielded to the demands of their union. The strike was largely on account of the employment of 1 or 2 men whom Mr. Campbell had in his employ, against whom there were fines, and because of the fact that Mr. Campbell stood out. I might say, before I go further in that matter, that Mr. Campbell was of necessity compelled to demand more money from me for the work, and I had to stand the difference in cost, which I did. Now, because Mr. Campbell stood out in this matter for a week or 10 days, the plasterers' union imposed a fine upon him of something like \$150. When I ceased working in the spring of 1899, Mr. Campbell, finding himself without work, as he had been depending largely upon me for work—in fact, all the work he had, nearly, had been work I had given him—sought a job as journeyman. He got several jobs, and was only able to hold them a day or two at a time, until the delegate called upon him and ordered him off the job, under threat of calling a general strike on the job, and Mr. Campbell was in each case

compelled to leave. Mr. Campbell has a wife and 8 children, living up to this time comfortably in a nice home, and a lovely family. They drove him from his work, and he is now working for the stockyards company, packing meat or something of that kind, and getting \$1.25 a day, when he is capable of earning \$4. Here is an experience that don't touch all you men as it does me, because I knew the man thoroughly, and I know what great trouble he has had, all brought about through these unions.

Now in my hearing, you have asked a question, gentlemen, several times something like this: "Is it a practice of the delegates or men affiliated with the unions to demand bribes?" I have studied that matter very carefully, gentlemen, and I know of my personal knowledge that such is the case. I regret to say it, but it is, nevertheless, true. Those things exist. Strikes have been called off by the payment of money. I want to say in that connection, however, that there are a few men acting as walking delegates that I think are perfectly honorable and straightforward, and one of the number I would like to mention personally, and that is Mr. Parker, the carpenters' delegate. I think he is a square, upright man, that means to do the right thing; but he has got into this drift, and he hopes, I think, some day to hold some political position. Mr. Falkenau had an experience which he could have mentioned, but did not. He was building a building for Mr. Foltz, on Goethe and Astor streets. He had some pressed brick, which, in order to conform with the plans, had to be rounded off or ground off on the corners. After the brick were delivered he was surprised to learn one day that the work had been done by nonunion men, and when he arrived at his building one morning he found a notice which read as follows: "No bricklayer can lay brick what is made by nonunion labor." This is the exact wording as he gives it to me, signed by Mr. D. Healy, the walking delegate. Three or 4 days later Mr. Foltz settled this difference by giving Mr. Healy \$5 in cash.

I know you gentlemen are anxious to get through with this, or I could tell you experiences of this kind from now until midnight. No tongue can tell what the contractors of Chicago have had to undergo in the pursuit of their legitimate business. It is scarcely safe for a man in a contractor's office to say that his soul is his own. You scarcely dare to express your opinion for fear that you will be assaulted. I am just informed that while the men were waiting on this job of Mr. Falkenau's just referred to the men lost \$150 in time and wages. Thousands and thousands and tens of thousands of dollars have gone to waste just in this manner, and there seems to be no recourse. If you take the matter to our justice courts it is to no avail. Last July a year ago, the 25th of July, 1898, I received this notice signed by Mr. John F. Lee, secretary of the Amalgamated Woodworkers' Council of Chicago:

"CHICAGO, July 25, 1898.

"DEAR SIR: The woodworkers' council of this city were compelled, on the 16th day of last June, to call its members out in a general strike in the sash and door factories that are controlled by the mill men's club"—

I want to say right here that the mill-men, like ourselves, were forced to organize in order to defend their rights as against the mill-men employees.

(Continues reading:) "To maintain the organization and living wages, and are asking for a 9-hour day, with a minimum wage of \$2 for mechanics. Since the strike was called the council had been ready at all times to meet the mill owners or submit the matter to arbitration, but they have absolutely refused to have any dealings with the union. Their only desire is to completely destroy the organization, having given their employees such notice.

"The carpenters' and painters' unions have agreed with us to refuse to put in place any material which is made in any nonunion mill or factory.

"Inclosed you will find a list of firms who operate factories in this city who have signed our agreement and are strictly union concerns, using our label on the product of the factory. All other factories in the city are nonunion and unfair shops.

"Yours, respectfully,

"AMALGAMATED WOODWORKERS' COUNCIL OF CHICAGO,
"JOHN F. LEE, Secretary."

This required that every piece of wood that went into a building should bear a label or stamp indicating as this does on the bottom of this page that it was union-made material. No contractor was able to follow up his work sufficiently close to ascertain whether that rule was in force or not. Should there have been a man employed by my concern who was not in sympathy with me, and should he have found that there was not a label of this kind on some material that was delivered to the building, no matter how small that piece might have been, he could have called at will a sympathetic strike on the building.

Mr. Davis, I believe, is here, or will be here this evening. He will present this matter to you later; but I will say that this notice was received by me some six or eight months ago, and I leave it to you gentlemen to judge whether it is not an out-and-out blackmail. It is from the marble, enamel, glass mosaic workers' union, and mosaic helpers' union jointly, and signed by four men whose names I can not read. (Witness reading:) "To the architects, builders and contractors, and all whom this may concern: The undersigned mosaic unions desire to respectfully call your attention to the fact that Frank L. Davis, No. 302 Michigan avenue, is the only mosaic manufacturer in Chicago who has refused to sign our agreement. We therefore request that you do not let any contract to him until he has acceded to our demands. We hope you will give this matter your careful consideration, as union men will not work for Frank L. Davis until he has signed our agreement, and as said agreement has been ratified by the building trades council, sympathetic strikes will result on any buildings where he gets a contract."

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Can you furnish the signatures to that paper?—A. They are on the paper, but I can not read them. Mr. Davis will take the matter up personally, and so I thought it might be well for you to know that I had received this letter.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) I do not think one of them could be deciphered.—A. Scarcely. I believe, gentlemen, that is all I have to say. I should be glad to answer any question.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 30, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. SAMUEL SMITH,

Plumbing Contractor.

The special subcommission met pursuant to recess at 7.10 p. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 7.50 p. m. Mr. Samuel Smith, of Chicago, a plumbing contractor and secretary of the master plumbers' association, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your name?—A. Samuel Smith.

Q. Post-office address?—A. No. 718 Schiller.

Q. Occupation?—A. Plumbing contractor and secretary of the master plumbers' association.

Q. You are a member of the contractors' council?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been in business in Chicago?—A. Since 1889, I believe.

Q. The commission will hear your statement.—A. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the commission, I desire to state the plumbers' grievances. (Reading:)

In June of 1896 an agreement was made between the Chicago Master Plumbers' Association and the Chicago Journeymen Plumbers' Protective and Benevolent Association, of which the following are some of the provisions:

"SECTION 1. That the hours of labor shall be from eight (8) a. m. until five (5) p. m., with one (1) hour for dinner, and on Saturdays from eight (8) a. m. until four (4) p. m., excepting Saturdays from June 1st to Sept. 1st., when the hours of labor shall be from eight (8) a. m. until twelve (12) m. It is expressly understood that the employees will not quit work until the time specified in this section.

"SEC. 2. That the wages shall be three dollars and seventy-five cents (\$3.75) per day, excepting the Saturdays between June 1st and September 1st, for which the wages shall be two dollars and twenty-five cents (\$2.25), and the same are due and payable on each Saturday at the office of the employer within one (1) hour after quitting time.

"SEC. 3. All overtime shall be paid for at the rate of one and one-half (1½) times the regular rate of wages, excepting Christmas, New Years, Thanksgiving, Fourth of July, all Sundays, and after eight (8) p. m., which shall be paid for at double the rate of wages.

"SEC. 4. That members working outside the city of Chicago shall be subject to all the conditions of this agreement and, in addition thereto, shall have their board and railroad tickets furnished. Traveling time to be paid at the rate of regular. When traveling at night, sleeper to be furnished where the distance is over

one hundred (100) miles. No charge for traveling at night. Sunday traveling to be paid for at the rate of single time.

"SEC. 5. That any member of the journeymen plumbers' protective and benevolent association working on a job for any member of the Chicago Master Plumbers' Association, and said member of Chicago Journeymen Plumbers' Protective and Benevolent Association puts in bad, incomplete, and careless work, said journeymen plumbers' protective and benevolent association will use all honorable means to compel said offending member to make said bad, incomplete, and careless work good without expense to the employer. (This shall not include any but journeymen.)

"SEC. 6. All car fare in excess of what it would cost to go to and from shop to be paid by employing plumber. It is expressly understood that workmen go direct to their work from home, except on such occasions when material is required or for consultation with employer.

"SEC. 7. No general strike will be ordered in any shop by any officer of the journeymen plumbers' protective and benevolent association without first submitting the grievance to an arbitration committee consisting of two (2) members, one from each association as named, and in case of a disagreement or failure of this committee to agree, this committee shall call upon a third party, and the decision of the majority of said committee of three shall be final and binding on both parties.

"SEC. 10. Whenever a question shall arise between employing plumber and employee, and said question can not be settled by said parties, then an arbitration committee shall be appointed consisting of two plumbers, one to be selected by the employing plumber and the other by the journeymen plumbers' protective and benevolent association, and in case said committee shall select a third party, and the decision of the majority of said committee of three shall be final and binding on both parties.

"SEC. 11. That this agreement go into effect immediately upon its passage and ratification by both associations, and the same shall continue in force until Mar. 1st, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight (1898)."

As above stated, this agreement was to remain in full force and effect until March 1, 1898. In addition thereto there was an agreement relating to the employment of apprentices, which was also entered into about the same time and was to remain in full force and effect until October 8, 1898. The substance of this agreement is embodied in the following articles, taken verbatim from the same:

APPRENTICESHIP AGREEMENT

Entered into between Chicago Master Plumbers' Association and Chicago Journeymen Plumbers' Protective and Benevolent Association.

SECTION 1. A boy must be at least 15 years of age before he can be employed as an apprentice.

SEC. 2. Hereafter every apprentice shall, after serving four (4) years' apprenticeship, and gets his tools, receive ten (\$10.00) dollars per week for the first year and twelve (\$12.00) dollars per week for the last year of his apprenticeship, and after that he is to get regular journeymen's wages.

SEC. 3. Each junior who is now handling tools is to get two (\$2.00) dollars per day.

SEC. 4. There is to be allowed for first year of this agreement one apprentice for every two journeymen; for second year one apprentice for every three journeymen, and third year one apprentice for every four journeymen.

SEC. 5. There is not to be more than one junior employed to every two journeymen for the first year of this agreement, and to every three journeymen thereafter.

SEC. 6. In shops where there is but one journeyman employed, the employer will be allowed to hire one junior.

SEC. 7. Each shop is entitled to one apprentice.

SEC. 8. It is expressly agreed and understood that the Chicago Journeymen Plumbers' Protective and Benevolent Association will enforce these rules in every shop in Chicago.

On April 10, 1897, the journeymen plumbers' association notified the master plumbers' association that at a meeting held by their organization they had adopted the following resolutions:

First. That on and after May 1, 1897, only one helper would be allowed in each shop.

Second. That on and after May 1, 1897, the rate of wages for all plumbers shall be \$4 a day.

Upon receipt of this communication the master plumbers' association, through their secretary, sent the following letter to the secretary of the journeymen's association:

W. W. PETRIE, *Secretary Chicago Journeymen Plumbers' Protective and Benevolent Association, Chicago.*

DEAR SIR: Your communication received and referred to our association, who have instructed me to notify you that the proposed resolutions are not in keeping with our agreement governing working hours, rate of wages, and apprenticeship questions.

Resolution No. 1 is directly contrary to the joint agreement which expires October 8, 1898.

Resolution No. 2 is also contrary to our joint agreement governing working hours and rate of wages to be paid.

Our association also desires me to say that there should be no change in existing agreements, nor should anything be done which would disturb the harmonious relations which have existed between the two associations for several years past, and we believe that your members are too wise to do anything which will retard business at this time.

Hoping your honorable body will consider this matter before making or trying to enforce any unreasonable demands, I await your advice, and respectfully request that you communicate with our association and inform us of the result of your further consideration of these matters, which I hope will be favorable and profitable to all concerned.

Yours, very respectfully,

SAMUEL SMITH, *Secretary.*

You will notice, gentlemen, that this agreement was to expire October 1, 1898, and this letter bore date April 10, 1897.

The journeymen's association replied immediately to this letter and stated that the matter was in the hands of their arbitration committee and they were to arrange for a meeting according to the request in the letter. The meeting was held subsequently, on April 30, 1897, at which time a new agreement was reached and ratified by the two organizations, bearing date of March 24, 1897. It contained many of the provisions that are found in the agreement above presented, and in addition thereto provided that the master plumber who felt disposed to work himself upon a job was not to be interfered with by the journeymen while he was doing his own work, and in the case of a firm it also provided that only one of the members of the firm should be considered as eligible to do plumbing work or to handle tools.

In relation to the question of apprentices, it provided that 6 years should constitute a full term, 4 years of which should be as an apprentice and 2 years as what was called a junior plumber. Instead of regulating the number of apprentices a shop could have each year according to the number of journeymen employed, as provided for in section 4 of the apprenticeship agreement herein quoted, this rule was changed, and the words "junior plumber" inserted, which to the mind of the master plumbers meant that there would soon not be enough junior plumbers to go round, as prescribed, on account of the fact that the new agreement stipulated that each shop should have only one apprentice.

In the latter portion of this agreement it was provided that either party desiring to alter or amend the same should give 60 days' notice of their desire.

This agreement entered into by the two organizations was, according to its terms, to remain operative until March 1, 1899.

The journeymen plumbers' association, beginning to realize that any agreement they might choose to draw up and tender the contracting plumbers would be signed and agreed to by them, because of the fear of the sympathetic strike which they would inaugurate against any contractor who dared to disobey the mandates of their organization, and recognizing the fact that through this medium they had the master plumbers at their mercy, and could make and break agreements at their own sweet will and pleasure, began to grow restless over the fact that a large number of the master plumbers were working themselves, according to Rule 7 of the joint agreement recently adopted by them.

Knowing that to give a 60 days' notice of an amendment to the joint agreement, as provided for, would only cause a long-drawn-out contest over the matter, and nothing would be gained by trying to arbitrate it, they took the shortest and

most effective way of settling the question, in their own minds, as will be observed by the following letter sent to the secretary of the master plumbers' association:

[Office of the Chicago Journeymen Plumbers' Protective and Benevolent Association.—Local No. 130, United Association, 187 Washington street, E. 5. Tel. M. 3593.]

CHICAGO, October 24, 1898.

MR. SAMUEL SMITH,

Secretary Chicago Master Plumbers' Association.

DEAR SIR: The following resolution was passed at a meeting held on above date. That members of this association will not be allowed to work for master plumbers who handle tools on work in competition with members of this association.

Yours, respectfully,

W. W. PETRIE, *Secretary.*

The agreement went into effect May 24, 1897, and was to expire March 1, 1899. The date of this letter, it will be observed, was October 24, 1898.

The journeymen plumbers' association, as usual, proceeded to carry the new rule into effect, and the bosses, afraid of that ever-ready slogan, a sympathetic strike, in a busy season, as gracefully as their aroused feelings would permit acquiesced in their demands.

Strikes and clashes of all kinds followed this arbitrary action of the journeymen plumbers' association, until the master plumbers' association protested vehemently, with the result that they again tried to arbitrate their differences and arranged for an agreement that would for once stick to its final date.

Accordingly a new arbitration committee was appointed by each of the organizations, and numerous meetings held by them and a new agreement adopted. This agreement went into effect April 14, 1899. It provided among the usual rules for an increase of wages from \$3.75 per day to \$4 per day for journeymen plumbers. It touched upon the apprentice question again by stating under article 13 that there should be no more new apprentices or junior plumbers hired during the term of this agreement, which was to remain in force and effect until March 1, 1901. This, for two years at least, was to prevent any father or mother in Chicago, who might be unfortunate enough to have a son, from having him learn the plumber's trade, one of the most desirable and remunerative trades that a young man can learn. The agreement further contained the usual provisions providing for notice of alterations and amendments, which, as in the agreements heretofore referred to, stipulated a 60 days' notice.

The master plumbers, as usual, were a party in fact but not in spirit, feeling that while forced to accept the conditions as they were, they were glad of at least the prospect of being at peace again for the prospective period of two years. How sadly they were mistaken is evidenced by the continued arrogance of this agreement-breaking branch of the building trades council. They have done as they have pleased up to this date, and in order to keep the master plumbers from really getting desperate, and perhaps forcing them out of business, they have met them at any and all times, and, like the prodigal son, come to their house to repent and be forgiven. But it was not in their natures to keep their promises, and they were only happy when they could discover some new way of harassing their employers and imposing upon the general public. Their own organization and the building trades council was their only thought, and how to strengthen them and make them more powerful was their only object in catering at all to the master plumbers' association.

Rumors coming to the ears of the master plumbers' association, to the effect that the journeymen plumbers' association had passed certain resolutions relative to the restriction of the amount of work a journeyman plumber could perform in a working day, the following letter was sent by the master plumbers' association to the journeymen's association.

CHICAGO, ILL., July 3, 1899.

MR. BEN. ABBOTT,

Secretary Chicago Journeymen Plumbers' Protective and Benevolent Association, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: We have heard many rumors of late regarding a resolution which we understand has been passed by your association, relative to the amount of work per day which the journeymen will be expected to perform.

If any such action has been taken by your association it is contrary to the agreement entered into between the journeymen and masters' plumbers' associations, which expressly stipulates that any proposed change contemplated by either association shall be taken up 60 days in advance by a joint arbitration committee of both associations.

We would therefore request that your arbitration committee be instructed to meet with a like committee from this organization at the very earliest date possible to discuss this important matter.

Awaiting your reply, I remain, yours, respectfully,

SAM'L SMITH, *Secretary.*

No reply having been received to this communication, a second letter was sent under date of July 13, 1899, a copy of which follows:

CHICAGO, *July 13, 1899.*

MR. BEN. ABBOTT,
Secretary, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: The arbitration committee of this association will be pleased to meet with a similar committee from your organization, on Saturday afternoon, July 15, at 2.30 p. m., for the purpose of discussing matters of mutual importance.

Trusting that you will not fail to have your committee on hand at this time, I remain, yours, very truly,

SAM'L SMITH, *Secretary.*

An answer to this communication was received from the journeymen plumbers' association under date of July 19, 1899. According to its contents, a committee was appointed to meet with a committee of the master plumbers' association on Saturday, the 22d instant.

At the time of the receipt of this communication from the journeymen plumbers' association the master plumbers had already been informed of the contents of the new rules adopted by the journeymen plumbers' association. These rules absolutely restricted the amount of work that a journeyman plumber could do in a given time, and also contained a large number of other equally obnoxious rules, which were an outrage, not only upon the master plumbers, but also upon the general public who had any work of this character to be done. Herewith is presented a copy of these rules, which are in force at the present time wherever members of the journeymen plumbers' association affiliated with the building trades council are at work.

At the appointed time, as suggested by the letter from the journeymen plumbers' association, the two committees representing the different organizations met, and the master plumbers protested very emphatically against the adoption of those rules by the journeymen plumbers' association and the enforcement of them upon their members and the general public. The committee representing the journeymen's association agreed with the committee of the master plumbers' association that the rules were obnoxious, and should be amended in some cases and abrogated in several others, and stated they would make a report to their association recommending that such action take place. This the committee did, and the journeymen plumbers' association refused to concur in their recommendations, and the committee was discharged.

The agreement further contains the usual provision that 60 days' notice be given of alterations or amendments in the agreement heretofore referred to.

WORKING RULES OF THE CHICAGO JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' PROTECTIVE AND BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION, PROMULGATED 1899.

RULE 1. When working on lead work, eight wiped joints shall be considered a day's work.

RULE 2. When working on iron pipe, the measuring, cutting, threading, and placing in position of 15 threads of one inch, or under, shall be considered a day's work.

RULE 3. Ten threads on one and a quarter, one and a half, and two inch pipe shall be considered a day's work.

RULE 4. When running soil pipe in a vertical manner, the following shall be considered eight hours' work: 6 inch, 6 caulked joints; 5 inch, 6 caulked joints; 4 inch, 9 caulked joints; 3 inch, 10 caulked joints; 2 inch, 12 caulked joints.

RULE 5. When running soil pipe in a horizontal manner, the following shall be considered eight hours' work: 6 inch, 4 caulked joints; 5 inch, 4 caulked joints; 4 inch, 6 caulked joints; 3 inch, 6 caulked joints; 2 inch, 8 caulked joints.

RULE 6. When finishing on flats or apartments, hotel or office building, one fixture shall be considered an average day's work, except laundry tub, then each apartment shall constitute one fixture.

RULE 7. When working on Durham system, the running of 2½, 3, and 4 inch pipe, when working on stacks, three stories shall be considered a day's work.

When working on 5, 6, and 8 inch pipe on stack, two stories shall be considered a day's work.

RULE 8. Pump pipe down spouts, and other straight stacks of pipe: 2½ and 3 inch, 50 feet shall be considered a day's work; 4 and 5 inch, 40 feet a day's work; 6 and 8 inch, 30 feet a day's work.

RULE 9. In cases where work is of a complicated nature, or workmen are delayed through no fault of theirs, the absolute performance of amounts as laid down in schedule shall not be considered as compulsory by this association.

RULE 11. Any member violating any of these rules shall be dealt with according to section 16 of working rules, which reads: 'A fine of one day's pay for first offense, and two days' pay for second offense, and if he persists in his violation, the association shall deal with him as it sees fit.'

RULE 12. New Years, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, Christmas, all Sundays, and Saturdays after 12 m., and all night work after 7 o'clock p. m., shall be paid for at the rate of double time.

No member shall perform any work on Labor Day, except by the consent of the association

Since that time there has been no conference between the two organizations relative to those obnoxious rules, and the master plumbers' association was compelled to abide by them because of the fact that the journeymen plumbers' association persisted in enforcing them, and their demands were backed up by the united forces of the all-powerful building trades council.

SOME PLUMBERS' INCIDENTS.

Herewith are presented two letters addressed by the master plumbers' association to the secretary of the journeymen plumbers' association in reference to arbitrary actions of the journeymen plumbers' association while the joint agreement was in force:

CHICAGO, October 17, 1899.

Mr. BEN. ABBOTT,

*Secretary Chicago Journeymen Plumbers' P. & B. Ass'n,
187 Washington street, City.*

DEAR SIR: I am instructed by our executive committee to request a meeting of the arbitration committee of both associations to consider the J. W. Brown case, at whose shop a strike was called October 16. I trust you will hand this communication to Mr. Clinch, the president of your association, so that a meeting can be called of your committee at once without waiting for the regular meeting of your organization.

Awaiting an immediate reply, I am, yours, very respectfully,

SAM'L. SMITH.

This strike was called because one of the firm of J. W. Brown & Co. had done the gas fitting in a small building at 1047 Carmen avenue. Mr. Brown had applied to the gas fitters' union, requesting them to send them a fitter, and after waiting for more than a week, was obliged to do the work himself. The result was that Mr. Brown was compelled by the union to hire a gas fitter and retain him at No. 1047 Carmen avenue for a period of 8 days and 6 hours, the length of time it would have taken a union man to do the work originally in accordance with the schedule of the gas fitters union. He was compelled to hire a gas fitter for 10 days to make a pretense of doing over again the work which the firm put in themselves during a strike at their shop. The firm paid the sum of \$73.70 to the members of the unions for this work, for which they got practically no return; the men being required by their rules to remain on the job for the same period of time that it would have taken to do the work in the first place.

CHICAGO, September 13, 1899.

Mr. BEN ABBOTT,

Secretary Chicago Plumbers B. and P. Association, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: We would like to find out for what reason a strike had been called on the shop of William Graham, 434 North Clark street, and when your association proposes to put the men back to work. We wish to register this charge as a violation of the agreement entered into between your association and the master plumbers' association, and should like to hear from you immediately regarding same.

Yours respectfully.

SAMUEL SMITH, *Secretary.*

The above letter refers to a strike that was ordered in the shop of Mr. Graham, because his partner, Mr. Buckley, had a personal encounter with one of the workmen, in which affray the workman came out second best. The result, however, was that Mr. Graham was obliged to pay the union the sum of \$44 before the men were allowed to return to work, and this after the shop had been on a strike for 6 weeks.

On January 17, 1900, the plumbers and gas fitters in the employ of the P. Nacey Company, No. 819 Wabash avenue, were called out on a strike by the journeymen plumbers' association on account of the refusal of the Nacey Company to restate in their employ one of the members of the journeymen plumbers' association who had been discharged by this company on account of incompetency 6 weeks previous. The journeymen's association contended that the man was discharged because he had lived up to the working rules of the organization in regard to the limitation of the work to be done in a given number of hours. It may be well to state that the work which this man was doing was of such a nature that, living up to the rules of his organization, beginning his work at 8 o'clock in the morning, he could finish his task, according to the organization's rules, by 1 or 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The rest of the time he was at liberty, as long as the journeymen were running the employer's establishment, to rest round the building and enjoy himself, either by smoking or finding some other means of entertainment, until the 8 hours which he was really supposed to work were up, and he was at liberty to go home.

The men who were in the employ of the Nacey Company, and who had gone out on the sympathetic strike because of the facts above stated, have not as yet returned, and no settlement was made of the trouble up to the time when the general strike took place on February 5.

The following statement has been handed to me by Mr. Nacey, of the Nacey Company:

"Last April I brought my boy to the shop to learn the trade, and the journeymen's association of plumbers would not allow him to learn the trade. They threatened to fine any journeyman \$25 that would take the boy out to help him, as it was against their rules. I therefore had to employ my son in doing other work, as they would not permit him to learn the trade. The same restriction has been in force in regard to other men's sons, as well as mine. It is almost impossible for a boy to get an opportunity to learn the trade, as it has been absolutely controlled by the power of the plumbers' union to enforce all the arbitrary measures that they feel disposed to. In fact, I was powerless in the matter, and had to submit to their outrageous rules or be forced to go out of business."

MORE OF THE PLUMBERS' TROUBLES.

Baumgarten Brothers, plumbers, 1365 Ogden avenue, stated that in November, 1899, they had a contract from a firm to do some plumbing work on a barn on the south side. The plan of the barn showed a water closet in the basement, where the horses were to be lodged. The building was an old, two-story frame structure, the second story of which was entirely removed, so as to give overhead room for the wagons. We had a 4-inch soil pipe running from the sewer to the roof. The water closet was to be in the basement with no fixtures of any kind above the same.

The city ordinance as amended, section 37, passed and enforced November 25, 1896: "When a simple water closet, or other plumbing, is located in the building, and has an independent soil pipe of undiminished size from ground up to the roof, the re-vent may be dispensed with, provided the trap of said fixture is located not more than 5 feet from the said soil and waste pipe." This ordinance was complied with fully, but the walking delegate ordered our men to put in vent pipes. This we would not do, as we had complied with the ordinance of the city of Chicago, and did not consider that he had a right to order us to do anything other than a full compliance with this ordinance. We showed the same to him and informed him we would take no orders from him in the matter. He immediately ordered the men working upon the job to quit, and we were unable to finish it.

Another case which came directly under our notice is where a workman was ordered out of our shop, and could not work for us for one year, all because he did too much work. This man was working on a building on the west side, and returned to the shop about noon, having completed the work assigned to him. He was sent immediately after dinner, with the wagon and a load of vent pipe, already cut to measurement, to the south side to put the same into a new building. The soil and waste pipes were already in place in the building, put up by

another man, who had cut the vent pipes. This man had no means of ascertaining, as he was continually employed on the west side building for a week or ten days, and did not know who had been previously working on this job. He put in the vent pipes, and also put in the ground work, running lead supply pipes to the ground.

The walking delegate accused him, when he came upon the job, of working too hard; he was really doing more work than the schedule permitted him. Charges were preferred against him in the journeymen plumbers' union, of doing too much work, and also of putting in place the vent pipes in the same building, which he had no knowledge of, and had no connection with whatever. He was, however, found guilty of the charges and fined by the journeymen plumbers' association. Refusing to pay the fine, he has been unable since to get any permanent employment at the trade.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You are a member of the Master Plumbers' Association?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did that association ever have an agreement with the plumbers' union by certain terms of which it was agreed that you were to employ none but members of the union, and they, in turn, would work for none but members of the association?—A. Yes.

Q. You had such an agreement?—A. Yes; but they never lived up to it as far as their side of it was concerned.

Q. Have you ever expelled any members of your association for any cause?—A. Yes.

Q. Fined them?—A. Yes.

Q. And have they ever refused to pay the fine?—A. No; I do not believe we ever fined any that did not pay their fine. Possibly there may be some, but not since I have been secretary.

Q. Were any of them out for a time and then settled up their fines and returned?—A. Yes; some years ago I believe there were—1894.

Q. Did the plumbers' union refuse to work for them while they were under the ban of your union?—A. No, sir.

Q. They did not?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are you connected with the national association of plumbers?—A. Yes.

Q. Has your association ever boycotted any material supply house?—A. Well, I do not understand the meaning of the word "boycott."

Q. Well, I have been informed—I have been handed about thirty questions to ask you, but I am only going to ask you three or four of them.—A. I should like to have you ask the thirty, or three hundred if you like.

Q. And it would take up too much time, because I think the gentleman who wants the questions asked can make his statement in regard to that when he goes on the stand. One of them is to the effect that your association boycotted and ran out of business what is called the Nebraska Plumbers Supply House. Have you any knowledge in regard to that matter?—A. There never was any such supply house in this city.

Q. Might it not have been in some other city? It is called the Nebraska Supply House.—A. Well, they possibly may have done so in some city in Nebraska. I believe it was located out there in Omaha; but they were not a supply house. They were a firm that were doing a plumbing business—taking contracts—and desired to be placed in such a position that they could procure goods at jobbers' prices, so securing an unfair advantage over their competitors who are not placed in that position.

Q. You had a national boycott on them, did you; your association?—A. I do not think they ever sold any goods at all outside of their own city, and they only sold them to the general public, not to the plumbers.

Q. You say the members of the association of plumbers, or the plumbers' union, did not live up to their agreement to work for none but members of your association?—A. No, sir.

Q. How long was the agreement standing between you?—A. I believe that clause was put in the 1896 or 1897 agreement.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Are you a plumber by trade?—A. Yes.

Q. Has the amount of work for a day's work been reduced from time to time?—A. Not until these rules were put into effect.

Q. How much was the reduction then?—A. In some cases as high as 60 per cent, and in some cases the rules called for a good day's work. You see, our work can not be gauged as other branches can, because of the complications that arise on the different buildings.

Q. What is the object in reducing 60 per cent?—A. I rather think they stated it would make more work, so a larger percentage of the members would be employed.

Q. As I understand, some of these rules were made after the contract had been entered into with the master plumbers?—A. They all were.

Q. They thereby added that much to the cost of your work?—A. Yes, and without any knowledge on the part of the contractors until they put that into effect, and caused the contractors who had contracts on hand to lose that amount of money.

Q. Was a day's work when you were a plumber too great for a man to do?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is the reduction of 60 per cent arbitrary, without any cause so far as human effort is concerned?—A. Why, yes. I believe they want to reduce it 60 per cent all along the line.

Q. Have you had any experience in buying off strikes or labor troubles?—A. No, sir.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have you ever had an opportunity to settle a strike by paying the walking delegate or business agent a sum of money?—A. No, sir; I never had.

Q. You were never approached directly or indirectly for that purpose?—A. No, sir.

Q. You know nothing about the alleged practice then?—A. Only hearsay; however, that is no good.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Am I to understand that the business agent can call off the men whenever he wishes?—A. Yes.

Q. And upon any pretext that comes to him?—A. Yes.

Q. Just or unjust?—A. Just or unjust; it cuts no figure at all. If he had a little personal feeling against me, he would come and stop my men; and if you had a contract for the carpenter work, he would pull off your men—not only mine but yours.

Q. I was under the impression that all strikes had to be ordered by the trade.—A. Well, they have in the building trades council a board of business agents that consists of the walking delegates, and they all sympathize with each other to the extent that if it is necessary they will create a condition whereby they will call them off. Now in connection with this, gentlemen, before I leave the stand I desire to state that owing to the many failures on the part of the journeymen plumbers' association to live up to any agreement that they have entered into, the great percentage of the master plumbers' association are not in favor of ever entering into an agreement with them at all.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You are aware they say the same thing about you in their testimony?—A. I know they will. I am positive of that point, but I am only stating what are the facts in the situation.

Q. It seems hopeless that you will ever come together on any agreement, then; they will not trust you and you will not trust them.—A. I would not go so far as to say that, but the feeling has prevailed with them that they had to fight this thing out and let the best man win.

Q. To the victor belong the spoils?—A. Well, I am willing to come to that.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You accuse them of violating agreements. Have you ever brought suit against any of them for breach of contract?—A. I do not think, Mr. Chairman, that you could get much if you did bring suit.

Q. Why not?—A. They are not a corporation. If they have a charter they are only chartered for certain purposes. They have no charter probably.

Q. But you can bring suit against them individually, can you not?—A. Suppose you had brought suit and secured a judgment for a sum of money, how would you get it? They are all poor men, working men, and have nothing.

Q. You see no advantage in bringing suit, then?—A. None at all. You would not desire to prosecute one individual for the sins of a great many, and probably the one you selected would be the only one that did have any property, and he might be an innocent party.

Q. You say that association entered into a contract with your association to do business with each other and nobody else?—A. O, no; I did not say that. I said we entered into an agreement whereby we agreed to employ their members exclusively and they agreed to work only for us. I believe that was in 1896 or 1897.

Q. That is rather a close corporation, is it not?—A. I do not know. It seems to be generally the feeling that the laboring men have a perfect right to demand and to be granted the right to have the employers' organizations put that clause in, as far as they are concerned, that they will employ none but union men. I believe if it is considered fair for the one, it should be fair for the other.

Q. Do you think it for the public interest for two contracting bodies to limit their services and their opportunities in that way?—A. No.

Q. Do you think such a contract as that is legal?—A. No; I do not think it

would be. These contracts are commonly contracts of honor. There is not anything to be gained on either side. It is only a pledge to maintain such going rules for such a length of time, and the organizations merely have to depend on the honor and the manhood of the opposite sides to carry their agreement into effect. Failure on the part of either results in strikes and troubles in the labor world. That is why we have them in Chicago every year, and if they keep on I guess we shall have them two or three times a year, and all the time.

I have just been informed that somebody who gave testimony before me testified that this schedule was to be altered, by agreement of the master plumbers' organization. I desire to contradict that statement if it was made. They said to the committee that they were to present working rules to the committee, but the committee had no knowledge of what they were to contain. They said they were going to present their own rules to govern their own men, but the committee never thought for a moment that they would present working rules, or at least so the committee stated. I was not a member of that committee.

Q. I heard of a case of a merchant building a new house, and the work could not go on, owing to a labor difficulty, until some plumbing was done. He found that he could not get that done by the contractors, so he undertook to get it done himself. He found it was necessary to purchase some material for it, and found he could not purchase that. Do you know anything about such a case?—A. No. What is the merchant's name? Where was his place? It is rather a vague statement; this is a large city and there are a great many merchants. I do not know of any case of the kind which you mentioned. Still, if you named the place I could locate the case, because I have a good memory for such things.

Q. My memory for names is not very good, but my impression is his name is Shedd.

Mr. KENNEDY. Shedd is in Washington.

The WITNESS. Yes; Mr. Shedd is in Washington.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) The gentleman states that there is such an owner building a residence at Forty-sixth street and Drexel.—A. No; I do not know of any such occurrence, but I will not state that such an occurrence has not taken place. We purchase supplies from our material men just in the same manner that the retail shoe merchant purchases from the wholesale man. I should not expect to go to a wholesale man and buy a dozen pairs of shoes, because he would not sell them to me; and a merchant in some other line would be treated in the same manner by a plumbing supply house. They afford the plumbers the same protection that the wholesale druggist, or the wholesale shoe dealer, or the wholesale hardware man affords the retail man. Just the same condition that prevails in the plumbing business as in all lines of the industrial world.

Q. Is there any retail plumbing house that he can go to and buy a bathtub or a piece of pipe?—A. If we keep a retail plumbing house and we are retail merchants, the wholesaler sells to us and we sell to the general public.

Q. If I were building a house, could I not come to you and buy any material that I chose to?—A. I rather think you could.

Q. Then you do not believe it can be true that this merchant found himself unable to get the material in this city?—A. No; I will not state that. I do not know that he could not; but I know that if you or anybody else should desire material to go into your building, any merchant in the city of Chicago that is doing a plumbing business would only be too pleased to sell you his goods and put them in place.

Q. Why, then, could not this merchant get them?—A. I do not understand it. There may have been some complications—I do not know—that possibly resulted in such a state of affairs. There must have been some reason for it.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) I have had some information to that same effect to-day. I understand that there is such a combination prevailing in Chicago as this; that if a man has a bit of plumbing around in his bathroom or anywhere else out of order, and he needs simply the simplest plumbing supplies, he can not purchase them in any plumbing supply house in Chicago; that the arrangement is between the plumbers and the master plumbers, or has been, that it must be done in a professional way, and a large price paid for it. Is there such a state of affairs as that in Chicago?—A. Why, there is such a state of affairs. I do not believe that you could go to a supply house at any time in the city of Chicago and buy some little piece of plumbing goods that you might want. The fact of the matter is that the wholesaler sells only to the retailer, and he does not desire any such trade. We only wholesale goods; we do not retail business.

Q. You do not retail business?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then a citizen of Chicago who has some plumbing out of repair that he might repair himself—some little cock or something of that sort—is at the mercy of the plumbers of Chicago? He must go to them and pay for their work?

ing? Is that the state of affairs?—A. Well, I do not believe, if he could do it himself—he can find plenty of men who will sell him the goods and permit him to do it himself. But we have a city ordinance, Mr. Commissioner, which requires anybody who desires to work at plumbing, to practice plumbing, to pass the city examining board. I believe you have the same law in Washington, and you are familiar with it, no doubt.

Q. I suppose we do.—A. And if anybody is found tampering with plumbing who has not passed such an examination he is liable to be arrested on a warrant and prosecuted in the courts. The public has commenced to realize that the general health of the public is dependent in a greater measure on the plumber than it is on the medical man. The plumber puts a place in such condition that he prevents disease, whereas the medical man only cures it, or kills the patient, when it is created.

Q. It is a fact then that a citizen who is not a plumber—either a master or a journeyman plumber—can not go to these retail houses and buy plumbing supplies of any kind?—A. Oh, yes; they can go to retail houses and buy what they want; certainly.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Let me put this question: Suppose a man hired a plumber not regularly located or doing business in Chicago, could he go to any one of your plumbing retail houses and get material with which that plumber could work?—A. If he were a plumber from some other place, he could; undoubtedly. He has just the same privileges with the supply men that we have.

Q. If he were a plumber outside of your association here—an independent man?—A. That would make no difference whatever. He can get the same amount of material and at the same price we pay; that is, if he buys in the same quantity. Of course, a man would not be able, if he went into such a place to buy a dollar's worth of goods, to get it at the same price that somebody else would if he placed an order for four or five thousand dollars' worth.

Q. Are plumbers registered here and licensed, or anything of that sort?—A. Yes.

Q. He could not do the work, then, unless he was registered and licensed here?—A. They are doing it, but they are liable, as I said before, to arrest.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Would he be liable to arrest for putting a washer in a faucet?—A. No, no; not at all.

Q. Could he get a washer in a retail house?—A. Yes. In the master plumbers' association of this city there are somewhere in the neighborhood of 500 members in the city of Chicago, all told, I believe. There are close upon 1,000 master plumbers, so that we only have a membership of about 50 per cent of the master plumbers in the city of Chicago. If you have been told that anybody is unable to obtain goods unless he is a member of our association, that is a very bad statement for anybody to make, because on applying to the examining board you can find the exact number of licenses that have been issued to date. Then turn to the number of our members, and that proves conclusively that they are obtaining supplies, and at a price that enables them to compete with the members of the association.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Do you know whether Chicago is different from other cities in that respect?—A. Well, yes. I believe that the conditions existing in Chicago are much more lenient than they are anywhere else. I know they are. I do not believe that you could go to any of the smaller cities of the East, West or Northwest, unless you went direct to a plumber and he was in a position to state his own terms.

Q. These requirements are for sanitary and other purposes of that kind?—A. Yes.

Q. Is it not for the protection of health?—A. Yes, in a great measure.

Q. And that requirement, then, has been visited upon the plumbers in this case?—A. Yes.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 30, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. M. J. CORBOY,

Plumbing Contractor.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m. March 30, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 8.45 p. m. Mr. M. J. Corboy was sworn as a witness, and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your name and address?—A. M. J. Corboy, 78 Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. Plumber.

Q. How long have you been doing that business in Chicago?—A. I have been in business for myself for eighteen years. I was foreman six or seven years before that.

Q. Do you belong to the contractors' council?—A. Yes.

Q. Will you go on and make such statement as you wish to?—A. I start out, Mr. Chairman, by answering that question that was put to Mr. Smith in relation to purchase of goods. I wish to state, gentlemen, that any man that wants to purchase any goods in the way of plumbing fixtures at my store can come down and purchase them. If the Mr. Shedd that is spoken of here is the gentleman of the firm of Marshall Field & Co., I will sell him what plumbing goods he wants. I could not go into Marshall Field & Co.'s wholesale house and purchase goods at retail prices. They would refer me to the retail store. All there is in this purchasing of goods—I have heard a good deal of it talked about by the different contractors—so far as the plumbers are concerned, they have a trade protection for the manufacturers the same as in any other line. For all time since I can remember in the plumbing business up to the present time the manufacturers and wholesalers have always wholesaled goods to the retailers. Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett & Co., which is one of our large wholesale hardware houses, won't sell me hardware the same as he will to the retail hardware merchants. So with the plumber; we carry a line of goods, and if a man wants to buy a faucet of mine he can come in and purchase it.

Q. You claim, then, it is merely a wholesale protection to the trade?—A. That is all. It is a manufacturers' wholesale protection to the retailers, which is in all lines—the wholesale grocery, the wholesale drug store, the wholesale boot and shoes—all along the line. They will protect the retailer. That is all there is in it.

I have not very much to say. Mr. Smith has covered the ground fairly well so far as we are concerned, except this, that we have always had very good arrangements with the journeymen plumbers' association. We never had any trouble with them to speak of, in my long experience in the business, until they became affiliated with the building trades council. I never remember a time when they broke an agreement we made with them previous to that. We generally make our agreements for about two years. They generally consist of hours and wages. Plumbers have always got good wages. I never remember a time when a first-class plumber did not get \$3 a day, when other mechanics were getting \$1.25 or \$1.50, or even \$1. One of the great troubles about the plumbing business in Chicago—I have no doubt it refers also to a lot of other mechanics—Chicago being such a large railroad terminal, people passing back and forth through the country come here and stop off. Very large wages are paid here, and many young men traveling around to see the cities in the country drop off, and the fact that in Chicago they get short hours and large pay is one of the worst features which make men gather here more than in any other place.

Outside of what I spoke of was this limitation of the amount of work. There are a lot of good men here in Chicago, and it is too bad they are idle at the present time. They have their homes here and their families to support. We could not stand that limitation of work. It was getting worse. The actual fact was, the mechanics themselves did not understand it. They could not interpret the rules. Get a half dozen of them together, and there would be two or three different opinions as to what those rules meant. The talking of four joints was ridiculous. A man can do it in an hour.

Q. Was that put down for a day's work?—A. It was one of the rules. There were other parts of that work he could not do in a day. The rules are inconsistent. The most of the men themselves agree that these rules are wrong. The president of their association told me, and he is a truthful man, that he got up and opposed these rules. They promised all summer long they would modify these rules so there would be some sense or reason to them. They have not done so until this present strike occurred.

Now as to the apprenticeship. It seems hard that a man that has a son and wants to teach him that trade can not do it. He can not do it according to the rules. When they did away with the apprenticeship rules in Chicago they also did away with what they call the junior rules; that is, when an apprentice served a certain time, say four years, he was called a junior plumber until he served two years more, and then he was called a full-fledged plumber. A lot of these junior plumbers were sent broadcast upon the streets. Some of them, even after serving their term of six years, were not able to earn a journeyman's wages. The result was they could not get employment, and a large number went into business for themselves, and the city of Chicago to-day has more independent business plumbers

than I suppose any other city in the country. That is why there are so many shops. I think there are about a thousand shops in Chicago, where there ought to be about five or six hundred at the outside.

As I say, gentlemen, until the journeymen plumbers became affiliated with the building trades council, we never had any trouble to speak of. I can not recall when we had a strike. When our agreements would expire, in two years, we would get together, and they might want something and we would want something, and we would strike a balance and make an agreement and go on to work.

I am not opposed to unions. I think they are a good thing for good men. At one time they did have a very fine class of men in their associations; they have to-day a very fine lot of men in there, and they also have a large number of men who are incompetent stragglers that go around through the country and drop off in Chicago and get stranded here. The wages and hours attract them. The result is there is always more labor here than there is a market for, especially in the last few years when business has been dull in Chicago.

All I wish to say, gentlemen, before I conclude, is that all these controversies and strikes that we have had here for some years past have been a great injury to the city. It has prevented outsiders from coming in here and investing their capital. There is to-day a large amount of outside capital invested in Chicago in buildings and property. It has discouraged the capital at home, and it seeks other markets for investment. It has drawn the manufacturers away from the city, because they are afraid their men will get into trouble and get into strikes. The result is they have gone away from here. New industries that would locate in Chicago have been placed outside. The result is, all around Chicago for forty or fifty miles, the smaller towns are getting all these manufacturing plants, though the people would a great deal rather come here, on account of the facilities, the railroads, the lake, etc.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 30, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. F. W. CLARK,

General Contractor.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m. March 30, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 8.55 p. m. F. W. Clark was sworn as a witness, and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your name?—A. F. W. Clark.

Q. Post-office address?—A. Room 69, No. 4 Sherman street. I am president of the Jonathan Clark & Sons Company, general contractors.

Q. How long have you been in business in Chicago?—A. I started with my father in 1872, and I have been in business for myself here since 1889; that is, with this corporation since 1889.

Q. Employ a large number of hands?—A. Yes; we have employed, according to the demands of the work, up to a thousand men; perhaps more than that.

Q. Do you belong to the building contractors' council?—A. I am a member of that body.

Q. Please go on in your own way and make your own statement.—A. Almost everything has been touched on, Mr. Chairman, in this matter. There is very little new for me to say about the strike or the building trades, and I thought I would take up a slightly different phase of the matter.

I would say the firm which I represent is engaged in the general contracting business, and our operations during the past 4 or 5 years have extended to Peoria, Ill., St. Louis, Buffalo, Pittsburg, and Albany, N. Y. The contracts taken by our firm are, as a rule, for large structures, and give us an unusual opportunity of comparing the relations between the contractors and employees in the various places in the United States. We never have experienced the same difficulty and trouble with our employees at any of these places that we have in Chicago during the same period of time. I would remark in that connection that our work during the past 5 years has amounted to about \$4,600,000, of which \$3,400,000 has been outside of this city. We have never been obliged to sign a scale at any of these outside places, nor been obliged to join any association of employers, but have, in some cases where union men were imported, been obliged to cause our men to join the local unions. It is our practice to employ local labor wherever it is possible to do so, and only send from Chicago the superintendent and office

men. It has, in some instances, been considered advisable to send employees from Chicago to several of these outlying cities, and that remark is more particularly true with regard to bricklayers than to any other class of mechanics. Our experience is that wages are lower in these other places than in Chicago. We have almost invariably paid from 10 per cent to 80 per cent less for the same class of labor in these other places than we pay in Chicago.

As regards material, we have never found any attempt of a serious character to increase the cost of material to us on account of our being outsiders. The prices of material, however, are invariably higher at these outside places than in Chicago. For instance, when we built the Bradley Institute at Peoria, Ill., we actually shipped brick from Blue Island and carted them 2 miles to the building site, and delivered them there for a somewhat less price than the owner of a local brickyard, situated half a mile away from the building, would furnish them for. But this was possibly due to local influence—that is, the local dealers possibly thought we would pay the increased price.

The mechanics in nearly all the outside places work a 9-hour day and receive therefor on the average one-third less than we pay here for an 8-hour day. For instance, last year we paid our carpenters in Albany 25 cents and 27½ cents an hour for a 9-hour day, and in Chicago during the same period we were paying 42½ cents for an 8-hour day. Notwithstanding this, a number of our employees went to Albany at their own expense for the lesser wage, simply because they got steady work, whereas at home they were idle the greater part of the time. The iron setters on this same job were paid 25 cents an hour, while the wages paid to Chicago men were 45 cents. Our bricklayers were paid 45 cents as against 50 cents here, and the bulk of our bricklayers came from Chicago and worked for us at the lesser wage in preference to remaining at home.

In nearly all our building operations away from Chicago we have obtained better prices and have been able to execute our work in a more satisfactory manner as regards both time and quality of work. We have very rarely run up against any labor difficulties, and such as we have encountered are of a very trivial character. That remark will apply to our Chicago work as well as to our outside work. But what we complain of in Chicago, aside from the fundamental principles already set forth by others, are the petty exactions of the unions and the impossibility of utilizing labor to the best advantage. It takes a very much larger number of men on a Chicago building than it would on one of a similar size and character in any one of the other places referred to, for the reason that we have to keep enough men of each class to do all the work that appertains to that class. For instance, if we have a large force of laborers and a limited number of iron setters, just enough to handle the ironwork as it goes along, and there is an unusually large piece of ironwork to handle, at any other place than Chicago we would simply call in enough laborers to assist the iron men with this heavy piece, and as soon as that was done, the iron men would go along with the rest of their labor and the laborers would return to their work. In Chicago that would not be permitted. We should have to have enough iron men to handle the heavy piece. No laborer would be allowed to assist at any time. That rule is carried so far that on one occasion at the Schlesinger & Mayer Building the laborers refused to move an iron beam that was in the way of their run, and iron men had to be sought at a considerable cost of time to move the beam out of the way. The laborers were actually afraid to touch the ironwork for fear they would be fined \$10. In this case there was no attempt to set the iron, but simply to move it out of the way to make room for a wheelbarrow run. At another time four heavy beams were delivered at the Schlesinger & Mayer Building, and, there being no iron men on the job at the time, the superintendent requested some laborers to take the beams inside the building. When two of these beams had been thus placed the walking delegate came along and stopped the work on the penalty of calling a strike on the building, and the other two beams were dumped in the street and obstructed traffic until the following morning, when the iron men arrived to set the material in position.

A little later on it was found necessary to remove some old fire escapes from adjoining buildings occupied by Schlesinger & Mayer, and we employed union laborers to tear this ironwork down. The ornamental ironworkers, who at that time were putting in the elevator fronts, said that that was ornamental iron men's work, and that unless the laborers were withdrawn they would strike. We paid no attention to the notice, and the iron workers went out. We ceased work for the time being on the fire escapes, and the ornamental iron men returned. The matter was taken up with the laborers' union, and the president of that union, Mr. Liffien, claimed that that was legitimate work; so we again resumed work and the ornamental iron workers again went out. Matters were compromised by

hiring an ornamental iron man for a few hours to remove a portion of the work, and the balance was taken down by stealth, a piece at a time, until finally it was all removed. After the new building was completed, it was found necessary to connect the old building and the new, and one of the first things we had to do was to remove some old elevators. This we were about to do with ordinary laborers when we received an intimation that if we employed any except elevator men on those machines, the elevator men would quit work on the new machines, which were at that time just approaching completion and were absolutely essential to the conduct of the business of Schlesinger & Mayer. I consulted Mr. Schlesinger, and he instructed me to employ the elevator men instead of laborers. The cost of taking out these old machines amounted to something over \$1,000, whereas the cost of the same work with ordinary laborers would probably not have exceeded one-third of that amount.

Matters of this kind are, of course, of no special consequence measured in dollars and cents, but are exceedingly annoying at the time and give one a very vivid impression that the desires of the labor leaders are to cause as much inconvenience as possible to the contractors, and not permit them to help themselves where it could be done without any detriment to the trade. Of course no successful contractor will deliberately use laborers to do mechanics' work, although sometimes it is necessary to use a mechanic to do a laborer's work or a laborer to do a mechanic's work if the particular class wanted is not immediately available. A contractor, employing union men and trying to do his full duty by these men, is placed oftentimes at a serious disadvantage. For instance, a few months ago our firm had occasion to do a little work at Hegewisch, one of the suburbs of Chicago, and we found that this same firm for whom we were doing the work had been doing some work of a similar character without the assistance of any contractor—simply hiring the men themselves. They employed union bricklayers, paying them union wages, and they employed laborers to wait on these bricklayers and paid them 15 cents an hour, whereas we were obliged to pay 25 cents an hour. They were employing carpenters at 25 cents an hour, whereas we were paying 42½ cents an hour. They had no difficulty in getting the bricklayers to work under these conditions, but it was utterly impossible to get bricklayers to work for us under similar conditions, for the reason that had we done so a strike would immediately have been called on our work in town.

About a year ago at Albany we had occasion to erect some 10,000 square yards of suspended ceiling, which is simply a plastered ceiling suspended on wire lath. This work cost us about 80 cents a yard for the labor and the material. During the past season we had occasion to do some work of a similar character in Chicago, and the work cost us 81 cents a yard, of which perhaps 10 cents a yard was due to the increase in the cost of material, and the balance was due to the increase in labor, owing to the increase in wages and the restriction as to the amount.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have you any work in hand that you could go ahead with now in case the labor troubles were settled in Chicago?—A. Yes.

Q. A very large amount or a small amount?—A. Only a small amount, perhaps \$100,000 worth.

Q. Have you any idea what amount of work would be undertaken in case the troubles were settled?—A. About the time this strike was called I should say we had figures out on work amounting to about \$2,000,000. That is more than we have had out in Chicago at any one time for 5 or 6 years past. I know that all the architects have more or less work they are holding back. I know myself of several million dollars' worth of work that is held in abeyance awaiting the adjustment of these troubles.

Q. Should you be able to make an estimate of the work that would be done the coming season in Chicago if there were no labor troubles?—A. I should say twelve to fifteen million dollars' worth that would be started in the architects' offices or on the ground; that would be a conservative estimate.

Q. How much of that would go to labor in the way of wages?—A. On the building and in the material manufactured for the building, I should say from one-third to one-half of the total cost would be spent in labor; not wholly in Chicago, but labor tributary to that building; nearly 50 per cent.

Q. The strike in Chicago is affecting buildings elsewhere?—A. Certainly.

Q. Can you illustrate?—A. Certainly. All the stuff that goes into the building, of course, is manufactured either in Chicago shops or Chicago quarries or Chicago mills or in some other mills. Of course they have tried to restrict the product in Chicago here to factories and others located here in Chicago, and that is carried out to a considerable extent. Of course Chicago now feels the strike very much more than it otherwise might, because these mills would be busy on outside work were it not for that restriction. The quarries, of course, are all

shut down, because their product is wholly Chicago; and this work would go into the mills, into the quarries, into the brickyards, into stone yards, terra-cotta works, planing mills, lumber yards, glass factories—everything, almost, that is tributary to the building industry would feel the effects.

Q. Have you ever settled a labor trouble by giving the walking delegate or business agent a monetary consideration?—A. I never have.

Q. Have you ever had an opportunity to do it?—A. I can not say that I have personally. I have had it intimated to me occasionally, or to my superintendents, but I have never found it necessary to do anything of the sort. I have been out of the city during two-thirds of my time during the past 5 years. When I am here I take such matters up with the highest labor official I can do it with.

Q. Higher than the walking delegate, you mean?—A. The presidents of the unions whenever I can get at them.

Q. Have you always arranged matters with the high officials?—A. I have always adjusted my own troubles promptly.

Q. Then the walking delegate has not the power?—A. (Interrupting.) Yes; he stopped my work on numerous occasions. I have related three or four instances where my work was stopped in the most outrageous and arbitrary manner, and there were a number of cases of similar character before this last season.

Q. Did the walking delegate at that time suppose he was carrying out the rules of his organization?—A. I presume he was. He actually absolutely stopped my men. I can relate a number of other instances if you care to have me do so.

Q. No.—A. Cases that have happened.

Q. Do you know of any instance where a walking delegate has been given a monetary consideration?—A. I know they never have been given a monetary consideration by any member of our firm.

Q. Do you know of any cases of any other firms?—A. Except by hearsay. I hear a good many stories of that kind; I know of none personally.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Is the walking delegate or business agent of the union a fair representative of his union?—A. I suppose so; they are presumably elected by popular vote, and presumably represent the consensus of opinion of the union.

Q. And his acts are sustained by his union?—A. Not always. Called down very hard and very promptly sometimes, as I know to my own satisfaction.

Q. Is that an exception, or is it general?—A. I do not know. In my own case I have been right in all the quarrels I have taken up with them, and I have had no particular difficulty in proving that I was right and having the other officials acknowledge it. Sometimes it took a conference between two or three of them, but I have always had it settled with very fair promptness.

Q. Do these little differences between the various trades grow out of jealousy?—A. No; they grow out of a misunderstanding of these rules. They have so many, and they were all manufactured within such a short time—so many conditions and penalties involved that men were scared to death of getting over these rules and getting fined.

Q. Are these rules changed frequently?—A. Only to increase in number; they get a few more each year.

Q. When you take a contract under present conditions are you able to figure with any accuracy as to what the labor will cost you?—A. We tried to do it. I have found in my experience in this city that the increased cost of labor over the amount which I estimated the labor would cost has in all cases been equal to the profit that I figured on the work, so that my work here in Chicago has not resulted in any profit whatever; on the whole, there has been a slight loss in it, and it has been wholly due to the increase in labor and the limitation on the amount of work.

Q. Do you suppose that your experience is similar to that of other contractors in this city?—A. Well, I do not know. That is my experience. If the others can handle their men and get more work out of them than I do, that is where they are brighter and abler men than I am. I simply do my business; I do not know how the rest do.

Q. Did the World's Fair have any effect on the conditions from that time up to the present time, so far as your growth and labor troubles are concerned?—A. Yes; it brought in a tremendous influx of men, and of course our wages here were very much higher than these men had been accustomed to get in other places, and they hung on here when they should have gone back; that is, a great many of them would rather work 2 or 3 days at a high price than all the week at a lower price. They hung on here expecting business to start up, and we have always had a surplus of labor during the whole period until this last season; then we commenced getting a little shy on labor.

Q. If conditions were more favorable as far as labor is concerned you think there is a good prospect in Chicago?—A. Splendid prospect; employment for every man that wants to work in this city.

Q. You think there is no trouble except the uncertainty in regard to labor conditions?—A. It is the uncertainty and the arbitrary manner of the unions. The unions would probably have obtained all they wanted if they had taken a different way of going about it—if they had been more persuasive and less dictatorial. They would probably have accomplished all they expected to gain, and a great deal more than they ever will gain, in my judgment, now.

Q. Have you given up any hope of settling your differences by arbitration?—A. Why, the common sense of the average workingman is of a kind you can generally count on, and I think common sense will come to the top by and by. I have not lost faith in the workingmen. They have been misguided. The leaders, in my opinion, are for the most part honest, but they are wrong. They have got wrong doctrines, and they will have to be taught the correct principles upon which business is based.

Q. Have the conditions that both you and the labor unions have been laboring under for the last four or five years been at all beneficial to labor?—A. No; I think, on the contrary, they have been quite adverse. I think labor has suffered really a great deal more than we have. I think a contractor can protect himself, as a general thing, a great deal better than the laboring man can. He is supposed to have a higher degree of intelligence and a little better opportunity to take care of his personal wants.

Q. You think if he had sized up the conditions that surrounded both himself and the contractors, and been more reasonable, that his condition would have been better as well as yours?—A. If they had striven to create a demand for labor and done what was possible to create a volume of business, the laboring men would undoubtedly be in a position to get pretty much all they are entitled to; but where they have curtailed the demand and at the same time increased the rate it has naturally cut down the volume very much indeed.

Q. Are you looking to this new organization, the Industrial Union, to give you some relief?—A. I have employed members of the Industrial Union on some of my work within the past few weeks; am employing a few members of it now to do necessary work.

Q. Are they sufficient in numbers to do the work?—A. Not to do the volume of work we ought to be doing here; certainly not; but they are growing.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) In your opinion, has the evolution of trades-unionism in Chicago developed a prevalent disposition not to render a fair equivalent for a day's wage?—A. Yes; I think that doctrine is being very rapidly inculcated among the journeymen of Chicago, and very much to their detriment.

Q. If there was a disposition to give a quid pro quo, do you think that any of these harassing and vexatious rules would be adopted?—A. No, I do not. I do not think any of them would be adopted.

Q. That disposition, then, in your opinion, lies at the foundation of this difficulty?—A. That is the outgrowth of the rule of labor unions. Of course there are certain fundamental wrongs that must be righted in addition to these vexatious rules and regulations.

Q. Have you any objection to employing union labor?—A. No, sir; I prefer to employ union labor—always have given union labor the preference. At the same time, I like the option occasionally to use the other kind. If I was left perfectly free in my choice, I should undoubtedly employ union labor in nineteen cases in every twenty.

Q. If you had the largest possible liberty to make contracts as circumstances might make it convenient for you to make them, and to engage any help that you required, you would still probably have a large preponderance of union labor, and at good wages and at reasonable hours?—A. Yes; I think there is no question. I should have both the largest number, and I should say probably 80 per cent of all of them union men, under such conditions as you speak of—a perfectly free and open market.

Q. Do you think if all these hampering, vexatious rules of which you complain were abolished by the union, and the men worked for you in perfect good faith and in harmony to help do a good job, that it would result in the doing of more work in Chicago, in more employment for the members of trades unions, and at gradually shortening days and better wages?—A. Yes; I think that is undeniably true.

Q. From your knowledge of the opinions of other contractors, do you think they would agree to that?—A. Yes; nine-tenths of the employing force of contractors undoubtedly would. Of course, there is a small number of contractors

that would undoubtedly try to beat the men down all they possibly could, and take advantage of them in every way they could; but the men who do that sort of thing are not the men who do, as a rule, a very large business; and if the men simply did not work for men who treated them in that way those men would very soon get their just deserts.

Q. Do you complain of any lack of security for person and property and the right to earn wages in Chicago?—A. At the present time there is a very considerable insecurity to those who wish to work, now that the unions are all out. There is most decidedly an insecurity of person.

Q. Do you think that is due to defect in law or defect in administration of law?—A. I think it is due to defect in administration of law partly, and partly to the fact that no law could prevent evil disposed persons from committing crimes and depredations if they have the disposition to do so.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 30, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. FRANK L. DAVIS,

Mosaic Decoration Contractor, Chicago.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m., March 30, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 9.20 p. m. Mr. Frank L. Davis was sworn as a witness, and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your name?—A. Frank L. Davis, 302 Michigan avenue.

Q. Occupation?—A. Mosaic decorator.

Q. How long have you been in that business in Chicago?—A. About 10 years.

Q. Do you belong to the contractors' council?—A. I do.

Q. Please go on and make your statement in your own way.—A. My statement will outline, to a certain extent, a systematic line of persecution and conspiracy that has been directed against my business for the last 11 months. On the 1st of May, 1899, the mosaic union ordered the men in my shop to quit work because I would not sign their scale of wages, which demanded that the men should work 8 hours in the shops and 8 hours in the buildings. My point was that I was perfectly willing to pay the men the amount of wages that were asked in the building, but they were trying to control my shop so that I could not bring work into Chicago and manufacture it here in competition with outside towns. One condition of their agreement was that we should send all workmen from Chicago to lay our work in outside cities. I had at that time a large contract in Washington, which I was afterwards forced to give up; and I afterwards had a contract at Madison, Wis., which I was compelled to give up, because at the time we only had enough men to do our local work. I asked my own workmen to refrain from working for 1 month, hoping the union would accede to something fair as a settlement. This the union failed to do, and our own men went back to work. They were fined by the union from three to four hundred dollars apiece. However, we went on with our work, and then began a systematic line of conspiracy. The first experience we had with it that amounted to anything was at Mr. Shedd's residence, which was on Drexel boulevard. I went myself one afternoon with four or five men and laid a floor. We left the building about 7 o'clock, and that night the work was torn up. The reason I went with the men was that the day before six men of the union, whose names I have here and can give, chased our men out of the building. The men's names are Stephen F. Rebora, Luigi Louisa, Luigi Francescon, Pietro Pasqual, Antonio Oliva, D. Cecon.

You can see we employ Italians. I want to say right here they are as conscientious workmen as I have had any experience with.

As I said before, the work we had put in in the afternoon was torn up, and the following men were arrested on the lawn with the implements in their hands with which they had torn up the work: Stephen Rebora, Luigi Louisa, Paulo Moresco, George Valle, Antonio Del Pin.

These men were arrested, tried, and fined \$10 apiece.

This was on the 21st of August that the floor was torn up. In the early part of September a notice was printed by that union and sent out to the architects and contractors of this city. I believe you had that notice read to you. If not, I will

[Office of Marble, Enamel, and Glass Mosaic Workers' Union and Marble, Enamel, and Glass Mosaic Helpers' Union.]

NOTICE.

To Architects, Builders, Contractors, and all whom this may concern, greeting:

The undersigned mosaic unions desire to respectfully call your attention to the fact that Frank L. Davis, 302 Michigan avenue, is the only mosaic manufacturer in Chicago who has refused to sign our agreement. We therefore request you not to let any contract to him until he has acceded to our demands.

We hope you will give this matter your careful consideration, as union men will not work for Frank L. Davis until he has signed our agreement, and as said agreement has been ratified by the building trades council, sympathetic strikes will result on any building where he gets the contract. All other mosaic dealers and manufacturers of Chicago are working under our conditions.

Very respectfully,

MARBLE, ENAMEL, AND GLASS MOSAIC WORKERS' UNION,
L. FRANCESCON, *President*.
F. CELLA, *Secretary*.
MARBLE, ENAMEL, AND GLASS MOSAIC HELPERS' UNION,
S. F. REBORA, *President*.
B. ZANGRANDO, *Secretary*.

I have here a little note on one of these notices that was sent to me by a contractor. He says on the edge of it, written in red ink: "I like your nerve, but you have my sympathies. Yours."

I received several of these notices from architects, and was asked what I was going to do with such a document out against us. We attended strictly to our business and carried on what work we could. This was in the early part of September. In October, I think it was the 3d, a constable came to my office and said I was under arrest. I told him at first I thought he had made a mistake. He said, no mistake about it; my name was very plain, and the address was all right; and he wanted me to hurry up; that he was not hired by the day—he was hired by the job. He said I was arrested under a warrant issued by Justice Hartman's office, and sworn to by John Davison, who said I had assaulted him with a deadly weapon. I told him I did not know him, and had not assaulted anyone. However, I went with the constable, and after we were about a block and a half from the office he held me while two men assaulted me and choked me. I managed to get away by getting out of my overcoat, and went back to my office, and then afterwards went to the constable's office with some of my friends. Later I appeared at Justice Hartman's office, which is out in South Harvey, quite a long ride from Chicago, and when I got there of course no one appeared against me.

On the 6th of October, 3 days later, my foreman, Antonio Zanussi, who is also watchman at my factory, went out one evening to get a bottle of mineral water. On his way back he was assaulted by J. J. Fleming, the walking delegate of the painters' union. By having this bottle in his hand he retaliated on Mr. Fleming, and brought him down. We arrested Mr. Fleming, and he was taken before Justice Prindville. The case was continued. When we came to the trial the next time my attorney found Fleming's friend in a whispered conversation with the judge before the trial. When Mr. Fleming was put on the stand he denied everything, and went free. We afterwards had him arrested and he gave a bond for \$300, and when the trial came off he did not appear. It was impossible for us to get results. This foreman was our shop foreman. On the 20th of March, 1900, my building foreman, Antonio Ferrarini, was assaulted by two men while on his way home from work; and the next morning one of our workmen by the name of Louis Chartier was assaulted in front of our place on Michigan avenue. Two men held him at bay with guns while the other pummeled him. On the following day, the 22d, we received a letter, signed by a committee, with black flags and a black cross on it and a coffin, addressed to three of our men. The letter reads as follows, translated:

"Right away, you, Zanussi, Salamone, Chiotti and company. Do not laugh; it will be worse than the other. Your head is full of potatoes. You must die like St. Lorenzo—in the griddle. You were the jury traitors. Not only will we hit you, but some one's liver will be eaten. Your end."

We were working at the Field Building yesterday, as we were ordered there at 1 o'clock. When the men quit work last night I saw a man in the building motion to a couple of sluggers across the street that the fellows were coming. I scrutinized these men closely, and I found one man had a hammer in his pocket

and the other had a piece of iron. I got to the men before he did. We did not have any slugging last night. To-day 25 men in the building tried to run our men out of the building. We have got to such a condition of affairs in Chicago that a man can not pursue his daily life without danger of being killed, and unless a man will bow to the dictates of a union he is liable to be slugged, or anything may happen to him. We have men come to our office in company with their wives for protection. We have had men scared away from our place of business at times when their families needed the work and needed the money that would come from the work. Our experience is this: that the union is a detriment to the good workman; that the good workman does not need a union. I had just as soon employ a union man as a nonunion man. I believe every American citizen has a right to all associations that are not opposed by the laws, the Constitution, and the Declaration of Independence; but I also believe every man has a right to work and support his family without paying tribute to any other men. I do not blame the men particularly; they are like men in general; they follow a few leaders, and if the leaders are good the result is good, and if the leaders are bad the result is bad. In this instance, in which Chicago is practically paralyzed, it is because of the agitators, who have so got Chicago by the throat that even the employers and employees are afraid to move. I had the contract on the Western Electrical building. This building was built last May, but the entrance through which everyone had to pass remained in a state of incompleteness for 6 months, because the owners and architects were afraid to have my nonunion men go in there and lay the floors. At the end of that time we did lay the floors.

Not long ago I had some plumbing put in at my residence. It consisted of a bath tub, a bowl, and a seat. I let the contract to a conscientious man, who made me a fair price for the work; and one day when he was working at it—I knew he was doing all the work himself—I saw another plumber there about 11 o'clock in the morning, and I asked him why he had hired an extra man. He said, "This is not an extra man; this man works down the street at a flat building; he has done his day's work and is up here visiting with me." He proceeded to visit with that man all the forenoon and smoke his pipe, and then came back in the afternoon and did the same thing. I do not believe any man can support his family and keep that up continuously; he may do it for a while.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Had he received a day's wage for what he had done?—A. He received a day's wage for what he had done.

Q. What is the matter with his supporting his family at it?—A. For that day all right; but that man is out of work to-day, and his family must be supplied to-day as well as any other day; and when he can not supply his family by his work, he will have to supply them in some other way.

Q. Your belief is that a man can not have permanent and regular employment unless he renders an equivalent for what he receives?—A. I certainly do. I worked by the day 10 years ago, and I think it was the happiest time of my life, and I tried to render an equivalent for what I got. I started in for \$1.50 a day. If I had not rendered an equivalent I should perhaps have been asked to retire. That plumber that did that work—while the union required that he set only one fixture a day, I saw him set three fixtures and leave at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The restriction of work is something we can not stand. They tried the restriction in our line of work. I am opposed to any organization that compels people to become its members or controls in any way any material. The growth of the Contractors' Association, of their central body, has been caused, as I think in many instances the growth of trusts has been caused, by the trust in the labor market. I thoroughly believe in a conscientious, hard workman getting a good day's wage for a good day's work, but I don't believe that we can pay a man \$4 for something that we must go into the open markets of the world and sell for \$3, and keep it up any great length of time. I do think this, that perhaps the plumbers, owing to the laws of the city, could pay them a little extra wages rather than stop building permanently, because there is no substitute; but that will not apply to any other line of business that I know of.

I wish to reiterate and make it as strong as I can, that the man who is not at the present time affiliated with the union must take his life in his hands if he expects to do a day's work in Chicago; and I think the accounts in the daily papers of the number of assaults that are committed will bear me out fully in this; and I think all of this is a greater detriment to the workmen than it is to the employer, and the ones that suffer from all this are the wives and the little children at home. That in a land of plenty we should be in a state of paralysis, as we are in Chicago, is a shame. It is an outrage. It is the greatest blot on our country at the present time.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) What is your remedy for this condition that now exists? Have you any to suggest?—A. I believe that employer and employee alike should be willing to enter into a service, each helping the other to his utmost, even to the extent of sacrificing. I think it is the duty of the employer to put the best that is in him into that business and employ the most men he can and give them the highest wage he can. The more business he can bring to his little shop, or his large shop, as the case may be, the more contentment he can make among his workmen; and when they feel that he is a part of them and they are a part of him, and that they both belong to the same thing, I think then, and not until then, we can settle this question. The law of the universe is the survival of the fittest. That applies all right to the animals. It may apply all right to the shark and dolphin; it does not apply to employee and employer. The principle there is that the strong should help the weak. The laborer is always looked upon as the weak one. It seems to me that at the present time, however, the man who has his money tied up in a plant is the weak one.

Q. From your description of the execution of the law in Chicago there must be something wrong in that respect?—A. I most certainly think there is. We are not actuated by the proper motives in Chicago.

Q. How does it come that public sentiment has reached such a point that it does not enforce the law in Chicago?—A. My experience is this: Our factory has been under this cloud for 11 months. When we started out there was no public sympathy. A man could be slugged and forgotten about. If you were persecuted, it was thought nothing of. At the present time public sentiment is greatly growing to the point that this thing must stop, and the law is being enforced better now than it was several months ago.

Q. You have hope, then, of a healthy public sentiment?—A. I stumble on the word "healthy;" I do not.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Have you any knowledge of any money having been offered to settle a labor difficulty in this city?—A. I have.

Q. Are you willing to give the instance to the commission?—A. I would not care to give names or places or relate the circumstance. I look upon those things as the worse part of a controversy of this kind; and I do believe, in fact I know, that the workman himself does not get any benefit from these troubles such as we are having now and have had for a number of years.

Q. Who does get it?—A. There is a temporary benefit to the ones in power. I can give you an instance of the walking delegate whose name has been quoted in nearly every case that has appeared against us. He drew his wages continually from the union while the workmen were on a strike, until he had drawn out all there was in the treasury, which he immediately invested in the saloon business. Nearly everyone connected with the workmen's side of the controversy, after he attains any prominence at all, wants to get into politics.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) What does he do after he gets into politics?—A. As a friend of mine said once, "If you have any inclination or any instinct to go into politics, you had better go to drinking." They many times don't get there, but they want to get there.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Is it your opinion that the business agents of the unions are too much in politics?—A. Yes.

Q. Is it your opinion that the politicians cater to the business agents on account of the large vote which they are supposed to control?—A. Yes.

Q. Is it your opinion, therefore, that public officials, charged with the responsibility of law and order, neglect their duty somewhat on account of political considerations?—A. It is.

Q. Is this mosaic business a comparatively new industry in this country?—A. Comparatively. It has only been followed here about 12 years, 12 to 15 years at the outside. Almost all of the work has been done in the last 10 years.

Q. What is the material employed?—A. There are two kinds. The first that was used, in imitation of the Roman work, was a marble mosaic, where the small blocks of marble, which are too small to be used in wainscoting or exterior work, are cut up into these little cubes; and designs more or less elaborate are worked out, then put into cement, so as to form a pavement or wall decoration or ceiling.

Q. Most of that work is done in the shops?—A. Yes; the design is laid out. If you are imitating this rug on the floor, the rug would be laid out full size. The design is worked out in reverse, and each piece is pasted on to fit its little place. The work before it goes into the building is all manufactured in the shop, and pasted on paper, and taken to the building and laid in cement, and the paper is soaked off. In Europe they use women. That is the point I took up very fully with Miss Jane Addams. We were employing men and paying them \$3.25 a day for 9 hours in the shop and giving them permanent work. It was possible to

to women to do the work for half the price, or boys, but my contention is to always get men to do the work if possible. She contended we should raise our wages to \$2.80 a day for 8 hours. I told her I thought \$2.25 a day for steady work is a good deal better than \$2.80 a day with no work. She couldn't get around it.

Q. Do you employ any women?—A. I do not, and very few apprentices.

Q. Does it require skilled labor to lay this mosaic?—A. A portion of them must be skilled; not a large portion. I should say that it varies from 15 to 20 per cent who are skilled men. The others are laborers that are more or less acquainted with that kind of work.

Q. Are the pieces cemented to a paper backing?—A. Glued.

Q. And then rolled up?—A. No; they are laid flat; and I want to go on further and say that there is another branch of this industry known as ceramic mosaic; it is made of tiles—burned pieces of clay.

Q. Such as is used on the floors of this hotel?—A. This is marble mosaic. The ceramic is used in the Annex. We paid our workmen more before they had a union than the present union rate demands, and we at the present time pay more in the union rate, but we most certainly object to having our shop controlled by a union, when we have to compete with outside places that are not controlled by the same agencies; and we also object to having our shop run 8 hours a day. I do not believe a man can make enough at that kind of work to support his family on 8 hours a day. I can not support my family working 8 hours a day.

Q. Any of that work done by the piece?—A. No; never done any piecework at all.

Q. Is your work exhausting?—A. No; not at all, that way. As I say, in Europe men do the work. In Europe they work a great many more hours than we do—a great deal less pay, of course. The work can easily be done by women. In fact, there are places where the ceramic mosaic, plain work, is put on paper at practically the same price that they charge for material not on paper.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) How many men do you employ?—A. We work out 50 men.

Q. How many have left since your late disturbance?—A. We are working 20 now.

Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 31, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. S. G. LINDHOLM,

Journeyman Tailor, Chicago.

The special subcommission met at 9.30 a. m., March 31, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At that time Mr. S. G. Lindholm was sworn in as a witness and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your name?—A. S. G. Lindholm.

Q. Post-office address?—A. No. 652 Fifty-seventh street, Chicago.

Q. Occupation?—A. I am a graduate student in the economic department of the University of Chicago. I am also a tailor; make my living as a tailor.

Q. Have you made some study of the conditions under which the journeymen tailors work in Chicago?—A. I think I know those conditions as well as any man in Chicago.

Q. Please give your views on that subject.—A. The journeymen tailors' union consists only of those men who make the high-price garments; has nothing to do with the factory system whatever; only the upper crust of the trade. When a journeyman tailor receives a garment to make up, the employer will not inquire under what conditions the garment is made. No questions are asked. He gets the garment, and is paid by the piece. If he is a married man he takes it to his own home. There are some advantages. The first is cheapness; the second that he can employ his wife to do the more mechanical part of it, to help him. The tailor's home is no better nor worse than the average toiler's home. Here his children are born and reared, and go through the diseases that are apt to come to the workingman's child. For instance, the child has the measles; the mother must make his living in order to pay the doctor; and he must help her to nurse the child. To my knowledge there have been several cases of that kind, and there have been many more cases that will never be known. There is one who inquires of those conditions, no one who takes any interest in them. That is one way in which the garment is made up; that is, the home tailoring, and a large percentage of the work made in Chicago is made under those condi-

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) What is your remedy for this condition that now exists? Have you any to suggest?—A. I believe that employer and employee alike should be willing to enter into a service, each helping the other to his utmost, even to the extent of sacrificing. I think it is the duty of the employer to put the best that is in him into that business and employ the most men he can and give them the highest wage he can. The more business he can bring to his little shop, or his large shop, as the case may be, the more contentment he can make among his workmen; and when they feel that he is a part of them and they are a part of him, and that they both belong to the same thing, I think then, and not until then, we can settle this question. The law of the universe is the survival of the fittest. That applies all right to the animals. It may apply all right to the shark and dolphin; it does not apply to employee and employer. The principle there is that the strong should help the weak. The laborer is always looked upon as the weak one. It seems to me that at the present time, however, the man who has his money tied up in a plant is the weak one.

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the original letter to one of the men in my pocket to verify this. It requested that each man should sign this agreement not to demand free workshops and not to make any demand in regard to wages or anything during this year, 1900. We have made no other demand; have not asked for anything regarding wages, only that free workshops be furnished. So we would not sign this agreement. The next step was, that in the middle of February some of the bosses locked their men out. There is an organization among the merchant tailors called the Tailors and Drapers' Exchange, which comprises quite a number of the tailoring firms. To this Tailors and Drapers' Exchange some of the leading and best firms do not belong. Some of the firms have already furnished shops. H. M. Stevenson, for instance, has had a shop for, I think, about 9 months. One firm, McCarthy, has had a shop for 2 years. Some others have already furnished shops, or given a guaranty to have a shop furnished within a very short time. So the firms are divided among them themselves; those who do not belong to this organization of tailor bosses have already furnished shops; but those who belong to this organization are united in a refusal to do so; and through their representatives we were informed that we could not work any more for these firms. Three hundred of our men—I mean the individuals who work for these men—have been out of employment now for 6 weeks, and the struggle is between our union and the Exchange of Merchant Tailors. Which is able to hold out in this matter?

We have attempted reconciliation; we have been willing to submit the case to arbitration; but on the shop question the merchant tailors refuse persistently to arbitrate. They say that they are willing to arbitrate all other questions. We have no other demands except this, the shop demands, and that they persistently refuse to arbitrate. Not later than 2 days ago I read a letter from the exchange saying that they would confer with representatives of the shop meeting or union in regard to this matter, but they would not accede to the demand for free shops. Now, if it was impossible from the standpoint of the trade to furnish these shops, then these 18 firms who have already furnished shops, and among whom are the very finest and best tailors—why should they be willing to do so? Why should those who have tried it for 2 years or for a shorter time say that they are not willing to give up the present system of free shops and go back to the old system of individual home sweating? That shows that it is possible to do so, and I think it is only on account of human inertia, because these men are so accustomed to the old system by which they need not take into consideration the tailor's time, and because they know he will exert himself even to the breaking down of his health and his family's, that the bosses stubbornly refuse to adapt themselves to a new system. Of course, as long as a man is able to do the work of two men the wages will be correspondingly low. He will receive double work and one man's wages, and perhaps that is one of the reasons why the bosses are unwilling to accede to our demands. There is where the struggle stands. Perhaps we will never rise, and will be exactly as we are, the hardest worked laborers in existence.

The effect on the morals, as I have said, and the psychological effects are simply awful. Here is a young man. He has to work not only daytime, but he has to work at night until 12 or 1 o'clock, until he is physically exhausted. He has to sleep on the bench because he has not time to go to his home or a decent place of rest. He gets up in the morning. What is the consequence? He is tired, exhausted; he has 10 hours of hard work before him; he must have a stimulant to keep up his nervous force, and then he begins by taking one stimulant, and then a little more throughout the day, and finally he has to take quite a good deal in order to stimulate his nerves. In a few years that man is a hopeless drunkard and ruined morally and physically. At 40 years of age most of them are old men and some of them have contracted other diseases resulting from the conditions under which they are working. Spinal curvature is a very prevalent form of difficulty among them. The moral standard among the merchant tailors, although they are fairly well paid—not as well paid as some of the other organized trades, but fairly well paid—the moral standard is something awful. That is my personal experience of it. It has been preached to the public from the pulpit; the factory inspectors have agitated this matter; and very many benevolent people have tried to get it before the public, but they do not see it. If disease breaks out in the customer's family it is put down as a natural consequence, or a visitation of Providence, or to any other cause; but, as I am very sure, many cases of disease have broken out in the families of customers of these high-priced tailors simply because that disease originated in the family of him who made the garment. I am positively sure that that has happened very many times, but the connection has not been traced out and so the public sleeps. That, gentlemen, is a short statement of our condition, but I would be willing to give any further information.

Testimony closed.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 31, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. ELLEN M. HENROTIN,*President of the Consumers' League, Chicago.*

The special subcommittee met at 9.30 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 9.50 a. m. Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin of Chicago, president of the Consumers' League, was introduced as a witness and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name first.—My legal name is Ellen M. Henrotin; my husband's name is Charles Henrotin.

Q. And post-office address.—A. 65 Bellevue place, Chicago. I have been very much interested in the sweating system and have given myself a good deal of trouble to investigate it; I was first interested on the woman's side, but I became convinced that it is not a woman question any more than it is a man question. The enormous number of people who live by the sweating trade in Chicago would constitute the population of a city. There are over 13,000 men, over 11,000 women, about 500 boys, and over 16,000 girls employed in the garment makers' trade in Chicago. The unorganized condition of the trade and the fact that it is not subject to the factory system has brought about several very interesting results. I think it is a mistake to suppose that the boss sweaters are a prosperous set of men. From my observation and from talking with them I find that they have gradually grown very poor through the fact that they have to meet so much competition. In visiting about 36 shops at the addresses given to us a year ago we found that at least one-third had moved. That argues poverty. They did not succeed at their business and they had gone to cheaper places. In talking to them I found, for instance, one case—and this is simply a sample of many cases—where a man who had a contract for making knee pants for some of the large manufacturers was making those knee pants for 80 cents a dozen, all finished and delivered. You can imagine how little he makes out of that and how poor are his accommodations. He has to pay his rent. He has to put in his plant, of course, consisting of the motive power for his machines, and he has to pay his workmen, so that what he makes out of that 80 cents a dozen is very little. Two years ago that man was receiving \$1.40 and \$1.50 a dozen, but the unorganized trade, or the immense competition rather, has driven it down to that price. Then the home workers. All the sweaters object to giving the addresses of their home workers, but we found some. I found out several of them. The lowest price which I found was paid to a woman finishing overalls—that means turning up the bottom of the overalls, putting on the buttons, making the buttonholes, and doing the overstitching on straps—at 10 cents a dozen. I think that woman has a girl about 15 helping her. They were in a small back room—they speak very little English—crouched down at one window; the conditions were abominably unsanitary and they were in a house more like one you would keep animals in than human beings. The woman seemed to have very little idea of sewing; she certainly knew nothing of household life. She could make two dozen a day after the children were fed in the morning and off to school and her husband off to work. He was a day laborer on the streets and his work was very uncertain and intermittent, so she helped by sewing. She and her niece made 35 cents a day, and they had to lose time going for their work and bringing it back. I found other women doing finishing at very low prices, but a little above that. Some had 12 cents, some 15, but I found no woman finishing overalls at over 15 cents a dozen. I think that many of the terrible conditions in Chicago among the sweating trade are civic. I think it is the bad and unfortunate condition of the municipality, of the government, that makes many of the conditions in the streets and the houses so very, very poor.

I think also, if I may speak of a side issue, Mr. Chairman, that the system of factory inspection in Illinois is very bad. We have, I think, 10 factory inspectors, appointed by the governor. If anything wrong is found in the sanitary condition they have to go to the health department, which has to send an inspector; so by the time the whole red tape is gone through with the factory inspector is discouraged; the thing goes by default, though the factory inspectors no doubt do their best, and many of them seem to be men who try to do their best. But the whole system is too heavy, and unfortunately the factory inspection under our present system is very lax indeed. I found in one shop—where the conditions were not so very bad, where they did not use foot power, but used motive power, where they were making skirts for women, walking skirts for suits that would cost about \$35 to \$40 and \$45—they were making those skirts for \$1.10. The sweater got \$1.10—the boss—and he thought he was getting very well paid.

You can imagine what a tremendous profit the merchant must make. And I should like to call your attention to another point, that while the children, largely through the operation of the factory law, are very much better off, I think the young girls are being very much hurt in this trade. The enormous number of girls from 15 to 20 or 21 who are now engaged in this trade is one of the appalling things which threaten certainly the coming generation, as well as the present conditions.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Mrs. Henrotin, I should like to ask you what efforts you are making to bring this evil to public notice?—A. I am president of the Consumers' League in Illinois, and we have only been organized about 18 months; but we are trying our best to better the conditions of the people in the department stores, and we have become very much interested in this strike of the journeymen tailors, feeling that it is one of the first blows at the sweating system. If we can force the merchant tailors to open workshops for their men, we feel that it is the commencement, that it is the entering wedge of the factory system.

Q. Have you succeeded in awakening public interest in the question?—A. I think we have; I think the interest is steadily growing. The association for the better housing of the poor is one that is having a good deal of effect, and I think the information which we are trying to disseminate is also having an effect. People see that, after all, industrial economic conditions are at the bottom of so much of the trouble.

Q. Is the press of Chicago aiding you in this movement?—A. Yes; I think they are glad to aid if it does not touch their advertising.

Q. That is the difficulty?—A. Yes; that is the difficulty; wherever you touch the income, of course you touch a very tender part.

Q. Have you ever thought of advertising yourself: has your society the means for doing it?—A. Yes; we advertise.

Q. Securing space to lay all these evils before the public?—A. We advertise by circulars a great deal and by meetings. They have lately had a conference on the better housing of the poor in Chicago, in which the conditions were shown. On Monday afternoon we are going to have a meeting of the Consumers' League to indorse the strike. We are going to show slides showing the conditions of the home workers, the model factory, and the ideal factory.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Can you tell why it is that women's tailor-made garments cost so much more than men's, if such very low wages as you name are paid for doing the actual work upon them?—A. There seems to be a certain mystery about the word "tailor-made." I do not know why it is, but a fashionable tailor can ask women almost any price for garments. I think most of the tailors for women who carry on a small business, custom business, have their own workshops. I think very little of that work is sent out. It is in the large department stores where they have tailoring establishments that they send out their work.

Testimony closed.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 31, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MISS JANE ADDAMS,

Matron, Hull House, Chicago.

The special subcommission met at 9.30 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 10 a. m. Miss Jane Addams of Chicago was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name and post-office address.—A. Jane Addams, 835 South Halsted street.

Q. We should be glad to hear your statement.—A. I simply feel that the opening of the shops as factories, in the line of factories, will be the only thing to give the trade any regularity. I live very near a large population who do a good deal of this sweat-shop work. The season is very short and the hours are very long during the season. For instance, in the spring—March, April, May, and perhaps into June—everybody will be working very hard and working tremendously long hours. Then there will be absolutely nothing for a month or two. Beginning in August and through the very hot fall weather they will be working very hard; in the later fall they have nothing. It results in two things, overwork and an idleness very deleterious to character; and it is almost impossible to save enough money to carry them over this period of idleness from the very system, the irregularity. Another thing: The man who takes the shop, not being willing to take

it for a whole year or a long while, and not being willing to sign a lease because he only wants it for a few months, until he gets through the work, he gets the very worst shops, and he get very badly fitted rooms, far from suitable. The fact that the season is short and that he only wants them for a short time almost forces him to take the places that do not require a lease, which, of course, are always the worst places. Now, it seems to me if the merchant tailors have factories, they would be obliged to have them open the year around, and it would constantly tend to make them plan the work so that it would hold the year round, and these two things would have the result that the work would be systematized without risk which, of course, would have its moral effect on the character of the sweater, taking away this temptation to selfishness and irregularity which are at present existing, and, of course, in that way they would be very much better off. The sanitary effect would be immediate and the moral effect would be immediate. I think that is all. I thank the committee.

Testimony closed.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 31, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. F. A. POUCHOT.

Business Agent of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union, Chicago.

The special subcommission met at 10.10 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At that time Mr. F. A. Pouchot, business agent of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your post-office address?—A. No. 5234 State street, Chicago.

Q. Occupation?—A. Business agent of the Sheet Metal Workers.

Q. How large is your union?—A. I think there were 451 members at our last meeting in good standing, and we have about 630 to 640 members on our books.

Q. How long have you been affiliated with the building trades council?—A. Since its inception; one of the first unions in the building trades council.

Q. Please go on and give the commission such a statement as you wish. A. I will state that prior to 1890 the sheet metal workers were working 10 hours a day. We went on a strike in 1890, which lasted until the 1st day of February, 1891, when we established the 8-hour day. The building trades council was formed in this same year, in 1890, while we were out on strike. It was through the strike of the sheet metal workers that the advisability of a building trades council was seen, and the thing was organized. In 1892 we established a wage rate, through the assistance of the building trades council, of 35 cents an hour for 8 hours' work. In 1894 the sheet metal contractors formed an association and had a man to act as business agent for them, and through him they endeavored to have an absolute agreement between the Sheet Metal Workers' Union and the Sheet Metal Contractors' Association that we should work for none but members of that association, which we refused to do. That led up to a lockout. They told us that we should either have to sign with them that way, or we should have to quit work. We went out on a strike, or a lockout, which lasted about 4 weeks. After that they signed our agreement, which lasted until 1899. The 1st day of January, 1899, we had presented them with a new agreement, requesting an increase of wages from 35 cents to 45 cents an hour; an increase of 10 cents on the hour. They refused to meet with us and establish a wage, and we were forced then to go for this wage rate of 45 cents. We had no intention of getting 45 cents, or any idea of getting 45 cents, but we came to that. We went on a strike along in March, and the strike lasted from 7 to 10 weeks, after which we had a conference with the contractors in the Briggs House for some 48 hours—we were there with them night and day—and we arrived at an agreement which was presented to the commission here yesterday by Mr. Miller. I think you have it in your hands. In that agreement the wage scale which we adopted was 38½ cents an hour from the time of signing that agreement, the 22d of April, to the 1st day of June; from the first day of June to the first day of February, 1900, we secured 40 cents, and from the first day of February to the first day of January, 1901, we secured 42½ cents an hour. This went into effect, and the contractors who signed the agreement, in fact all the contractors, those that belonged to the organization and have since locked their men out, agreed to pay 42½ cents an hour at that time.

The statement was made yesterday by Mr. Miller that he and two other firms were the only firms that were paying the scale of wages. I wish to deny that.

That scale of wages was being paid in every shop in the city. One of the largest shops, which I have in view, pays the scale of wages, but when they can get hold of a man who is crowded—they do a good deal of country work—when they get hold of a man that is pushed in any way, they try to pay him off at less than the scale of wages, and in fact we have gone so far as to insist upon their showing us their books. Men have come to us and told us that they did not receive the wages, and when we went before the association and told them that, they told us that the men were lying, etc., and they could not do anything with us. So it shows to you that the association would not discipline their members for breaking agreements or not paying the wages. That was in one of the largest shops in the city. I will also state that during this strike of last spring—the building Mr. Falkenau spoke about—one of the first grievances that he stated, one of the first things that he spoke of was a building on Indiana avenue and St. Clair street, where there were some window frames to be put in. A firm by the name of MacFarlane had the work—a sheet metal firm. We had called off all MacFarlane's men on strike in order to enforce the new wage scale, new agreement. The men, of course, that were working on this building quit along with the rest of the men. MacFarlane went down and tried to set the window frames, as he stated to the commission, early in the morning, before the other men came to work. They were set by non-union labor, and we refused to allow anyone to work on that building until they were set by union labor. Under the agreement signed by J. J. MacFarlane—not the owner of the building or the agent of the building—and the other contractors—Clarke, I believe, was the carpenter contractor, and with the bricklayer contractor, they told me they could not do anything to force MacFarlane to sign that agreement, and they wanted to go ahead with the work. I told them I could not allow them to go ahead with the work until the work was done by union men. I wanted it done by union men, and I wanted to get MacFarlane to sign the agreement. The thing went on, and instead of 9 weeks, the building was only on strike in the neighborhood of 3 weeks—only about 3 weeks that the building was stopped absolutely. In that time I made an agreement with the Sheldon people, in order to complete the building, that the work that was to be done by J. J. MacFarlane should be given to a firm that had signed the agreement, which was a firm on Wells street. They were to set these window frames and do all the sheet-metal work that was to be done on the roof, as well as to put in these sheet-metal windows. That was understood, and we put the men back to work and they completed the job in that manner. He says, "I believe it was settled for a consideration." The consideration that we got there, as I stated before, was the putting union men to work there. Fred Hartman, a contractor that signed our agreement, took the job. He got \$2 a window, I believe, for glazing them—I do not know what he got for the other sheet-metal work—and he paid our men 45 cents an hour; and that is all the consideration we got out of that.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Did you ever approach an employer for the purpose of getting a monetary consideration from him for settling a strike?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were you ever approached by an employer and offered a consideration if you would call off a strike?—A. No, sir; I never was.

Q. You know nothing about that practice?—A. No, sir.

Q. Or alleged practice?—A. I have been a business agent for 4 years and 9 months next July, and a delegate to the council since 1890, almost continuously.

Q. You have never had it intimated to you that you might receive a monetary consideration for settling a strike?—A. No, sir.

Q. In all that time?—A. I was going to—

Q. (Interrupting.) I thought you had finished that.—A. No, sir. I am trying to explain the grievances, which they said they had against us. What I tell you is from our standpoint; what was given you by James A. Miller and Mr. Falkenau and Mr. Wells yesterday. He brought in about the McClurg Building. Now, this Indiana affair—I got through with that. Miller made the statement that the Sykes Roofing Company had a job in Moline. At the time of our strike they had some men down there working for them. We sent for these men to come back to Chicago; that there was a strike on in Chicago in the shop of the Sykes Roofing Company. The men came back and the union paid their fare back. I telegraphed the money for the tickets over the Rock Island. After they came back and the strike was settled these men went back to work for the Sykes Roofing Company. The Sykes Roofing Company took the amount of railroad fare which they had agreed to pay the men when they sent the men down there in the first place. Our agreement provides that all workmen sent out of the city shall be subject to the same rules as when in the city, and in addition thereto shall receive all actual expenses unless otherwise agreed upon. We made the proviso that if an employee wanted to go out of town without having his board paid or

anything of that kind it was optional with him, and if he did not, the boss could not force him to do so. These men had an understanding with the Sykes Roofing Company before they went that their railroad fare should be paid to Moline and back again. All but one of the men were to pay their own board while they were there. There was one man that went down whose board the firm paid. That was the foreman of the job. After the agreement was signed and the men went back to work, they deducted the amount of this railroad fare from the men's pay. The men complained of this to the union, and I was sent over as business agent of the union to try and adjust the matter. I called upon a member of the firm and stated the case to him, and he told me that he thought he was perfectly right in deducting this money. I reported back to my union and they told me to make a demand for this money from the firm and inform them if they did not live up to the agreement they had made with us and pay this money our men would not be allowed to work for the Sykes Roofing Company. I did so, and Mr. Miller was one of the members of the bosses' association, and Mr. De Coningh wanted me to go to work and refer this matter to the bosses' association and let them take this matter up and arbitrate it. I told him it was not a question for the bosses' association to arbitrate; it was a matter between the Sykes Roofing Company and the union; and, besides, it was a definite part of our agreement, and they had a clause in the arbitration clause of our agreement, which I think I have got a copy of here. (Witness produces copy of contract.) Mr. Miller read this yesterday, but he stopped when he got to the word "provided." (Reading: "Sec. 13. All disputes arising under this agreement shall be submitted to a board of arbitration composed of seven members, three (3) to be selected by each party, and the seventh to be chosen by those so selected; provided, that no definite part of this agreement shall be subject to arbitration, both parties agreeing to abide by the decision of the arbitration." That part was left out yesterday when he was reading the agreement—"both parties agreeing to abide by the decision of the arbitration." Now, we claim that this was a definite part of the agreement, as section 9 says. "All workmen sent out of Cook County shall be subject to the same rules as when in Cook County, and in addition thereto shall receive all actual expenses, unless otherwise agreed upon." This was the actual expense that they had of going down there to Moline in the first place. We paid their fare back. We were not requesting them to pay their fare back here, but we simply wanted them to pay the fare down there. If the men had stayed there and finished the job, we should have expected them to pay their fare back. Consequently we refused to place it before the association, feeling that it had nothing to do with the contractors' association, but was a matter between the Sykes Roofing Company and the metal workers' union, and that it was a definite violation. Mr. De Coningh was one of the members of the committee that sat with us for 48 hours to perfect it. After considerable argument we found that they would not pay that money. We let the matter rest for a while, but informed them that the men would be pulled out of their shop. It was about a month or 2 months later they had a job out here at Springfield avenue and Bloomingdale road at the power house. We called the men off the power house to force the Sykes Roofing Company to pay this railroad fare that they had deducted from the men's wages. First, we went to see them before we pulled the men. They refused to do it. Then, rather than to work an inconvenience on the Sykes Roofing Company so far as to pull off all their men and stop them completely all around, we simply stopped them on this one job, to show them that we meant business and wanted them to live up to their agreement, and we wanted to get along with as little inconvenience to them as we possibly could. We stopped this job and we said to them, "We had to pull off your men, and we shall expect you to pay them for any time they lose while they are striking to force the collection of this money."

Shortly after we pulled the men off there the contractors' association got together and declared that if we did not place the men back to work on the Springfield avenue pumping station and arbitrate that matter they would lock our men out. The union refused to place the men back unless they paid the money that was rightly due to them, and we refused to recognize the contractors' association in the matter because it was a definite part of the agreement that they had been pulled off for, and we wanted to hold them strictly to the agreement. They locked their men out. We were out, I think, about a week; not much more than that. Now I want to get at where you were talking about bribing, or anything of that kind.

Q. Before you go on to that—you say you pulled the men off the work?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you do that, or did your union do that?—A. Our union.

Q. What was the manner of doing it?—A. In this way: The union, at their

meeting, passed a motion that inasmuch as the Sykes Roofing Company refused to pay the money that was due the men, the members of the sheet metal workers' union would refuse to work for the Sykes Roofing Company on this building.

Q. Did you ever pull the men off a building of your own volition?—A. No; never pulled them off in my life, as far as that goes. We go on a job and a man is there that is violating the rule. I simply inform them that the rule is being violated.

Q. Do you stop them working there?—A. They quit themselves. It is voluntary with them to quit on the building. They all quit themselves.

Q. Do you ever go around and find an agreement being violated, and say to the men, "Quit work on this job now?"—A. No; I do not know that I ever did.

Q. Have you power to do so? Have you the authority to do that?—A. I have authority. According to the constitution I have the authority to call strikes.

Q. We have heard a great deal about that, and I should like to know the authority of the business agent to do that?—A. I will show you what authority we have. Of course, every organization has its own rules, you know. (Reading from Article VIII of the By-laws of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Union No. 73:) "Sec. 7. The business agent shall have power to order out all men, when necessary, on strike, and any member failing to obey such order shall be subject to the action of the union."

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Now, let me understand there. If you find the rules have been violated and notify the men, and the men do not quit work, are they subject to a fine?—A. According to this constitution they are.

Q. Then when you notify the men that a rule has been violated, that, in substance, is calling them off, is it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I just wanted to get that clear.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) It is barely possible that you might be wrong in calling that a violation, and the right or wrong of it would have to be settled?—A. With my union, and I should be responsible. We have another section (reading from Article VIII.) "Sec. 6. When in doubt what course to pursue he shall call a meeting of the executive board, whose instructions he may follow, subject to action of the union."

So, during this week of the lockout I went to the Sykes Roofing Company to find out whether we could not go to work and get the thing settled. He told me to meet him at 159 La Salle street, room 99.

Q. Who was this?—A. Mr. De Coningh. He was the vice-president of the Sykes Roofing Company. He has his name here as manager. He told me to meet him there the next day. I went down the next day and he asked what the demand was. I told him the only demand we had was that he was to pay the men that railroad fare that they deducted from the men's pay, and, I said, Since the men have been forced to strike over at the Springfield pumping station, we should expect you to pay the waiting time that they have had on this job in order to enforce the collection of this amount of money. He wanted to know what the demand amounted to. I told him that if he would pay the time it would amount to—I forget now just what it was—in the neighborhood of \$80, all told. The whole thing amounted to that, along with the car fare—some 80 odd dollars. Now, I said, there are expenses also that have been incurred by the union through this strike out there, having to pay men for a picket out there, car fare to go out there, and we should expect you to pay the legitimate expenses that have been incurred out there. Now, he said, "I tell you, Pouchot, I will do this: I do not want to pay that railroad fare to the union, but I will pay you your personal expenses up to the amount of \$150." I said, "Well, my personal expenses do not amount to \$150. No; you can not do that. My expenses are being paid by the union, and, another thing, the whole thing does not amount to that. All it amounts to is some 80 odd dollars to square the whole thing, and I would not do anything of that kind. I am not doing business that way." It was the same as expenses, but he was going to consider whether or not he would settle the thing up on that basis, and told me to meet him the next day. I met him the next day, and he told me that it was all off; that they could not fix it up. The thing went on until the latter part of the week, and the latter part of the week I got him again, and when I got over there, there were four or five members of the association of bosses there, and I told them we had nothing to do with the association of bosses in this matter; that it was simply a matter between Mr. De Coningh and the union, and the union was perfectly willing to settle the matter with Mr. De Coningh without any outside interference whenever they wanted to do it. The bosses agreed to that, and Mr. De Coningh and myself got together, but we could not agree at first. Finally, we drew up this following (showing agreement): Here is what we say: We

declared the lockout off and we say (reading): "Chicago, Ill., Nov. 16, '99. We herewith pay to F. A. Pouchot twenty-four 85-100 dollars (\$24.85) in satisfaction of the claim of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Union No. 73, for railroad fare, deducted from the wages of the members of the union who were sent by the Sykes Steel Roofing Company to perform work in Moline, Ill., and we further agree to submit the matter of paying the men while on a strike at Springfield ave. pumping station to arbitration between the Sheet Metal Contractors' Association and the union above mentioned. (Signed) Sykes Steel Roofing Co., per F. DeConingh, vice-pres. & Mngr." That is the article that he signed with me, and he gave me a check for \$24.85. The men went back to work, and the arbitration committee has never met on this matter to arbitrate the matter of paying the time for the men out on this pumping station.

Now, there is another question that came up. Mr. Miller said yesterday that we did not issue withdrawal cards; said if a man became a member of the Sheet Metal Workers, he was a life member. I wish to state that we issue a withdrawal card (reading Article VIII of the constitution of the aforesaid union):

"SEC. 1. Any member who retires from the trade as a journeyman to follow any other business may apply to the financial secretary for a withdrawal card, and under no other circumstances shall such cards be granted.

"SEC. 2. It shall require a two-thirds vote of the members at a regular meeting to grant a withdrawal card. Such cards shall be valid during the good conduct of the person receiving it, but may be annulled for any gross violation of the interests of the trade.

"SEC. 3. Members taking out withdrawal cards must pay up all dues to date of issuing the card and 10 cents for the card.

"SEC. 4. Upon his return to the trade the member holding a withdrawal card shall be entitled to readmission free of charge.

"SEC. 5. It shall require a two-thirds vote of the members present to readmit a member on withdrawal card."

Any man that wants to retire from the trade can get a withdrawal card and retire, and if a man wants to go into business for himself he can get a withdrawal card also.

Q. Do you hold that a man is a life member that once enters your organization; that he is a life member and can not become nonaffiliated with the union men?—A. No, sir; we do not hold that.

Q. If he violates your rules and does not square himself with the organization, you put him out of affiliation, do you not?—A. Yes; we certainly do; we expel or suspend him until such time as he adjusts matters.

Q. Then, the idea that a man is a life member is absurd?—A. It is, according to our law, which I can submit to you here.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) What condition is he in when he goes out under circumstances of that kind?—A. Circumstances of what kind?

Q. When he desires to go out and may sometimes want to work at the same trade in some place.—A. If he has a withdrawal card?

Q. And has a withdrawal card.—A. The only position he is in is that he can deposit that withdrawal card and save paying the initiation fee, and be received with open arms—in order to show that he is connected with union men.

Q. He can not work at the trade at any time?—A. Not while he is holding that card. He has got to deposit that card when he goes to work.

A. Now, if he deposits that card can he get out of the union then?—A. If he deposits the card and does not desire to be a member of the union, he can simply stop paying his dues at all, the same as in any fraternal organization of any kind—naturally fall away; that is all there is to it.

Q. Then what is the action of the members of the union toward him after that? Is he looked upon as a scab?—A. No, sir; he is not. No man is looked upon as a scab unless he has taken the place of some man who is out on strike or has been locked out. That is the only man that is looked upon as a scab. I think he is worse than a scab.

Q. A man of that kind is worse than a scab?—A. Yes; I think he is the louse that feeds on a scab. That is what I think about him.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) This man with the withdrawal card in his pocket may work outside of the jurisdiction of the union without depositing the withdrawal card?—A. We have members that have withdrawal cards that are working outside of the jurisdiction altogether—outside of the city.

Q. Outside of the jurisdiction of any union?—A. Yes.

Q. Before they go into another local jurisdiction they must deposit that card?—A. Yes. Now there is something more. Mr. Miller also offered in evidence a permit that I issued to a man by the name of Alex Yeldhan. This man Yeldhan

was working for the firm of Kneisely & Yeldhan, over on Monroe street. The slaters of the city of Chicago organized a union and have affiliated with the building trades council. It is one of the rules of the council that no trade in the council can perform the work belonging to another trade. Prior to the organization of the slaters' union, a majority of the sheet metal workers who worked on the outside were doing the slating. So we were compelled to stop the sheet metal workers from doing slating, on account of the organization of the slaters' union. This man Yeldhan was working out at Fifty-seventh street and Washington avenue. He was on a job there slating. I went out and visited him with four other men, members of our union, and informed him of the rules of the union—that none of our members would be allowed to do slating as long as the slaters were in existence as a union and worked at their trade. They all quit with the exception of Yeldhan, who refused to quit work during the slating. I told him that I thought it was better for him to quit, because he was liable to be fined by the union for not quitting. He said he could not quit; that his brother had gone down South, and was running for a company in the South, and he said he wanted to run this job through for him, and he was going to complete the job. He says, "It will be all right on this to do that." I says, "You will know it if it is." He says that was all right, and he thanked me all right for trying to save him from the fine. I told him, "I will tell you, I will go down and speak to Harry Kneisely." He was one of the firm. I went down and saw Mr. Kneisely and informed him of this matter, and Mr. Kneisely claimed that he could not; that he thought it was perfectly right for this man to do the slating, and he did not make any effort to settle it. So at our meeting I reported the man as doing slate work out there and refusing to stop doing it when requested to do so. The union placed a fine of \$25 on him for doing it—the first offense; they only fined him \$25. None of the union men would be allowed to work with him until he had paid that fine. I went over to the job and requested the firm to have this man pay the fine; if they did not, to discharge the man, because the other men would not be allowed to work with him. I said he could have his choice; he could have the man discharged or he could let him work and let the other men go, because none of our union men would work alongside this man Yeldhan. He refused to do so and the men quit work. After the men had quit work Mr. Kneisely paid the amount of the fine for this man, and the thing went on the same as before, and to-day he is a member of our union in good standing. The statement was made by Mr. Miller that we requested his discharge, and would not allow him to work in the city nor anywhere in the country. Our men refused to work with him, which was their right to do. The firm of Kneisely & Yeldhan knew that if they kept him in their employ on this work the other men would refuse to work with him; that was their feeling in the matter. Mr. Miller takes Mr. Yeldhan and places him in his employ on work that Mr. Miller has—places Alex Yeldhan at work and tells that our men refuse to work with him until he has squared himself with the union for doing this job on Fifty-seventh street.

Mr. Miller also spoke about blackballing candidates and refusing to let them in. I will state that during our strike this last time, James A. Miller and others had a man from down in Batavia—I believe it was something of that kind—who was a sheet metal worker. They had him working over there in their shop, and they had a year's contract with him. I met that man one night and informed him of the strike going on in Miller Bros'. shop, and I told him that he was injuring the cause of our people. He said, "I have got a year's contract, but for that matter I will not work while this trouble is on. I will quit." And he did. He quit there for about 2 or 3 days or something of that kind. When he went back to work again after that strike was settled, Mr. Miller tried to have this man come into the union. The union refused to take this man in, because from the statements that were made there they regarded him as a detective for James A. Miller. On that ground, I believe, the union refused to take him in. That is as far as I know about blackballing.

Mr. Miller also stated another case here of a helper, he claimed it was, that wanted to get into the union and the union refused to take him. This helper is a nephew of Mr. Miller. One of the rules of our agreement that we have with the firm of Miller Bros. says that "all sheet metal workers, journeymen, helpers, and apprentices employed by the party of the second part must carry their working card of the current quarter or permit of the business agent," and he wanted his nephew to come into the union. He would have to register as a helper. The rules of the union are, in regard to apprentices and helpers, that none shall be registered under the age of 14 or over the age of 21. This party was some 22 or 23 years old. Consequently according to our laws we could not register him as a helper, and we informed him of the fact and never registered him.

There was great stress laid on the examination of Thomas Redding, trying to bring out that there was politics, etc., in this. Thomas Redding, the president of the sheet metal workers' union, took an examination for foreman in the city repair shops under the administration of Mr. Carroll, who was the president of the building trades council and a member of the civil service commission. Before Ed Carroll was a member of this civil service commission, Thomas Redding together with 50 to 70 sheet metal workers and tanners took an examination for a position, as I stated, in the city repair shop. He stood 100 on a technical examination—an examination pertaining to the trade. He was marked 100 on that, but they had a promotional examination in connection with it, and on that final examination he had dropped 2 points which left him 98, and he headed a list of 50 to 70 men who were examined—sheet metal workers—for the position in that shop. About a year and a half later, possibly 2 years later, there was a vacancy for foreman in the city lamp repair shop, and he took, you might say, a preliminary examination for the position of foreman in the lamp repair shop. At this time Mr. Carroll was a member of the civil service commission. The examination that was given to this man is an examination that any other man must pass if he wants to become a member of the sheet metal workers' union—in other words, I mean as far as capability is concerned, it is the same examination. He has got to figure out and explain to the examining board of our union similar questions to what were asked of this man Redding in order to pass there. He and 2 others took this examination, and he was marked 100. There is nothing strange about it. He was marked 98 there at the other, only on account of the promotional, I believe; otherwise he would have had 100 there. So it shows that there was no politics there; that the influence of Mr. Carroll on the civil service commission had nothing to do with it. It was simply on his merits and the examination was on its merits, and this man got his position on his merits, which can be proved by any other examination before any other set of commissioners.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) If a workman is first class and knows his trade thoroughly, and he is examined in regard to his trade, there would be nothing remarkable about his answering all of the questions correctly and being rated at 100 on that account?—A. No. There were 10 questions in this case, I believe, and he answered all 10 questions correctly; and each question counted 10. I think that is the way they figured it.

I have been with the building trades council since its first inception, in 1890; that is, the present building trades council; been a delegate there almost continuously during that time. There have been times in which I have not; possibly 6 months' terms; but the following term I would go in again, and I have been there almost continually. In all that time the cry of the contractors has been the sympathetic strike. In all that time the building trades council has never ordered a sympathetic strike; never ordered one. Sympathetic strikes come from the unions themselves, and not from the building trades council. They have what they call a board of business agents. Each union employs its own business agent and pays the salary. This board of business agents, for convenience to themselves, and to benefit one another and the trades at large, meet together and advise upon the advisability of enforcing rules here and there that the different unions require to have enforced. In order to have any job struck, or anything of that kind, to allow the different trades to leave it, it is necessary for the business agent of that trade to visit the architect, in compliance with this rule (reading):

"ART. 10. Whenever any agent has a grievance on a job, it shall be his duty to confer with the respective contractors, the architect, and owner and do all in his power to accomplish a satisfactory settlement. Failing in this he may call upon the board for assistance."

After he has done this he reports to the board of business agents that he has a grievance there and he wants a committee on the job. He states the number of trades that are on the job, and he wants a representative of each of these trades to accompany him to the job to see if they can not adjust the difficulties. The board of business agents does not order a strike on this building. This committee that has been granted to the business agent who has the grievance on the job, they go to the job and they find out whether or not the man who has the grievance there has tried to adjust it according to the rules. If he has, they inform the men of their respective trades who are working on the job that there is a grievance on this job of such and such a nature, and the men quit work if they deem it advisable. The strike is not called by the board of business agents, and a sympathetic strike has never been called by the building trades council or the board of business agents.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Doesn't it amount to the same thing, substantially, as a sympathetic strike? A sympathetic strike, as I understand, ordinarily would

have to be ordered by the different trades. Now, here is rather a ready way, is there not, of bringing about a sympathetic strike?—A. The men voluntarily quit. They assist one another. They do that out of sympathy with one another.

Q. Can you tell me the difference between a sympathetic strike and a strike brought about in that way?—A. There isn't much difference between them as far as that is concerned. I want to show the commission that the building trades council does not do it; the unions themselves do it; they pull their own men out first. The men of the union that has the grievance quit work on the building. The other trades keep right on working; never cease working; never cease working until such time as a nonunion man is placed on the job to work. Each union as a rule think they ought not to work with a nonunion man, and if something of that kind occurs then the rest will walk out on a sympathetic strike.

Q. Is it not a convenient way of bringing about the sympathetic strike without submitting it to the different trades to have a sympathetic strike ordered?—A. Before they will go out they will always consult with one another—every trade that is on that building. They will know before they go out whether they are right or whether they are wrong.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) I believe you said nothing about your arrangements. Have you ever had such arrangements with the employers' association that you will work only for their association, and that they shall only employ your own men?—A. That was in 1894. There was a demand made by the employers' association when they were first organized, I believe. They tried to get us to make an agreement of that kind and we refused to do so, and they locked us out in order to enforce that. We were out about 4 weeks at that time. We refused to do it, and the bosses broke from one another, and could not hold together, and the consequence was we went on.

Q. Do you ever perform a service for them in this way: Say they may have had difficulty with some member of their association—fine him; expel him—does your organization refuse to work for him?—A. No. We will work for any man that signs our agreement and pays our wages and lives up to our rules, no matter who he is; if he is doing business we will work for him.

Q. Does your organization seek to control the political action of its members?—A. No; we have no politics in our organization.

Q. Have you rules on the subject that forbid anything of that sort?—A. No, we have not; we have no politics in our union whatsoever. The only thing near to politics in our union is where some man is indorsed for a position.

Q. Some man who has been friendly to organized labor?—A. Friendly to organized labor, or some man we think would be the right man for a position.

Q. You no doubt have heard the testimony of contractors in which they say the building trades council must be destroyed before this trouble can be settled. Is there any hope of settling it in that way, in your opinion?—A. No; I don't see how they can ever settle it as long as they have that idea in their heads—that they will have to destroy the building trades council; because that is something they can never accomplish. For argument's sake, if we could see that they would settle this strike if the trades withdrew from the building trades council we have here, and if they should withdraw from it, it would only be a question of 2 months—I don't think it would be any more than that—before we should have another building trades council just as powerful as the one we have here; because the trades would stay together; a certain number of the trade unions would hold their unions together, and those unions would hold the building trades council together. I know—speaking for my association—that the sense and feeling of the members is that they will stand by the building trades council first, last, and all the time. They will stand by their union in the same way and not withdraw from the building trades council.

Q. Is it possible that this trouble might be arranged by every union independently with the contractors and employers and the building trades council not be considered in it? Can it not be done by the trade unions themselves independently of the building trades council?—A. We have no grievance at the present time with our employers, so there is nothing for the sheet-metal workers to settle with their employers.

Q. Is that the case with the most of the unions?—A. That is the case with the most of the unions. There are only the plumbers. I believe they stated there was a grievance against them on account of the limitation of work; and I believe there is a grievance against the gas fitters on account of limitation of work; and the lathers—those three trades. The other trades have no grievance so far as I know. Take our trade. We had made an agreement on the 22d day of last April which ran until January 1, 1901, and were working along under that agreement till they locked us out. They have locked us out twice since that

agreement was put in force. As I showed you before, they acknowledged the justice of the claim where they locked us out before.

Q. How many workmen are embraced in the building trades council?—A. I could not tell you the exact number. I should judge there were about 50,000—45,000 to 50,000.

Q. What do you think of what is sometimes called the Boston plan that is in effect between the master masons and the bricklayers' union of that city?—A. I am not familiar with that plan.

Q. They agree in the first place that there shall be no lock-out and no strike in that trade; then, that being agreed upon, they select each year an arbitration committee, an equal number from each side to be a yearly committee; that committee then selects an arbitrator and all differences and disputes are submitted to that committee, and if they can not agree the arbitrator is called in and they settle it, and that decision is always lived up to. Don't you believe an arrangement of that kind between the different trade unions of this city and their employers would be far better than going ahead in this warring and destructive manner that now exists here in Chicago?—A. That is just what the sheet-metal workers and the contractors have between them. We have no strike or lock-out in any shop. We have had lock-outs, but as far as the union is concerned, they have never struck.

Q. There is still more to this. They will not go on strike because nonunion men are employed. They work with nonunion men in that city, in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Don't you believe it would be better if say 75 per cent of your men, or 80 per cent of your men, or 90 per cent of your men would get employment—that it would be better to work with 10 per cent or a smaller per cent of nonunion men, and take these nonunion men and show them the benefits of unionism, use your influence on them, and get them into the union in that way?—A. We have men not belonging to the union; our men work with them; they have to come to the union first and get a permit, and then in that way become members of the union. According to the agreement we have our men can not work without a card or permit.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You have not answered Mr. Kennedy's question.—A. I stated that is just what we were doing, in regard to this arbitration business.

Q. He asked you if it would not be better for say 90 per cent of your union men to be employed, even if they had to work in the presence of 10 or 20 per cent of nonunion men; and that would give an opportunity to convert the nonunion men, and make good union men of them.—A. It would, if, as a man coming here from another country declares his intention to become a citizen, they would declare their intention to become union men. Otherwise I would not work with them.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Suppose a sheet-metal worker takes a withdrawal card, and after a while goes into business for himself; would he be permitted to take up the tools of the trade and work for himself in his own business?—A. Yes, in his shop.

Q. Not be permitted to go outside?—A. On the outside; no. That was according to the agreement with the contractors themselves. They desired it for their own protection. It shows here in section 11 of our agreement. [Reading:] "It is further agreed that no firm or any member thereof shall be allowed to handle tools on outside work." In the shop they can work as much as they want to. This is the agreement that was perfected between the contractors' association and the sheet-metal workers' union and signed by them.

Q. Did that clause come from the contractors or from the sheet metal workers?—A. I could not say. It was inserted as a result of this conference we had and arbitration.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Could such a man be permitted to do work on his own house if he were building or repairing?—A. So far as we are concerned we are not so stiff about a man doing a little small thing in that way. If a man wants some odd little job, to put him to the expense of getting a man, it would be a hard thing for him to do, and he could turn around and do it in 5 minutes or half an hour; we don't make any "holler."

Q. Suppose it was a considerable job, running for days?—A. If it is a considerable job let him put a man on—hire a man.

Q. Have you ever undertaken to fine a contractor?—A. Yes; there was one contractor, I believe, that was fined.

Q. Did you claim a legal right to do it?—A. I do not know about the legal right. We told him—don't know that you could call that a fine either—told him if he did not quit working on this building that was on strike it would certainly cost him some money; he would have to pay what the laboring men would get

out of it if they did the work. He kept on working and we taxed him for the amount of time the men would have gotten off the job.

Q. And he paid it?—A. It amounted to pretty near \$75, and he paid \$50 of it. So far he has not paid the other \$25.

Q. Is that the only instance you recall?—A. Only one I know of; we never had any other.

Q. Never looked it up to see whether you had a legal right to do it or not?—A. There was no question with us; we never thought of it. We were simply looking out to get the men that were working at the business their wages.

Q. You had not any doubt but you had a right?—A. That is the way I thought about it, and that is the way the men of the union felt about it.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) It has been stated before the commission, and we hear it frequently elsewhere, that the rank and file of your unions are not in sympathy with this strike; that they are misled; that they have a terror of the name scab; that their wives are fearful that they may be slugged; that their children have a sort of fear on account of their becoming nonunion men, etc., and that these influences keep them with you, though they really are not with you in sympathy. What can you say on that subject?—A. All I can say is that the men who are out, the men who belong to the union, are the men who made the laws; they are the men who make the unions and carry them through; they have free speech in the meetings, and free vote and voice, and they say they will stay out. It is up to them. It is not the officers of the union, or the business agent, or anything of that kind that makes the men do anything. They do it themselves; they vote that way; they instruct the business agent and the officers what to do.

Q. Are your men earnest and loyal in this matter so far as you know?—A. I will state how loyal our men are: In 1890—we organized in 1889—we went out on a strike, on the 1st day of July in 1890, and we had \$121 in our treasury. One hundred dollars was a death benefit, because we were an accident association. The men went out in 1890, and they stayed out from the 1st day of July until the following February, and we did not have a man go back on us during that time until along in December. That shows you whether they are loyal or not. The one strike we have had since then, outside of the lockout the bosses forced on us in 1894, we went out last spring, and some of the boys were out 10 weeks, and all of them 7 weeks, and during that time there was not one man who went back on us. Our trade was one of the first to be locked out in this trouble. Up to the present time we have not had one member go back on us. If that doesn't show that they are doing it of their own accord, I do not know.

Q. Is this a lockout?—A. As far as we are concerned, it is, because we had an agreement with our employers, satisfactory to our employers and ourselves, that was to run until 1901. The men, on the 3d day of February I think it was—along in there—were presented with the ultimatum, and told if they wanted to work they would have to work under that agreement, instead of under the agreement the bosses had signed.

Q. Then they quit?—A. The men had to quit or work under that agreement; consequently they were forced to quit, so you could not consider it anything but a lockout.

Q. Is it not half lockout and half strike?—A. No. The employers tried to make it appear like a strike in this way: They lay great stress on the Saturday half holiday. They would request the men to work on Saturday afternoon, and the men would refuse to do so. They construed that as a strike. That is as near as it comes to being a strike.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) You say that it is a lockout so far as your trade is concerned, and the contractors have gone back on the agreement they signed, and which was not to expire until 1901?—A. Yes.

Q. You are a member of the building trades council?—A. Yes.

Q. There are 8 trades that have trouble with the building contractors, as I understand?—A. Yes; so far as I know. They have no trouble with the contractors, but the contractors claim grievances against 3 of the trades.

Q. Are these 3 trades in the same condition that you are in so far as the contractors are concerned?—A. In what way?

Q. Have they a contract with the contractors that goes until 1901, all of them?—A. Yes; I believe their contracts do not expire until the 1st day of May, 1900. Our contract is the longest contract that was in existence when this lockout came.

Q. We have it now in evidence here that this contract is made, but after it is made and contracts are taken by the contractors different conditions, or rules, rather, are adopted by 2 or 3 of the trades, thus making it a little bit harder for the contractors; and they have refused, as I understand, to accept those new

rules. Do you look upon that as carrying out in good faith the original contract that was signed between the trades and the contractors?—A. No; I do not. If they make an agreement with the contractors—take it with our own trade; we made this contract with our contractors, and as long as that time had not expired we had no right to inaugurate any new rules.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) And have not?—A. And have not; no; have not inaugurated anything different from that; all we have done was simply to try to enforce the carrying out of the contract between us.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) In that way they have no grievance against you?—A. No; in fact, I am positive they have no grievance. I asked Mr. Miller yesterday if the sheet-metal contractors had any grievance against the sheet-metal workers, and he said no.

Q. You must all work together in order to finish a building. Say 8 have made new rules that must be enforced in a building, and unless they are complied with that part of the work stops. Could the rest of the building be struck when this other stops?—A. I will state this: If any trade makes a rule, or rather has an agreement with the employers that is signed, and that agreement has not expired, and that trade makes a rule to change its mode of working, etc., the building trades council does not back them up in anything of that kind.

Q. Nothing of this kind has ever been brought to the building trades council?—A. No; they do it just as a few individuals do, through their own union, the same as an individual man would do it himself. The building trades council never sanctions it, and never backs them up; never calls a strike for that. These rules they claim so much about—of the plumbers and gas fitters—since they have been carrying out these rules there has never been a sympathetic strike called on any building in Chicago by the building trades council.

Q. The plumbers go out and quit work, and the gas fitters quit work; could the building be completed without the plumbers and gas fitters doing their work?—A. Certainly not. That stands to reason. But here is the thing to look at: If the plumbers went out themselves without a just cause, to carry out their agreement or anything of the kind, the building trades council could call them up before them and compel them to go back to work, because they would be in the wrong.

Q. You heard the testimony yesterday, did you not?—A. Part of it.

Q. Has the building trades council ever investigated the grievance that the contractors claim to have against these 2 or 3 trades?—A. Yes; in a way we have.

Q. What was the result of that investigation?—A. We found they had limitations of work among their rules; we also found among the trades that had limitations of work that the bosses complained of a spirit of readiness to meet the employers and make it right.

Q. Have you made an effort to adjust that difference?—A. The trades that have the grievances have. I believe the plumbers went to their employers in order to settle what difference they might have in regard to their rules, etc., and the employers informed them that when they should withdraw from the building trades council they would meet with them and settle.

Q. Until that time you stand by those trades in changing those rules; do I understand that the trades unions of the council stand by the change of these rules?—A. No; the building trades council does not back these people up in any rule they have made that is not in the contract ratified by the building trades council. If they do anything of that kind, it is done as individuals outside of the building trades council altogether.

Q. There has been a good deal said about violations of contracts on both sides. Written documents were presented here yesterday that seemed to show that there was a violation of contracts that had been made between the contractors and 1 or 2 of the trades, at least, and on that account, probably, as much as anything else, this trouble exists. Could not your trades council investigate those questions and see whether or not these 2 or 3 trades that have changed their rules on the contractor had good cause for changing the rules and making the subsequent demand?—A. We could investigate and all that, but it would not do us any good, for the simple reason that Mr. Falkenau stated here the other night that nothing would satisfy them but the destruction of the building trades council; and it seemed to be the statement of nearly all I heard. You see, we could not accomplish anything. The unions they claim to have grievances against notified their various associations of employers that they were willing to settle anything they had with them; modify and change anything they had in conflict with them; but the employers' associations have absolutely refused to treat with them or do anything with them until such time as they withdraw from the building trades council.

Q. Here is what I want to get at: Here is a contract in black and white, and

signed; a change is made in the rules which substantially changes the contract. Is there anything there to arbitrate?—A. There certainly would be. If the contractors would call those points to the attention of the building trades council it would force those trades to live up to the contracts they made with their employers. There is no union that is desirous of having its men out of work, and I do not believe there is any delegate in the building trades council that wants his men out of work. Because I am a business agent and have the authority, according to the constitution of my union, to call my men out on a strike, I don't think I have the right to call my men out because I am getting my salary. Not a bit of it. It should be my business to find out whether they are right or wrong before any step of that kind is taken.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You think the contractors are wrong in taking the ground that the building trades council must be given up?—A. Yes.

Q. You desire to be right yourself, whether they are right or wrong on the other side?—A. We want to do what is right.

Q. If you have discovered by this investigation or otherwise that any of the trades affiliated with your council has done something which practically amounts to a breach of contract, and there is some just ground for complaint on the part of the contractors, will it not be for the interest of all your trades to have your council take action on that subject and put itself right? Then possibly the contractors, seeing that action and disposition to be fair and to correct a mistake, might moderate their demands that the building trades council be given up; they might see some good in it. What do you think of that idea?—A. That is all right. The building trades council is perfectly willing to adjust any grievance they may have.

Q. You and I have lived long enough to know that most misunderstandings between men and between unions grow out of a lack of frankness and thorough understanding of questions from each other's point of view?—A. Yes.

Q. You claim, so far as your trade is concerned, you are locked out, and that is a violation of the agreement?—A. Yes.

Q. These contractors are responsible, are they not?—A. Certainly are.

Q. Have you instituted a lawsuit against them for breach of contract?—A. No.

Q. Why don't you do it?—A. Labor people are not anxious to go into court; never have been.

Q. It is the best way.—A. They are so slow, though.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 31, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. BUD RILEY,

President of the Plasterers' Union, of Chicago.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m. in the Auditorium Hotel, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 11.30 a. m. Mr. Bud Riley was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please state your name and address.—A. Bud Riley, 1677 Greenshaw street.

Q. Occupation.—A. I am a plasterer and president of the Plasterers' Union.

Q. How large is your union?—A. We have about 350 members.

Q. Belong to the building trades' council?—A. Yes.

Q. You may go on and make your own statement.—A. What brought me up here: First, we have not any serious grievance with our bosses, any more than most of us are out of work. I read a piece in yesterday morning's Chronicle where I, with another colleague of our organization, have been accused, in an affidavit read before this commission, of stealing books to keep a man out of the courts and out of the penitentiary, who was a defaulter to the amount of \$10,000. I would like to hear that affidavit read if I may. These newspapers kind of stretch things once in a while. If the affidavit is the same as the piece in the Chronicle it is all wrong. I would like to have it read if possible.

Q. Whose statement is it you refer to?—A. I will read the piece [reading from the Chicago Chronicle, March 30, 1900].

"In an affidavit by W. J. Simpson, of 329 Fifth avenue, which Contractor Boyle read to the commissioners, the charge was made that Civil Service Commissioner Carroll and Bud Riley, of the Plasterers' Union procured the theft of certain books of the union to the end that a \$10,000 defalcation by Treasurer William

Glenn might not be proved in court. The theft is alleged to have occurred in 1897 in Peoria, where emissaries of Carroll and Riley are claimed to have been sent to take the books. Simpson claims that he was driven out of Chicago because of his part in exposing Glenn. At Peoria he had hidden away the incriminating records, he says, but the house in which he concealed them was broken into and the books stolen by men acting for Carroll and Riley.

"In reply to a question from Commissioner Clarke, Contractor Boyle declared that he believed that every word in Simpson's affidavit is true."

(At this point the witness was permitted to examine the original statement read by Mr. Boyle, after which he resumed the stand and testified as follows:)

The WITNESS. I understood you to say that there was an affidavit when I took the stand. It is not an affidavit, and not sworn to by Mr. Simpson at all, and the man that put it in, Mr. Boyle, I believe—I do not suppose he could swear to anything of that kind, either; but I would like to answer it anyhow as far as it goes. I would like to state that along about March 1 William Simpson was put on the auditing committee of our organization, and he claimed that he found \$119 of shortage on our labor day suits; at least, the committee could not agree on that amount. It was afterwards made to appear in the receipts and bills, and it was explained to the union's satisfaction that there was no such shortage. It was explained to the satisfaction of the union that it was not so, and the receipts and bills are there yet, and can be gotten at any time. Simpson then claimed that he had found there was a shortage in the treasurer's accounts, and he moved to have a special committee appointed to go over the books for 4 years, and the request was granted. There was not a dissenting voice against the whole question. The first thing he did, he took the books, he and the committee, and went over to a respectable house and hired a room in it. I believe it was on the 17th of March, St. Patrick's day. He had a good deal to say to the committee about something. At present I forget just what brought me up there, but I had hard work finding them. I found Simpson and the other two members of the committee, and I found 148 quart bottles of beer in the room, and they were all drunk. Simpson says in his statement here that the other two members were drunk and he was not. I claim that he was the drunkest member of the crowd, and his wife was chasing down there, talking about getting a divorce from him for being in that kind of a house. They made a report to the meeting, and about that time, I believe, I made my report—I was business agent at that time—about what I found the committee doing there, and the way they were doing. A motion was made then that the books be given to an expert accountant. It was carried. There was not a dissenting voice against that, and this committee was discharged at that time and another committee appointed.

Simpson still maintained that he had things right, and the society let him go on to see if he could show it or not, and he brought the books, or part of the books, to the expert accountant. I believe he left two or three ledgers in the locker. The expert accountant never got hold of them at all, but he brought in a report—a personal report; I do not just remember what it was—he has got it there—of \$1,911.40, or something. But when we found out that he did not have all the books, I believe the action was taken to take the books away from the expert accountant and have an auditing committee of our own members to go over the books. And this committee went over the books, and two of the members reported that they could not find anything, and Simpson brought in a report that he did find something, and moved to have a prosecuting committee appointed. A prosecuting committee was appointed, and they had our treasurer arrested, and tried to prosecute him for stealing the funds of the plasterers' organization. I believe they had a 2 days' session in court before Judge Gibbons, and Simpson's own lawyer stopped the case. He said he had no evidence at all to go ahead with it. There was no more about it then for a while.

Simpson left town and went out to DeKalb, and from there he went to Peoria. At the time he went to DeKalb he was treasurer of the organization, and we did not have any money to pay our rent, and pay sick benefits and death benefits, or anything that came along. He was gone a couple of months. We were expecting at every meeting that he would come in. The first we knew of him was an advertisement in the papers of Peoria that plasterers were wanted to work 10 hours a day; and, knowing that Peoria was an international town, we started to investigate; and in a few nights the paper came out with 9 hours, and a few nights after they advertised for men at 8 hours a day. In the meantime there was a man named John Pierson who gave the material to a man named Kennedy for a man to go down there, and he took advantage of the job. They were not satisfied with the way the job was going—it was the Jonathan Clark Company—and a letter was given to me, and a gentleman wanted me to go down and take

charge of the job. I telegraphed to ask if the men were nonunion men, and got word back that they were not; and I went down, and I reported what had taken place at the next meeting; and by a vote of the plasterers I was ordered to go to Peoria and make Simpson give up our bank books and treasurer's books, and all the books he had. Simpson refused to give them up; said everybody else had been stealing from the plasterers' organization, and he was going to do the same thing. He would not give me the books, so I had a warrant sworn out and had him arrested; and finally he said he would give me the books, and he went to the house and got the bank book and the treasurer's book and a couple of other little books that did not amount to anything, and I returned with the books. One of the men working on the job quit, and it came up in the next meeting, and he said Simpson was laughing at the way he fooled me; did not give me half of the books. So the society ordered me to go down and get a search warrant out and get all the papers and books he had belonging to the society; and I went down to Peoria. I went in and knocked on the door, and the owner of the house had not concealed all those things, and I did not break the door down. The officer went into the house and got those things, and I brought them back to Chicago.

When the trial came up, Simpson owed me \$132 in cash; he gave me \$100, and he promised that he would pay the \$32 in the next week. At the time of the trial he tried to beg off, and my lawyer advised me to do that rather than to have any trouble, and I was under expense down there in a strange town. I let him go, and he still owes the \$32, and the society has never seen fit to go to the bother of going to the people or collecting the debt.

I do not know but Brother Carroll can tell you something else that I have forgotten. This Mr. Boyle that made this statement stated that some relative of his was on the auditing committee with Simpson, and he knew he was a relative when he produced this article here. I say that this Mr. Boyle that produced this here was not a relative of the gentleman who was on the auditing committee with Simpson, and Mr. Boyle knew it was not true. Simpson states that he was chased out of Chicago for what he had done, and claims that the Chicago union has no fine against him whatever. He was fined down in Peoria. He was not fined by us, as he states. The local union held a session there and fined him \$50 for fine, and \$15 initiation fee; that would make \$65, and, of course, if he pays that to Peoria, he could come into our union without paying anything; come in on a traveling card. We have never chased anybody out of town.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 31, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN MANGAN,

Western Organizer, National Association of Steam Fitters and Helpers.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m., March 31, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 11.40 a. m. Mr. John Mangan was sworn as a witness and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your name?—A. John Mangan.

Q. Address?—A. No. 4222 Wentworth avenue, Chicago.

Q. Occupation?—A. Steam fitter.

Q. And do you sustain any official relation to a union?—A. Not in the local organization. I am organizer for the national association, as well as one of the officers of the national building trades council.

Q. We will hear your statement.—A. The labor situation now confronting the citizens of this city is, to say the least of it, a very serious one; serious because of the number of men and the amount of money involved, and also, because of the lack of foresight displayed by both contestants in not having found a satisfactory plan that would tend to remove the existing conditions and restore harmony between employer and employee.

I desire to extend to the gentlemen of this commission, as a member of organized labor, my sincere thanks for the opportunity presented me of giving my views on this matter. I also desire to state, as a citizen of Chicago who offers no apology for his desire to see this city prosper, that, in my opinion, in energy, push, and willingness to adopt new or progressive ideas in the erection of buildings, the Chicago contractor occupies a position that is equaled by few, if any, of the contractors of other cities, and is excelled by none. It may not be amiss to state that in a discussion of this kind each side naturally strives to make its side appear the most logical, and I presume I, as a member of the human family, shall prove no exception to the general rule.

I propose, therefore, to show what organized labor has done for the members of our craft (steam fitters) in this city, and that our progress is in a very great measure due to our affiliation with the building trades council of this city. And I also propose to show that the statements of the contractors, wherein they claim to be in favor of organized labor and at the same time opposed to the building trades council, are, to say the least, not consistent. I also propose to show that the different contractors' associations have in the past entered into agreements with their respective journeymen associations, the nature of which was such as to compel the "union" to force the man engaged in any line of contracting that was outside of his respective "masters association" to become a member, thus using the union involved as well as the building trades council, by the aid of the sympathetic strike, to maintain a discipline in the masters association at the expense of the union men. I know of no case where the services of the walking delegate were ever refused in the accomplishment of this purpose, and I have yet to hear of the first case wherein the services of the nonunion men were ever called in by the contractor to assist in building up the contractors association. I do not mention this matter because of lack of gratitude on the part of the contractor, but rather to remind the contractor of the fact as it really exists. For the purpose of proving my claim, I shall confine myself entirely to my own trade, holding, however, to the idea that what is true of steam fitting is also true of other trades in the building line. At the time of the formation of the steam fitters' union, June, 1885, the wages paid to the steam fitters ranged from \$1.75 to \$3.50 per day of 10 hours, counting the men on the fingers of one hand that were getting \$3.50.

From the time of the formation of our union until our first agreement with our employers, October 15, 1892, we had two strikes for decreasing hours and increasing wages, and in both cases we were defeated. Finally, on October 15, 1892, an agreement was entered into by and between the master steam fitters' association and our association, wherein we agreed to work for none but members of the masters' association, and they agreed to hire none but members of our association. Immediately after this agreement went into effect, the masters' steam fitters' association raised its initiation fee to an exorbitant figure, more than doubled its membership, and the aid of the building trades' council was called in to assist in forcing the unwilling contractors into the masters' association. This was accomplished by the business agent of our association using the sympathetic strike against nonunion steam fitters, and contractors were compelled to join the masters' association to procure union men. It ought also to be mentioned that this agreement contained an article that a sympathetic strike should not be considered a violation of our agreement, thus showing that the master steam fitters had a knowledge of the existence of building trades' council as early as 1892, although several of the contractors testified that the building trades' council was founded in 1894.

In the enforcement of the sympathetic strike for the benefit of our union, a great many contractors, while expressing a desire to hire union steam fitters, refused to join the master steam fitters, and their refusal to join the master steam fitters' association opened the eyes of the men engaged to the fact that they were being used as a lever to build up the contractors' association without any effort on the part of the contractors.

To illustrate further the point that we were used for a purpose, I will mention that in the latter part of 1893 a contract was obtained by a contractor who was not a member of the masters' association to heat the Industrial School for the Blind, a State institution near Douglas Park in this city, and at the request of the members of the master steam fitters, a committee from our union visited Governor Altgeld, requesting him to use his influence in unionizing the job, and Governor Altgeld plainly told our committee that our agreement was a jug-handled arrangement and that we were being used to pull the chestnuts of our employers out of the fire—something we were cognizant of. We failed to take the contract away from this contractor; the objectionable clause was rescinded by both parties later on by mutual consent. Later on another agreement without the objectionable clause was entered into between us and the master steam-fitters' association; and, in addition to the sympathetic strike clause, it was also expressly stipulated that a stoppage of work by the building trades' league would not be considered a violation of this agreement.

I merely mention this matter to show that the building contractors' council are not amateurs in the matter of central organization. This is not the first central body they have had. They had a building trades' league in 1894, and the agreement that we had at that time stipulated that a stoppage of work on their part would not violate the agreement.

Our agreement with our employers in 1892, which was the first one we had, gave us \$3.50 per day, 8 hours, double time for overtime, Sundays and holidays.

They now seek to give us time and a half for Sundays and holidays. We feel that we are justified in making the statement that it was our association as an organization that obtained those conditions for us.

May I be allowed to compare our hours and wages as members of an organization and as nonunion men, and ask the question, Is not a membership in a labor organization a profitable investment? Or, looking at the matter from a business point of view, are we not allowed to exercise our right as business men to increase our earnings? And again, on the other hand, is there any other or better means presented to us as wage workers to better our condition? I wish to say frankly that until a better plan is presented to us by our would-be critics, in my opinion it would be wrong for us to abandon that plan which has proved itself best suited to better the condition of wage workers.

It is argued by some that we have no right to insist that none but union men should be employed. I wish to say in answer to that proposition that those who make the assertion generally do it as a subterfuge to cover their real intentions. I desire to state in no uncertain manner that a union man has a legal, moral, constitutional, and political right to refuse to work with a nonunion man, and that in exercising his rights as mentioned the union man is breaking no law. In other words, even a member of a labor organization has a right to exercise his rights. I also hold that a union carpenter has a right to refuse to work with a nonunion steamfitter, or vice versa. This right brings to the front the much advertised sympathetic strike. As it has already been stated to you how they go about getting a sympathetic strike in existence, I will not detain you by speaking of that. I will simply say this, that so far as my knowledge goes it was always the aim, while I was business agent, so far as I could see, with every man on the board of business agents as well as myself, to use every possible means to prevent a strike by going to see the owner, the architect, the contractor, and everybody involved. I hold, gentlemen, when an organization enters into an agreement, both sides should insist upon its enforcement fairly and impartially. I now propose to show you that in a case of this kind the enforcement of an agreement is always upheld by the members of a labor organization, and the most effective way to do it is by the aid of the sympathetic strike.

In 1892, owing to the World's Fair coming here the following year, large improvements were made on the Union Depot, owned by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. The heating and power plant in the building had been originally put in by a Chicago contractor. When the bids were opened—I want to say that at that time we had an agreement, in October 1892, which gave us 8 hours, double pay for overtime, etc., and \$3.50 per day. When the bids were opened by the company, it was found that one of the competitors from Pittsburg had received the contract for doing work on the building, and that firm that received the contract worked their men 9 hours a day, and paid them \$3, which was certainly an injustice to our Chicago contractors, who had agreed to pay us \$3.50 for 8 hours. At that time the building trades' council was only in its infancy, and we were powerless to give assistance to the contractors, and they were powerless to help themselves. If we could have helped the contractors, I assure you we should have assisted them as far as lay in our power.

Another case I want to speak of; in 1895, about 2 weeks after I was elected delegate, I received a telephone one day from a prominent firm on Van Buren street. I went with fear and trembling over to his office, thinking I had been guilty of a heinous crime. I am not unmindful of the fact that all the blame there is in the labor movement some people want to put on the shoulders of the walking delegate. I went over, and meanwhile there was a contract let for a building to be erected at the corner of Forty-third street and Wabash avenue, and a firm employing nonunion men had the contract. "Now," said the member of the Van Buren street firm, "that firm doesn't pay the wages we pay you." (The wages then were \$3.50.) "It is not justice to us to pay \$3.50 if that firm can get men for less." I said, "Gentlemen, of course, you are right. You can not afford to do it." He said, "We do not propose to do it, and we want some protection in the matter. What do you propose to do?" I said, "I will do the best I can, as soon as I can." The opportunity came sooner than I expected, and less than 6 weeks afterward, on the corner of Clarendon avenue and Grace street, this same firm had a contract for a building, and the building was about nearing completion. I went to the firm, who had a place over on the west side, and they gave me the Fourth of July oration that they generally give you about the rights of American citizens, and so on. They all give you that, but they don't mean it. I explained the situation to that gentleman. I said, "We have an agreement with the master steam fitters that agree to pay us \$3.50. In justice to them as well as ourselves we are in duty bound to protect these men, because they pro-

tect us. I want to place you in the same condition, if I can, that the other contractors are in, and I think we are justified in doing it." He said he proposed to do just as he pleased. I went and saw the men on the building and they were not averse to having their wages raised. I went and saw the owners of the building, who kept the half-way house across the street. They refused to have anything to do with the matter. In the meantime I asked for a committee of the business agents of the men employed on the job, and the architect discovered that matters were coming to a crisis, and he feared a sympathetic strike. I went to see the contractor again, and he in the meantime changed his mind. The result was that the nonunion steam fitters joined our union, and their wages were increased, and when this firm came out on Forty-third street to finish the job mentioned to me by the Van Burenstreet firm of the master steam fitters' association, before they got the job half through they failed in business and left some creditors in Chicago, and the job was finished by a member of the master steam fitters' association.

One of the most prominent wagon manufacturers in the United States built a building on Wabash avenue and finished it in 1896. A member of the master steam fitters had a contract for putting in steam heating apparatus. In the meantime the contract had been let to a prominent foundry and machine shop firm, a member of which has testified before this commission against labor organizations, for furnishing engines and boilers, and connections between the same. He attempted to work his cheap men on the building at the same time that the contractors for the heating apparatus were working our members there for \$3.50 a day. This gentleman considered that the connection between engine and boilers was not steam fitting, and he proposed to hire men as he saw fit, and he always paid a man what he was worth. I said, "Gentlemen, this is a business proposition with me. We have an agreement with the master steam fitters, and it is my duty to protect the master steam fitters as well as ourselves, and I will simply ask you to look at the matter from our point of view, and put yourselves in the master steam fitters' place and see if you can stand by what you said." He said he didn't care; he was going to do as he pleased. I saw the architect of the building at his office, and he promised to do what he could. I saw one of the owners, and he promised to do what he could. In the meantime a committee of the trades at work on the building had been appointed by the board of business agents, at my request, and the engine contractor gave the boiler and engine connections to the firm that had the contracts for the heating apparatus, thus putting our men to work and assisting very materially in getting work for the heating contractor.

I merely cite these cases to show that the much-abused sympathetic strike has been instituted always for the benefit of the contractor as well as for the men. I might mention some other cases along those lines. I said with the aid of an agreement such as we had with our employers our association was used to enforce discipline in the ranks of the bosses' association. As a proof I refer to the fact that in 1898 several of the largest firms in our line withdrew from the master steam fitters' association. I believe 10 per cent of the membership of the master steam fitters withdrew, and this 10 per cent employed fully 50 per cent of our members. At that time we had an agreement such as I have described to you, to work for none but members of the master steam fitters' organization. After they withdrew, for reasons best known to themselves, word was immediately sent to our association by the master steam fitters' association informing us of that fact, and asking us to put into operation articles so and so of the existing agreement. The result was that our members stopped working for the contractors that had left the masters' association, and remained out for over a week. Of course we had to under the terms of the agreement. The result was the other men could not get any business. They could not get anybody to work for them, because if they did the much-abused sympathetic strike would be used against them; the building trades council would be used. That agreement was used to force back those nonunion contractors, those seceding members, although I did not think they were seceders at the time, I do not think so yet. They were forced to come into the master steam fitters' organization again and pay a new initiation fee, thus showing that our association was used to maintain discipline in the ranks of the contractors' association, which is always possible under an agreement of that kind.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) How many of them?

The WITNESS. In the association at the time?

Mr. KENNEDY. The seceders.

A. Probably 10 per cent of the membership, although they employed 50 per cent of our members.

Q. And the association used you to force them all back into the association?—

A. Yes; positively.

Q. Every one of them?—A. Every one of them.

Q. And took them in as new members and made them pay?—A. Made them pay a new initiation fee. That was my idea at the time. They were forced back, and I want to say in connection with the fact that they were forced back in the organization that some of those men were responsible for that agreement in the first place. In fact, one of them was on the original committee in 1892, and those that were so anxious for the agreement that we should work for none but members of the master steam fitters' association rather changed their tune shortly afterwards, because it did not suit their purpose at this time. I also hold that with an agreement of this kind an employers' association can and does obtain better discounts than would be possible otherwise. It occurs to me, gentlemen, that because of the fact that the building trades council and its affiliated unions refused to be used as a cat's-paw any longer the contractors, realizing their uselessness when forced to paddle their own canoe, are not actuated by commendable motives when they make the claim that the building trades council is a menace to society and must be abolished. I wish to state that the building trades council enters into no agreements, has no business agents in the field, and has no salaried officers outside of the secretary, janitor, and treasurer, and in the latter case \$3 per week is paid. I also wish to state that the rank and file of the various labor organizations are not unmindful of the fact that the building trades council bears the same relation to its affiliated organization as does the union to its members, and they recognize the uselessness of one without the other. Business methods as well as prudence demand that the methods which experience has shown to be best adapted to the situation should be retained.

A great deal has been said about the ungentlemanly actions of the business agent. I want to state this: I maintain that if any member of the contractors' association had any knowledge of the misdeeds of the business agent it was the duty of that contractor to inform the union of them at any time, and I think it is fair to assume that the matter would have been attended to. I also want to say, gentlemen, I hold that strikes show in a great many cases a lack of organization, and that a thorough organization between employers and employees, based on fair and equitable lines, is conducive to harmony. I also hold that capital and labor, to be prosperous, should be harmonious. Mr. Falkenau, in his testimony before this commission, stated that the removal of old pipe and fittings from the Montgomery-Ward Building by the members of our union was insisted on, and that, while suitable men were employed by the gentleman who purchased the material, at a low rate of wages, our members were later employed at \$8 a day for a steam fitter and helper. The facts in the case are that Montgomery, Ward & Co. had cheap men that worked in their building doing repair work and taking down this work, and our business agent called on Mr. Mack, consulting engineer, in the Monadnock Building, and explained to him the injustice of the case by showing the injury being done to the contractor who was paying a fair day's scale to our members at work on the new building, in case this matter was allowed to continue on the new building. Mr. Mack promised to stop the men, and the firm sold the material to a dealer who later on employed the cheap men mentioned by Mr. Falkenau. Our business agent was later on called to the office of one of the members of the master steam fitters, and the gentleman who bought the material was present, and the master steam fitter argued that it was not steam-fitter work to take down material, and our agent insisted that it was. Finally the member of the master steam fitters' association in whose office the conference took place hired two members of our association and two helpers and paid them \$5.75 a day to fitter and helper. We hold, gentlemen, that if \$8 per day was charged to the man who bought the material for the steam fitter and helper, then, in justice to our members who worked on the job, the member of the master steam fitters' association ought to remit \$4.50 for each day employed, which is the difference between \$5.75 and \$8. That would be \$2.25 for each pair. If the \$8 was paid that we are charged with receiving, then the master steam fitter owes our members \$4.50 a day.

Our association was also charged with insisting that more material than was necessary should be used on each steam plant. In answer to that charge I would say that if a competent committee of Mr. Falkenau's selection can show to the public that a check valve on a water supply to a steam boiler is not always necessary, then, gentlemen, as a member of organized labor, I will admit we have no case. I am not aware that membership in a labor organization causes a man to become lawless, nor an outcast, nor that it would interfere with any man's duty to his God or his country. I do not think it is in accordance with old-fashioned American fair play for anybody of men of any community to arrogate to themselves all the virtue there is floating around this section of the universe, and I still think there is a little bit left in Chicago, notwithstanding what some of our friends on the other side say about

us. The building contractors' council ought to be willing to admit, as all American citizens generally are willing to admit, that there are two sides to every question, and that it is barely possible there are two sides to even that mandate of the contractors' council which says the building trades council must go. I also want to say that since our first agreement with the master steam fitters we have at separate times had three different contracts or agreements such as I have explained to you. One of them did not contain that objectionable clause, and I can only reiterate my statement, and it is my firm conviction, that it is the apprehension of failure on the part of the contractors to obtain future agreements, with this clause eliminated, future favorable agreements with the material dealers' association, that causes them to display such opposition to the building trades council. It is also my conviction that if the various contractors' associations felt they could obtain such individual agreements from the affiliated unions as they had in the past the present trouble would fade away.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 31, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOSEPH SULLIVAN,

Chairman Stonecutters' Union.

The special subcommission met at 10.10 a. m., March 31, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 12.05 Mr. Joseph Sullivan, chairman of the stonecutters' union, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your place of residence?—A. 42 Crystal street.

Q. Occupation?—A. Stonecutter.

Q. Belong to the union?—A. Yes.

Q. Any official relation to it?—A. I am chairman of it.

Q. Chairman of the stonecutters' union?—A. Yes.

Q. How large is your union?—A. Between four and six hundred.

Q. We will hear your statement.—A. A great deal has been said in regard to the arbitrary methods of the stonecutters' organization. I wish to say that the written rules of the stonecutters' union at the time of the lockout were just the same as they have been since 1867: that is, 50 cents an hour for 8 hours' work, with half a holiday on Saturday and 10 minutes for lunch every day at 10 o'clock, that time to be made up during the 8 hours. Every stone contractor working at the business-to-day was a stonecutter himself, with the exception of a few. They all have worked under these rules and under these conditions and have used the same methods to enforce them that are used to-day. The only difficulty is the claim that has arisen recently because of our affiliation with the building trades council and because we have prohibited the use of certain machines. It is too bad it should be classed as a machine. It has only been introduced since 1894; that is, the principal part of them have been introduced since 1894. In 1894 those machines used to run from 10 to 24 hours a day. In 1895, as was customary, the stonecutters and stone contractors met to make agreements for the year, and we asked the stone contractors to control the hours of the machine and to have them run by union men. They refused to do it. Still we entered into an agreement with them, leaving the machine running the full length of time; that is, from 10 to 16 and as much as 24 hours. In 1896 the stonecutters again asked the contractors to control the hours of the machine, as it was displacing a great number of our members. They refused to do it, and we went on strike on the 6th day of January, 1896. The strike was settled on April 15 by the contractors controlling the machines to 8 hours, and we entered into an agreement with them that we would only cut such stone as was used by their machines. In 1897 a committee from the stone contractors' and stonecutters' organizations again met to make agreements for the year, and there was some discussion about the machines again, and several of the contractors present stated they wished that when we went on strike they had abolished the machines altogether; that it was of no use in the stone business. Several of them that owned machines said they wished they had never seen them, that they were not a paying investment. In 1898 the stonecutters again met, as usual, with the contractors to make their agreement, and the machine question was brought up again, and we asked the privilege of having 4 men placed in a shop where there was one of those machines running, simply 1 to 4 men. The contractors refused to place that number, but

decided to place 2 men where there was a small machine and 4 men where there was a large machine.

Q. Let me inquire right there what those machines were; what kind of work they did?—A. Planed stone.

Q. Planers?—A. Yes, planers. Then I heard several contractors again say that they wished they were out of the stone business entirely; they wished that they were taken away; that they were not of any benefit to them; that there was not a cent in them. So in 1899 I introduced a resolution, and presented it to the contractors, to see how many of them were willing, after all I had heard about it, to do away with the machines. I went around with it and got every contractor in the city of Chicago to sign it—willingly sign it—with the exception of 14. There were 60 contractors in the city. Those 14 contractors stated that they would not sign it. They all held a meeting; they held a meeting at the Builders' and Traders' Exchange, and asked me for a committee to come down before them. I took a committee composed of 10 members down into their room, and we started to argue the machine question. Some of them made a suggestion, Would it not be advisable for the stonecutters to buy the machines, as the contractors had paid quite a little money for them? I said to one of the contractors, "Suppose they were a success and that they made plenty of money out of them, would they have shared the profits with the workingmen?" He said no. Then I said, it is not fair for you to ask the workingmen, since they are a failure, to buy them. So finally, at the end of this argument, one of the contractors themselves introduced a resolution and presented it in writing. It states this: "*Resolved*, That all planers, turning lathes, and scrapers are not to be operated on and after June 1, 1899, with the exception that such contractors who have not been able to complete their work contracted for prior to April 1, be allowed to finish the same." That resolution was introduced by a man by the name of J. J. Deemer, one of the largest contractors in the city of Chicago, having 4 planers in his shop. There was a motion made for its adoption by Henry Struble, the gentleman who was on the stand yesterday, and another large contractor, with 4 or 5 planers in his shop. It was seconded by the firm of Hunt & Co., and carried by 14 contractors voting on it. There only happened to be 7 stonecutters present, and the 7 stonecutters, of course, voted in favor of it. It was signed by the 14 contractors and turned over to the stonecutters for their signatures. Mine was the first—Sullivan, Stewart, Larsen, etc.—the 7 stonecutters signed it. I asked the question, in case of any violation of this resolution, what should be the penalty. Some contractor—I don't know who it was—at the time made the suggestion that it would not be right to put any penalty in writing, but to enforce the penalty that we had been in the habit of enforcing. In the years gone by, according to the agreements that were entered into, in case of a violation of any portion of the agreement by either the contractor or the workingmen, the penalty was an assessment of \$250. In some years it was higher than that. I remember one of the years when it was as high as \$300, to be put on any contractor that should violate any agreement that had passed between the contractors' association and the journey-men stonecutters' association. But this time it was \$250 for any violation of the working rules entered into between the two organizations.

I should like to speak about the remark Mr. Struble made yesterday about President Sullivan of the organization going to collect a part of the fine imposed by the organization upon a man by the name of Reid. Is it true that Mr. Reid violated one of the articles by using a scraper? Members of the stonecutters' organization who caught him using it preferred charges against him, and the organization put on him an assessment of \$250. Mr. Reid was notified that this assessment was against him for the violation of those rules to which he was a party. The men working for Mr. Reid refused employment from him until he should comply with the rules of the organization. He has a brother working in the stone business, and some of our men working for his brother came to the organization, of course—at least I suppose he had appealed to the workingmen—that is the way it was stated; that he was a very poor man, not able to pay his assessment. I said, "I wish you would use your influence. I think he is able to pay probably half of the assessment." So this man came down and made the statement that he heard from Reid's brother that he was willing to pay half the fine imposed upon him by our organization, and stated that he was a poor man; so the organization made a motion that the fine or assessment put on Reid be reduced to \$100, and that the delegate, our chairman, be instructed to go and notify Mr. Reid and collect it. I went out and told Mr. Reid—not having met the gentleman before—told him that the action was taken by the stonecutters' organization and that I was instructed to come and tell him that if he would pay half the assessment, or at least \$100, that the men could go back to work that day. He said, "I will not do it." I said, "All right, sir."

Now, in regard to another statement made by Mr. Struble about the assessment that was placed on himself. It was claimed that he violated one of our working rules by paying one member of our organization who was working in his shop less than 50 cents an hour. It is customary for the contractors to pay their men in envelopes. That is the agreement entered into between the contractors and the workmen about a year ago. Mr. Struble had a man in his employ by the name of Chaplin, and the men that were working with him knew that he had worked the full time; that is, all the time that the man could make. Mr. Struble paid the men off that evening, and by mistake another man happened to get Chaplin's envelope, and the man opened it and found he was quite a little short in the amount of money he should have in it. He found out that Mr. Struble had been paying him underwages. Charges were preferred in our organization and an assessment put on him, as usual. Mr. Struble refused to pay the assessment and said he was not guilty. I was not at the time holding any office in the organization. I happened to be working on a building on Prairie avenue, and Mr. Struble came over where I had been working and called me out on the street from the building, and said, "Joe, I came to see you about that case of mine. I am told," he said "you have got the influence of all the organizations and I am not guilty in this case; neither is the man that the stonecutters have fined. Now," he said, "you put yourself in this man's place, and what would you do if you were fined and were innocent?" I told him if I was in his place and innocent I should never pay the fine. "Well," he said, "what would you do?" "Well," I said, "I would go to a notary public and make an affidavit that I paid that man the current rate of wages, and I would get that man to make the same affidavit—that he received the current rate of wages from me; and I would send it down to the stonecutters' association and the assessment will be taken off, and it will only cost you \$1." He said, "I will do that." The affidavits never came. Still, Mr. Struble said he was an innocent man; that he was fined and was innocent; but the amount of money at 50 cents an hour and the amount of hours that he worked did not correspond. It would if he had been paying him \$3.50 instead of \$4 a day.

The other assessments that he has spoken of, one man by the name of Olsen was assessed at a time when we had an agreement with the cut stone contractors that where there was a single machine running there should be two of our members employed, and where there was a double machine running there would be four. Mr. Olsen had been running his single machine with only one man employed, and he came under that assessment, and was proved to be guilty, and the assessment was put on him and collected. That was all.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 31, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. EDWARD RYAN,

Architectural Iron Worker, No. 4239 Evans Avenue, Chicago.

The special subcommission met at 10.10 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. At 12.50 p. m., Mr. Edward Ryan, of Chicago, an architectural iron worker, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your business address?—A. No. 4239 Evans avenue.

Q. Your occupation?—A. Architectural iron worker.

Q. Are you a member of the union?—A. I belong to the architectural iron workers of Chicago.

Q. Hold any office in the union?—A. Not at the present time; no, sir.

Q. Does your union belong to the building trades council?—A. Yes.

Q. We will hear your statement.

The WITNESS. To begin with, I want to deny the statement Mr. Griffiths made here yesterday, or the day before, in regard to some work that the architectural iron workers put up on the Merchant's Trust Bank, on the corner of Adams and Clarke, which was taken down and put up by the structural iron workers.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Had been put up by the ornamental iron workers in the first place?—A. I deny that statement that it was taken down. It was not taken down. I want to deny the statement made by Mr. Falkenau in regard to the job done over on Fifth avenue, that somebody got some work over in here from out of town, and we refused to accept that work because it was done by non-union men. That is not so, and when Mr. Falkenau made the statement he

knew it was not so. The reason that it was not erected by our association was because he had an agreement with the iron league that we would work with none but members of the iron league.

Q. What is the iron league?—A. The iron league is an organization composed of all the iron workers of Chicago.

Q. The master workers?—A. Yes; members at the present time, I believe, of the contractors council, of which Mr. Falkenau is chairman. When Mr. Falkenau let the contract for that work he was told by members of the iron league, I understand, that he couldn't erect it in town with union men. He went to work and let the contract to Love Brothers, of Aurora, Ill., and when the work was brought into town I went over and told Mr. Falkenau that he could not get men to set that work. I want to state before I go any further that there was no sympathetic strike, and he was not told that there was going to be one, and I want to state further that there couldn't be a sympathetic strike.

Q. Why couldn't he get the union men?—A. Because of the agreement with the league.

Q. Was he not a member of the league?—A. He was not a member of the league.

Q. What was the agreement?—A. The agreement was that we couldn't work for any but members of the league.

Mr. CLARKE. I wish you would file it with the stenographer, if you can spare it. The WITNESS. I can spare it. We have lots of them. When the work came in they advertised in the papers several times to get nonunion men to set it and they found that they couldn't get nonunion men to set it. Further, I understand that he claims—

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY, interrupting.) Then you left that? Did any members of the iron league inform you that Mr. Falkenau was going to attempt to do this work?—A. Yes.

Q. They did?—A. It was practically through the league that I found out that Love Brothers, of Aurora, had the contract. I understand that Mr. Falkenau made the statement here that he couldn't erect it. I will state to the members of this commission that our members erected that work afterwards there, through a member of the league, and the work was not destroyed. The work was brought to a member of the league's factory and was done over and sent down there and erected by the union men, and was not destroyed, as he stated. I believe there was some extra work done there, at least. The representative of the Love Brothers told me afterwards that there was some extra work done at that time. Our wage scale was 35 cents an hour, and I understand they charged the Love Brothers a dollar an hour for that extra work for each man that worked on the job. Now, Mr. Falkenau made those statements, and he knew very well he was stating an untruth. He knows very well that this work was erected there. Some of it had been done over on account of poor workmanship. The work was done by the union afterwards, and erected by union men, because we did not control the shop work, and Love Brothers was just as much a union shop as the shop we turned it over to do the work. Our men don't work in the shop. They work on the buildings only.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Is Aurora in Cook County?—A. No, sir; I think not. At that time we did not cover Cook County; we do at the present time. We have got an agreement with the league for two years, at least. I do not know whether we have got one now or not, because they have got us locked out. I happened to be business agent.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You were speaking about the agreement of this present day?—A. No, sir; the time will not be up until 1901.

Q. Then the agreement will run out?—A. Yes.

Q. Was that the agreement there?—A. No, sir; it is a new agreement. If Love Brothers came to town now we would work for them, because there is an agreement.

Q. Why would you work for them now?—A. Because the agreement was struck out by the building trades council. They would not allow us to have that clause in it.

Q. The building trades council would not permit you to go in to pursue that policy with certain employers against other employers?—A. They would not.

Q. How long is that agreement? I should like to have that agreement.—A. It isn't very long.

Q. Can you spare it?—A. I can spare it for you.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Will you furnish us a copy of it?—A. I could; yes.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) If you will we should like to have it put in your testimony, if you could write it out and send it to the commission at Washington?—

A. I will state for the benefit of the commissioners, in regard to that job that Mr. Falkenan was speaking about, that there was a lawsuit entered into, a damage suit at least, and it is on file now, if I am not mistaken, against the iron league and our organizations for \$50,000 damages for the Love Brothers on account of that job and another job they had in town, which would come under the same conditions.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Who brought the suit?—A. Love Brothers.

Q. Then somebody does sue here to recover his rights?—A. I guess so. I will state that when this agreement was enforced the building trades council was not a party to it. We put this in on our own responsibility, because at that time—I think at the present time we will not go into an agreement of that kind. We could very well do it, because we have the situation under control, so that we had all the mechanics in our organization, and they couldn't have got a mechanic to erect it. They tried to do it by advertising in the papers and they failed. The building trades council was not a party to this agreement. I will state further in regard to the sympathetic strike, I have been the business agent for over 2 years and 3 months, and in all that time I have only had 3 small strikes, and they were small jobs, and there was no sympathetic strike.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Are you through?—A. Yes; only I should just like to say something in regard to this man you call the business agent. The business agent is not an evil. He is only under instructions. He is no more an evil than the alderman is for the evil of his people in the ward. He is elected the same as the alderman, and his office doesn't last as long in the majority of cases. In the majority of cases it only lasts 3 months, in some cases 6 months; I believe there are only 3 organizations in Chicago that continue it for a year. Everything that he does is done under instructions.

Q. Everything?—A. Everything that he does is done under instructions from his organizations. We have rules that he has to follow, and if he doesn't follow them I refer to my organization; they can throw him out of office.

Q. Is he not allowed any discretion in regard to instructions?—A. No, not outside of the rules, and if he doesn't follow the rules he has got to stand for it before the organization.

I want to state further in regard to Mr. Falkenan's statement that some money consideration would buy members of the building trades council, that, if it could, Mr. Falkenan would buy them; that he would not hesitate a minute to pay money to patch up a job, and I think that would be the shortest way for him to get out of it, instead of traveling all over the country and spending his money that way.

Q. You say you know it to be a fact that he would buy them if he could?—A. Well, that member of the firm anyway that he belongs to.

Q. Do you know that they have offered to in any case?—A. Yes; I know that he has given money to a business agent.

Q. To buy a settlement?—A. I suppose that was what it was for; it was for to keep him quiet.

Q. Are you willing to give the name of the agent?—A. If it is necessary; yes.

Q. You can do as you please.—A. Well, I had rather not just now. If Mr. Falkenan wants it I can give it to him.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) He acknowledges that he has had experience.—A. Well, I guess he had. I will tell Mr. Falkenan that when he has any money to burn he will find the business agents good firemen; he will find them very good firemen.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) That is about what he said, isn't it?—A. I do not know.

(The following is a copy of the agreement submitted by Mr. Edward Ryan:)

Entered into by and between the Architectural Iron League, party of the first part, and the Architectural Iron Workers' Union of Chicago and Cook County, party of the second part, to go into effect on the 19th day of June, A. D. 1899, and to remain in full force until the first day of April, A. D. 1901.

ARTICLE I. The party of the first part agrees that eight (8) hours shall constitute a day's work, between the hours of 8 a. m. and 5 p. m., except Saturdays, when work shall cease at 12 o'clock noon.

ART. II. That time and a half shall be paid for overtime up to 7 p. m. After 7 p. m. double time shall be paid for overtime; also for work done on Sundays, Christmas, New Year's Day, Thanksgiving Day, Decoration Day, Fourth of July, and Washington's Birthday, or days celebrated for the foregoing.

ART. III. Where two or more shifts are employed, single time shall be paid on each shift for eight hours' work.

ART IV. The party of the first part agrees to pay a minimum rate from this date to December 31st, A. D. 1899, of thirty-seven and one-half (37½) cents per

hour; a minimum rate from January 1st, A. D. 1900, of forty (40) cents per hour, and a minimum rate from November 1st, A. D. 1900, to April 1st, A. D. 1901, of forty-two and one-half (42½) cents per hour.

ART. V. The party of the first part further agrees to employ only men who are members in good standing of the party of the second part.

It is mutually agreed, first, that any disputes arising between the parties to this agreement shall be settled by arbitration, but none of the specific articles of this agreement are subject to arbitration.

Second, the time of payment shall be according to present pay days, employees to be paid in currency at the building where employed.

Third, when a man is discharged or laid off he shall be paid at once.

Fourth, a sympathetic strike by other trades or called by the central bodies, where it is necessary for the parties to this agreement to take part in to protect union principles, shall not be considered a violation of this agreement.

Fifth, It is further understood and agreed by and between the parties hereto that the scale of prices hereby adopted and agreed to shall remain in full force during the time of this agreement, and that if either party to this agreement should desire a change at the end of such period notice shall be served upon the opposite party at least ninety (90) days prior to the expiration of this agreement.

It is further agreed that if either party desires a change in this agreement that a conference will be called for between the parties, and if no agreement is reached on or before February 15th, 1901, that the controversy shall be left to arbitration, using present agreement as the basis for arbitration.

CLAUSE TO AGREEMENT.

That where two journeymen are employed on a job there may be one apprentice to each two journeymen; said apprentice must be under twenty-one years of age and shall present himself at the first regular meeting of the Architectural Iron Workers Union of Chicago for registration, and upon the payment of one dollar shall be entered on books as eligible to serve apprenticeship.

Said apprentice shall work three years before he can be classed as a journeyman, and if at the end of the required time said apprentice fails to pass the required examination, he shall be granted an additional six months, and if at the end of that time he fails to pass he shall be declared ineligible to serve apprenticeship.

It is further agreed that the parties of the second part relinquish all control of apprentices except as stated above.

(Signed)

THE ARCHITECTURAL IRON LEAGUE OF CHICAGO.
By A. E. COLEMAN,
GEORGE K. DAUCHY,
ROBERT VIERLING.

For Architectural Iron Workers' Union of Chicago:

O. H. HILL, *President*.
EDWARD RYAN.
F. W. MONTGOMERY.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 31, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. M. H. MURPHY,

Vice-President Painters' District Council, Chicago.

The special subcommission met in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, at 10 a. m., Mr. Clarke presiding. Mr. M. H. Murphy was sworn as a witness at 2 p. m., and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your name?—A. M. H. Murphy.
Q. Occupation?—A. Painter and decorator.
Q. Do you belong to the union?—A. Yes.
Q. Sustain any official relation to it?—A. I am vice-president of the council.
Q. Of the building trades council?—A. No: of the painters' district council.
Q. Go on and make your own statement in your own way.—A. My statement is a little talk, as we are not as much interested in this movement as some others for certain reasons. Before this lockout was declared we had been in consultation with the master painters in regard to an agreement as to working rules, wages, etc., at their request. We had an agreement with them that expired on the 1st of March of this year, and were engaged in drawing up an agree-

ment for the next 2 years. We always agree with them for 2 years in advance. In January they sent a request to our organization for a conference through committees; so we appointed a committee that met with a committee of the master painters several times in the month of January and the fore part of February, and discussed various points. We had drawn up a draft of an agreement, some points in which they dissented to; and finally, about the middle of February, at a meeting they made the suggestion that at the next meeting both committees should meet with full power to act; that is, to act for the different parties. Our committee met with them Saturday, the last week in February. I was one of that committee at that time, and there were present the president, secretary, and treasurer, and several more. There were more of their committee—of the master painters; and we discussed this agreement as we presented it in detail, and they offered suggestions and amendments, and the thing was finally modified and agreed on between the two committees. We all signed our names with the understanding, of course, that we had full power to act. Our committee signed for our association and they signed—whether for their association or not of course is a question for them to settle afterwards or now. Then we considered it settled and had this agreement printed. Their association met the following week and expelled all the members of the committee that had signed that agreement with us; that is, they expelled the president, secretary, and treasurer, and I believe there were fifteen master painters represented at that meeting. They expelled the whole bunch that had arrived at this compromise with us. Well, we had gone on and done business ever since. When they expelled them it was a good deal like the tail cutting off the dog, because these men were the prominent master painters in the city.

Q. Who expelled them, the contractors' council?—A. Yes; after they expelled these men, then they reorganized the master painters' council with different officers. The president is a reformed sailor by the name of Dougherty, and the secretary, I believe, is Mr. Stiles; before that he was chairman of the committee.

That is the way we stand to-day: so we are not so deeply interested or mixed in it as some other trades, for we are working with the men we had agreed with and the others who were expelled from the organization, representing about 70 per cent of the employers, in numbers, employing painters in the city, and we are going on doing business with them, and we have not, in fact, bothered much with the others.

This man Stiles—now I should not be here to-day except for the fact that Mr. Stiles testified here yesterday. Mr. Stiles made some very queer statements, and of course they go as long as they are not contradicted. Mr. Stiles, in our trade, does not go for anything. He banks on what he calls American citizenship. He probably has \$500 invested in tools, etc., out where he does business. His American citizenship is the amount he has invested; he thinks that ought to be protected. He does not consider that a man who works for a living—has served his time—is a citizen at all: has any rights of citizenship.

Mr. Stiles has made the statement that he was asked to sign the agreement and give a \$500 bond. That was a fact. Mr. Stiles has signed our agreements on several occasions; his signature is worth about as much as his word. We found that out, because the ink would not be dry on his signature before he would go to violating a contract that he signed, and would begin to use every subterfuge to get around living up to his agreement. Consequently, we did not consider his word any good, or his signature, and when he had to sign the agreement we made him give a \$500 bond—not that the bond was worth anything, but we wanted to show the man we did not think his word was any good: his bond is no better than his signature.

He has made statements that are so conflicting that they kill themselves. About his son: He says in 1898 the union struck his shop because he had had his son working there. He was a nonunion man; and he goes on to say—it must be about the same time—that the son went to Cuba. He was a union man when he went to Cuba, by his statement; but he had become a union man without paying his initiation fee. It must have been something overlooked. That is a new one on me, that a man can get into our organization and still owe part of the initiation fee; but he says so, and they simply went up and told him if he did not pay the rest of it they would call a strike immediately. Maybe; I do not know. As a general thing, when a man leaves the city that is the last we hear about him, whether he pays up what he owes or whether he does not. However, it does not matter much about Mr. Stiles. He has made the statement—not here—at least I do not think he made it here, but he came out in a piece in the public press and said that one reason why the master painters would not sign the agreement was that we limit a day's work. I deny that. The only man that ever limited a day's work in my work in this

city was the master painter, and the limit they put on it is the man's endurance. As a general thing, they pick some young, husky fellow, and he starts off regardless of how he does the work; the amount of work he does, they base the day's work on that—they expect every man to follow that. It has got to be so bad in my trade that when the gray hairs begin to show in a man's head—say a man gets to be about 44 or 45 years old—it is impossible almost, except in the most busy times, for a man to get a job. They don't want him. His abilities as a mechanic don't count; it is his speed they want. They are the men that limit the day's work. That is, do as much as you can, and when you get that done you haven't got quite enough. Now that is about all I care to say on that question—the question speaks for itself—because I might hit some of the men that are friendly toward us while I was hitting those who are not.

I should also like to speak on the Robb case. We saw by the papers they had a woman by the name of Robb before you, and she made certain statements. In that case there has been a good deal of sympathy extended toward the parties, which is probably all right, but sometimes might be misplaced. I want to state there is a good deal of romance built around a small amount of fact. Robb did belong to the union at one time. The first I knew of Mr. Robb, I believe, was along about 1887 or 1888, belonging to an organization in this city at that time. He was a neutral man; that is, a man who was inclined to be a good union man in busy times, but the moment it got to be a little bit slack you lost track of him. We had a great many complaints of the man. It ran along for several years. At that time, of course, conditions were different from what they are at the present time. Finally along about 1893 the man had become incorrigible. We had forgiven him several times for violating his obligations to the organization, which he had voluntarily joined at that time. To get rid of the man charges were preferred against him and he was fined \$100. That was, as we supposed, equivalent to expulsion. We knew he never could pay the \$100. We supposed we got rid of Robb; that was the last we should hear of him; and practically it was for a long time. I never saw anything of the man until I saw what she said, in the paper. She says that he received a terrible beating, and laid it to the union. He stated afterwards in an interview in the paper that Chris Merry was one of the men that assaulted him. If so, why didn't he come out and prosecute Chris Merry at the time? He says, or his wife says, that the union has kept him out of work since that time—7 or 8 years. The truth is that the union has forgotten that there was ever such a man in existence, and it took some time to find anyone who knew him. So much for the story that the union kept him out of work and caused himself and wife to nearly starve—they have no children, just himself and wife.

Now I interested myself in that matter after she appeared before this commission, and in looking up Robb since the last I heard of him in 1892 or 1893 I found a party that lived in the neighborhood with him from about 1892 to about 1897, and he told me, "If you go out to Maplewood you can find out these people's history." I went out to Maplewood and he introduced me to a few parties, and by promising not to use their names I started to find out what kind of people they were and who they were, and before I got through I found people who did not wish their names held back at all. The best place in which to find out what kind of character a man has is to inquire in the neighborhood where he lives. The story of the neighbors of this man is that he would work long enough to scrape together \$5 or \$6 and then he would quit and with his wife would hie to the races. Both are inveterate pikers or betters on long shots, know the names of all the horses, jockeys, and stablemen at the tracks, and she was in the habit of offering to sell tips to her neighbors. This may have had something to do with their hard luck, but again the union is the hunchback to hang this poverty on. Out in the suburb of Maplewood I believe from 1892 to 1897 this man lived at the corner, or next to the corner, of Mariami street and Wabantia avenue, and within a radius of 1 mile of that corner there is not one man, one woman, nor a child that has one good word to speak for this man or his wife. This is the character they have. This I have got from these people there—the butchers, the storekeepers, the saloon keepers, the barbers, etc. She says that her husband has not earned more than \$7 since last October. Well, that is common enough. I can find lots of men in good standing who have done no better than that; plenty of men in my organization who have done no better than that since last October. I do not consider I am to blame for that, or my organization, because he has not done any work. The thing is whether we have kept him from doing it. There is a paint shop in that neighborhood that this man has worked for, and I asked him if the union had ever interfered with this man's getting work there. He said, "No; the union bothers us very little out here; it is seldom we hear about it." I said, "Did this

man ever claim the union had kept him from work there?" He said, "No; I never heard him make any complaint." The same thing holds good with all the rest of them. They never heard him make any complaints. I said, "Why don't he get work out here?" He says, "He never got cross-eyed trying to get work." He gave me that story that when he got \$5 or \$6 he went to play the bangtails, the short horses. He and his wife went off and played the races, and if they won they were all right, but if they lost I suppose they had to starve. The place these people lived in is a suburb of Maplewood, and if the daily papers that made such a pitiable story of this a week ago would send a representative out there to interview the storekeepers, meat market men, barbers, saloon people, and even the school children, they would find this is a very mild statement of the fact. That is the case, and if the papers that made such a big story of this a week ago wished to send anybody out there these people will give them their names and give them the statement. My organization is not interested in this. In fact, all I wish to do is to refute this statement of Mrs. Robb. If this was a court of justice certainly I could subpoena these people and rebut her evidence.
(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 31, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF O. E. WOODBURY,

President, Carpenters' District Council, Chicago.

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m., March 31, 1900, in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 2.25 p. m. Mr. O. E. Woodbury was sworn as a witness and testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your name?—A. O. E. Woodbury.

Q. Occupation?—A. Carpenter.

Q. Any official relation to the union?—A. Yes, president of the carpenters' district council, Chicago.

Q. A member of the building trades council?—A. Yes.

Q. We will hear your statement.—A. I have not much of a statement to make; I am here by instruction of the organization. There has been a great deal said in regard to the present trouble between the building trades council and the contractors, and a great many charges and countercharges have been made which I think both sides would be a great deal better off for not making after it is all over. There has been nothing accomplished by making them. There has been by far too much bitterness in this whole trouble so far, and by far too much newspaper meddling and misrepresentation. I am of the opinion that the great trouble at the present time is not that we have a building trades council or a contractors' council; rather, perhaps, that both of these organizations have not got as much control over the affiliated bodies as they ought to have. I do not wish to take the position here of saying that this controversy is entirely one-sided. I will be fair enough at all times to say that I believe there are two sides to this question; but I will say unequivocally that I believe there was no necessity for the present trouble. I sat here yesterday and a little while again to-day, and I have read the papers a little—what time I get; I have been very busy since this matter came up—and I find almost invariably that the contractors go on the stand and refer to this matter as a strike. This is not a strike; it is a lockout. The building contractors had signed agreements with the building trades organizations. Some of them ran until the 1st of April. I believe some of them expired in May, others in March—that I believe ran for 2 years. When this controversy first came up, we received a communication in the building trades council in the form of an ultimatum from the contractors' association, an organization that we had never known before; that is, in having any dealing with it. Those agreements had not yet expired when that ultimatum came in, that on a certain day, if we did not comply with the rules laid down by the contractors' council, we were locked out. It did not create the best of feeling; we have the result of it now. I am satisfied, if at the time that ultimatum came the contractors had said, We have certain grievances against certain organizations, and before we sign agreements to go ahead for the ensuing year we want these grievances adjusted; we do not think this is right with this organization or that is right with that organization; let us get together and try to fix these matters up and arbitrate them—I am satisfied it could have been done. But that was not the spirit displayed, not by any manner of means; and of course when that came into our organization we took it up in the spirit in

which we thought it was given—the district council did, and the affiliated bodies, and the result is the present struggle—not a strike, but a lockout.

I do not agree with the contractors in a great many things and they do not agree with me; but as a man and as a representative of an organization I am always ready and willing to concede an honest difference of opinion, and my experience in the labor movement so far has been that the most of the troubles arise from a lack of that feeling between employer and employee—the recognition of an honest difference of opinion, and the desire to try to get together. Most of the contractors in our trade that I have had any talk with up to the present time have told me that they had nothing against the carpenters' organization particularly; that they did not find fault with the scale of wages we had adopted for the ensuing year, being a rise, but the fault that they found was with other organizations in the building trades council, and the fact of our affiliation with the council and being called out to support other organizations.

A great deal of misrepresentation has been indulged in in regard to the laws and methods governing the building trades council and the board of business agents and the different affiliated bodies. I can state for the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners that all along the line, from our constitutional law to the law of our district council, and our agreements and our working rules, they are all made by a referendum vote. The local unions are required to notify every member in good standing that at a certain time a vote will be taken on a certain question. These votes are compiled, and the laws are made by the majority vote of the trade.

I, as a business agent, occupy a salaried position for the organization, which is an executive position, simply to execute the law made through that referendum vote, formulated first in our council and sent out to be voted upon. From the statements made by the newspapers and from the statements made by contractors on this stand or elsewhere the impression has been gained that the business agent has unlimited power; that the business agent is more or less responsible for all these troubles, and that if he is not the building trades council is. Now, the laws of the building trades council are made in a way similar to ours, and I have no knowledge of any body affiliated with the council whose laws are made in any other manner than by referendum. I am ready to state positively that in most instances, if not every instance, the laws of the labor organizations are made by referendum vote; first formulated by a committee and referred to the organization. Now, it would not make any difference whether I agreed with that law after it was passed, whether I thought it was right or whether I thought it was wrong; as an executive officer I must go out and enforce that law or somebody else takes my position. Like the Government of the United States and the different States, we stand by the majority vote. The majority rules in our organization, and when the majority makes a law the minority, as well as the majority, must live up to the law; and when the executive officer is elected he is simply an executive officer and he makes no law. I could cite instances, if I cared to go into that, where I assumed responsibility as an executive officer of the association I belong to, in opposing the law and in running the risk of my position and of my salary, simply because I thought the members of the contractors' council in this city are so bitter against the business agent, and some of them especially against me; where I have taken a position really against the law, and gone into our central body and fought it out and convinced them that they were wrong. Now, we get no credit for these things. We are not entitled to any; we are business agents.

I may say I am ready, if the commission desires it, to place in their hands the constitution of the United Brotherhood, the by-laws of the district council of Chicago and of the carpenters' executive council, the agreement for last year, and the agreement for the coming year, and the working rules, and any other information they want. They have already been made public and published in the newspapers, and have been given to the newspapers to be published.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Are all of these rules you speak of in that little book in your hand?—A. The working rules are. I want to draw attention to some of the working rules they find great objections to. I want to explain the way they are made, and if some of the contractors took the trouble to sit down and think, or to reason with the men and ask them why these rules were made, they perhaps would not find some of the fault they do. These rules, most of them, are as much for their protection as for ours. For instance, there is one rule in relation to the filing and grinding and repair of tools on your own time. It has always been the custom in the carpentering business, as far back as anybody has any remembrance; that a man was supposed to take his kit on the job in good condition and fit to work with, and then he was supposed to keep them in repair upon

the boss's time. If he hurt his saw or it became so dull it was not fit to work with, and was not fit to make a decent joint, he was supposed to go and file it and sharpen it and put it in condition to work with. Many of the bosses have taken the position within the last few years that we should do that on our own time. That is sometimes, especially in the winter season, about impossible, unless you file your saw on Sunday, and a great many neighbors who are church members might object, and some contractors who are church members, and really knew you filed it on Sunday, might object, too.

They also find fault with Rule V in our agreement—"Any member guilty of excessive work or rushing on any job shall be reported and shall be subject to a fine of \$5. Any foreman using abusive language to, or rushing the men under his supervision, shall be fined not less than \$10 and ruled off the job." I have noticed references to that rule in the public papers, and twice I have met with contractors representing the carpenters and builders' association who especially lay great stress on it. It has now been in effect, I guess, about 2 years. An investigation will show, in the records of the district council, there has never been but one man fined under the rule against rushing and excessive work, and he was fined simply \$5; only one man—there ought to have been a great many more. What brought about this rule is the system that has been in effect on many jobs, not on all jobs; all contractors are not alike. They hire one or two men on a job who are young athletic men and far above the average in physique and ability to endure a very hard day's work, as leaders, that set the pace for the other men, and the man who does not come pretty nearly up to the pace loses his job. As a rule there is always an idle surplus of labor on the market, and by that system they are able to drive the men to the utmost extent of their capacity. The facts of the matter are that some of our men in the last 10 or 12 years, who ought to be young men to-day, have grown old and gray, and now that they are old and gray the contractors whom they have worked for years ago do not any of them want them while there is a younger man on the market who looks as though more work could be got out of him. Hence this rule. It has never accomplished the purpose to the extent that it ought to, while it has probably been some restraint on our members. It has never been enforced to the extent it ought to be; it ought to be enforced a great deal more than it is. They have laid great stress on that fact. I just merely bring this up to show why this rule was made. I do not blame the contractor any more than I blame the man. The blame rests in the system under which we are doing business and under which we live, that we all are responsible for.

There is another rule here:

"ART. VI. Any foreman or timekeeper who steals time from the workmen by calling time a few minutes before starting, or after quitting time, shall be fined not less than \$10."

I do not know of any timekeeper that has ever been fined, but I know a whole lot of them who should be. They find very much fault with the fact that we require a working foreman himself to belong to the union—not the superintendent but the working foreman—the man that has the right to use tools if he wants to. I have worked for many a foreman who used to make a practice of stealing from three to five minutes at noon and at night, and perhaps two or three in the morning. If we had been so tyrannical in this rule, the union would have had many of these foremen fined. We have never done it; we perhaps ought to. There is a reason why these rules are made, but there is no contractor that has ever yet produced a case where the union has so controlled the foreman on his job that they have refused him the right to be a representative of the contractor and look after his interests. The only case they can point to in that regard is the Saturday half holiday. Many times they claim the foreman ought to be allowed to stay on the job Saturday afternoon. That is possibly true. I said in starting out we did not claim to be perfect. I do not believe they are perfect; but outside of that I have failed during my experience in the organization to see where the union, because the foreman was a union man, has interfered with his right to be the contractor's representative.

That clause in our rules that most fault is found with, I think, is the last one.

"ART. XI. It shall be competent for any carpenter business agent, where he has reason to believe that Article I or II has been violated, to order the carpenters to quit work. They shall be given an immediate hearing before a committee of any five carpenter business agents, three of whom shall constitute a quorum, and the president of the carpenters' executive council to be the chairman, and if the evidence shall seem sufficient to said committee, the men shall be ruled off the job pending their trial in their respective organizations."

This is not a trial committee that has the power to fine a man, but it does have

the power to rule him off the job if the evidence is sufficient. I have never yet heard a contractor, in finding fault with that rule in the public papers or anywhere else, give us the credit of putting the rule there. That was for them the same protection that it is for us. It is a fact we have had some contractors who were of the caliber of men that would sign an agreement and would not keep it. It is also a fact we have had some members of our organization who were willing to work below the scale of wages, or perhaps rebate or something of that kind. It is not only for the protection of the members of our own organization that this man who does this should be disciplined, but it is due to the contractor who has signed our agreement and has lived up to it honestly and honorably and paid the scale of wages that we discipline that contractor who is not doing it, so that they may be able to figure on an equal basis when they go into an architect's office and figure on a set of plans. They never give us any credit for it, but it is true, and I believe any man of common sense can see it. I was business agent this last time since July, and I have had a stack of envelopes that high [indicating], probably 40 or 50, that give us individual cases of contractors who have been caught at this work and their men ruled off the job. These charges are preferred against the members in our organization, and if they are found guilty by the committee of five, and a two-thirds vote of the council sustains a finding of the committee, then they are fined in our organization. They say to that contractor, you agreed to pay 42½ cents an hour, but you paid these men off at 35 cents. You have shown that you are not a man of your word. We must discipline you, and in order to discipline our members, you pay the difference between 35 cents an hour and the 42½ cents an hour you signed for. Some of them have gone so far as to say that goes to the business agent. That money is collected and is paid to the man who earns it. He may be fined, but that money is paid to him just the same, whether he has been violating our rules or not. When we make the contractor pay it it goes to the man it belongs to. Then we say to the contractor, we can not trust you any longer. If you want to employ our members there is no agreement between us now. We will send you the men to do the work. If these men are not good men you do not have to keep them. If they are not good mechanics, discharge them. If they do not do a good day's work, discharge them, and we will send you more men, but we will not send you any men but such as we know are men you can not tamper with. It is done to protect the contractor as well as to protect us. That is the reason I bring it up, to explain that then we deal with the men after we have done that. I have had quite a number of contractors since last July come to me that have been caught at that very business and tell me, "Woodbury, I got the best gang of men to-day that I ever had working on any job. I can make more money on these men at the wages I am paying them—union wages—than I could out of the men that I was working below the scale." Every one of these contractors would have taken his solemn oath, and some of them offered to make an affidavit at the time when they were caught, that they were paying the wages, and yet they come and admit afterwards that they were not.

We have more discipline over our members since we adopted this rule than we ever had before. There have been more contractors in this city paying the wages who never did before. Undoubtedly some of them have not been caught. But I notice one thing, that some of them who have been caught are very sore and very bitter in this fight.

Years ago the carpenters' business agents were paid a salary by the council in order to carry out the agreement with the carpenters' association to work for nobody but members of that association. Men were driven into that association against their will, and I have never talked with any of them since on general topics in relation to their organization or carpenter work, but they have taken occasion to remind me of that; and I notice to-day that some of those same men are very active against the building trades council and the carpenters' organization, and are very good members of the contractors' council. I am glad we have succeeded in making union men of them. I hope the contractors appreciate that fact, for they never did spend a cent to build up an organization of their own. Twice in my experience in this city, since I have been a member of the organization of carpenters, the union has made an agreement with the builders' association to work for nobody except them; once with a sort of a proviso that was agreed upon by the joint arbitration committee. Twice when we started in they had scarcely the remnant of an organization. The last time, according to their own books, they had something like 45 per cent; perhaps, if their dues were paid they would not have so many, but they claimed that. A year later or so they had 440 or 450 members, and the gauntlet was thrown down to us, and the result was a general strike; and anything I believe that all parties concerned had

agreed to did not last but a few days. It showed the result of the organization of carpenters building up the organization of contractors for them.

These are the main things I care to mention here. I do not care to go into these things in detail. I should not want personally to come in here and give some of the evidence and testimony that some of the contractors have given, knowing that it is absolutely untrue; and they come here and state it, and know it is untrue. Two wrongs do not make a right, and it is no credit to me, if somebody says a mean thing, to say a meaner thing. I do not desire to do things in that spirit at all, and I think if that spirit had been cut out all along the line since this trouble started, matters would not have been so serious as they are now. However, I do not think they are so serious now, but a settlement of some kind could be reached if those who are saying that the other fellow is arbitrary would not be a great deal more arbitrary themselves.

I believe something has been said in relation to the strike on the job of A. R. Clark some time ago. I do not just remember what it was—only by hearsay I got it. My understanding and recollection of that strike is that it was first called on account of the grievances of the laborers on that job, hod carriers and building laborers' union. For a long, long time the contractors and builders' association had been importuning our representatives to drive Mr. A. R. Clark into their association. We had refused to do it up to that time, but they succeeded in getting us at that time to consent to hold that strike on that we had called for the laborers until such time as Mr. Clark went into their association, and that was done. That is all I wish to say in regard to that.

I do not believe for a minute that a good many of the contractors are not honest in their opinion, but I know that the sentiments of a great many of the old-time contractors and the members of the council have been for years that the journeyman has no business to be anything but a journeyman, and that we have no business to work for the owner or anybody else but a contractor; that if a gentleman who has an office down town wants some drawers eased up in his desk, or a door eased up, or something of that kind, our council should not send anyone over there to do it. Our members ought not to do it. That has not been done yet, and it has never been demonstrated of our constitution that it ought to be done. In fact, there are a great many of our members who believe that the old way of doing work gives better satisfaction to the owner and better satisfaction to the journeyman than the present contract system. While they are making no fight on the contract system, they have never taken the position, and personally I hope they never will, that all work must be done by contractors. We believe that the owner would get a far better job, as a rule, done by the day, and we believe that as a rule the men would get at least just as good treatment. We have always been opposed to deals between material men and contractors that must be enforced, and can only be enforced, by the aid and strength of the union. It is only two or three years ago that the carpenters' district council balked on a proposition for a four-cornered agreement between the contractors and builders' association and the middlemen's club on one side and the amalgamated woodworkers—those are the men who work in the mills and get out the finishings for the buildings—and the carpenters on the other side—men who are the producers. It fell through, and a great many of the middlemen have been stirred up about it since, and a great many of our people have been stirred up. We still believe we were right at that time in not taking any such stand. If the contractors themselves make agreements with the material men and by the strength of their own organization carry them out, we have no particular fault to find, but we have always taken the position we would not aid them in doing it. I do not think of anything else I care to state.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Some questions have been handed me to ask you; I will ask them in their order: "Did not you, or the building trades council, receive an invitation to arbitrate on September 12 last?—A. I am not positive about the date, but I think they did; but let me qualify that; that was the time I spoke of—September 12 last—to arbitrate what? Our contractors had signed an agreement to run to the 1st of April, some of them; until the 1st of March, others; and the 1st of May, others; and as I said before, they were to run for 2 years, if I am not mistaken; I think three of them ran for 2 years. We considered at that time that there was nothing to arbitrate. We have been willing, I believe—I know that I should, as a representative of our trade, and I am satisfied our trade would—and I believe that every other trade would have been willing to arbitrate any of the grievances they had against any of the organizations in the building trades council, to take effect after this agreement had expired, before new agreements were made.

As I said before, I believe it is not the fact of our having the building trades

council that is the worst of it, but it is the fact possibly that the building trades council does not assume as much power over the affiliated bodies as it ought to. It is an old saying that "The only way to find out whether a law is a bad law is to enforce it." If we have anything in the building trades council that is a detriment to the contractor, it certainly must be a detriment to the other organizations in that council, and when we find it out, and a new agreement is to be made, it will be eradicated. None of the things that fault has been found with have ever been indorsed by the building trades council; none of them; and I do not know of a strike that has occurred to enforce them outside of the trade itself. They were not backed up in the enforcement of those things by other organizations, to my knowledge.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) The next question is, "Why did you and two others not sign the agreement formulated December 29?"—A. I could make quite a long answer to that. There were several different reasons. The main reason was, it was some time after these committees were appointed before they appointed the joint committee; and I was a delegate to the American Federation of Labor, representing our general organization as one of the delegates at large, and felt it my duty to go to Detroit and attend that convention. I did everything that lay in my power to get a meeting of that committee before I went away, but the meeting was not called, and after I got back I was considerably dissatisfied with matters so far as they had gone. I attended two meetings of that conference. Our organization did not agree with it to a great extent, and it was on account of the sentiment expressed in our organization, in our central body, that I did not sign that agreement, and did not go near there again. It has been said by a prominent contractor—it ought to be beneath his dignity as a business man and a gentleman to say it—backed up by another man—I have got three or four witnesses to prove it is not true—that when he asked me why I did not sign that agreement I told him it was none of his business. There is no contractor that ever did business with me that ever got any such answer as that from me. I have always tried to be a gentleman. My mother taught me that. I told the gentleman that I was not making explanations now. Those were the words I used.

Q. Was this agreement referred to your members for a referendum vote? If so, did your members vote on it, and if not, why not?—A. It was not referred to them for a referendum vote simply because of what I stated. Our organization took the position from first to last that there was no occasion for the committee to meet nor anything at that time to arbitrate. Their agreement had been signed up to the 1st of April. We were willing to arbitrate any grievance that might come after that. The men who were finding fault with other trades at that time were not finding any fault with our trade. At the close of the World's Fair rush, after the World's Fair was built and the city of Chicago was left with a large idle surplus of labor on its market and the contractors of this city were able to get labor cheap, we had a 2-years' agreement signed up for 40 cents an hour. At that time we were in the middle of the summer of the first year, going on toward fall, and the carpenters and builders' association communicated with our organization, and demanded an arbitration on the question of the reduction of wages to 35 cents an hour, in the face of the 2-years' agreement that was signed by those two organizations. We consented to arbitrate that question. The agreement ran for another year, and the arbitration was decided against us. The representative of the contractors stood for a reduction, and the gentleman that we chose stood against that and made a minority report against it. A prominent banker in the city, who was the third gentleman chosen, stood with the contractors' side, and they reduced our wages from 40 cents an hour to 35 cents an hour, and we stood by that. Now, then, we had nothing to arbitrate then, but we submitted to arbitration and afterwards lived up to the decision. We did not see that we had anything to arbitrate when this ultimatum was sent, and not only that, but I want to say that the spirit of that ultimatum all the way through not only nettled the membership of the carpenters, but it nettled the membership of all the building trades. It was very positive.

Q. Did the contractors have any hand in preparing the agreement with your association other than to sign it?—A. In preparing the individual agreements we are working under now?

Q. I do not know what is referred to.—A. I think that is what is referred to. They did not. We prepared the agreement. There is one thing I forgot to state. I am informed by Secretary Davis that the agreement that is spoken of, that was formulated by this joint committee that you referred to a while ago, was sent out to every organization affiliated with the council. Here is the ultimatum; here is one clause in the ultimatum that was sent out, and this clause was a violation of our agreement, and many of the agreements that had been signed, where it says

time and a half will be allowed for overtime. The agreement signed was for double time.

Q. Do you not set a pace to suit the inferior workman and compel the superior workman to limit his work accordingly?—A. No; we set a minimum rate of wages for the poorer grade of mechanics, and the contractor is supposed to grade the men from that wage up. We say, You can not go below, but you may go up. The fact of the matter has been this: There has been a great deal said about grading carpenters' wages, but when you come to grade carpenters' wages, and do it justly, you have got a big job on your hands, a job that an organization that has grown within the last 10 or 15 years from 30,000 members up to 57,000 members has been discussing all these years; and not only our organization, but others; and we can not conceive of any fairer scale of wages than to set a minimum scale of wages and leave it to the contractor to grade up from that. The result of it is that when times are good, and there is employment for all, the better mechanic, if he is willing to demand it, is very apt to get a little more than the minimum rate of wages; in fact, I know of some contractors in Chicago who during the World's Fair were bidding for the other fellow's men and offering 10, 15, and 20 cents an hour more than he was paying. That was competition, and that was the benefit of the minimum scale of wages. When times are a little bit slack, naturally the better mechanic is employed more steadily than the poorer mechanics. Those are things which we can not control; they come along in the natural course of events. We do not know of any way to control that, and we can not find any fairer scale of wages to set than the minimum scale.

Q. Were not those rules of which you have testified put in force after the agreement was signed?—A. I do not think so. They may have been, possibly, after the first individual agreement was signed. I am not so sure about that. But those rules have been enforced, with very few changes, for the last 2 years. They are enforced now, and the fact of the matter is that there is nothing in any of those rules that is a violation of the agreement.

Q. Is it not a fact that Mr. Sullivan made a proposition before the arbitration committee, held in December, that they would only work for the contractors' associations if they would withdraw the ultimatum issued November 17?—A. It is a fact that he submitted a question in writing, which was a leading one; and the contractors thought enough of it to run that committee together into another room and confer, and afterwards they came back and they said the question was one of such great moment that they considered they would have to bring it before their council before they could give an answer. It was put in the form of a question, and not a proposition; it was a leading question, put for a purpose.

Q. Was there any agreement with the masons and laborers?—A. At that time?

Q. I do not know what time is referred to.—A. To the best of my knowledge there was, with the exception that the building trades council had abrogated one clause of the agreement, which, I suppose you might say, virtually killed the agreement with the hod carriers, because the agreement had been broken between the bricklayers' union and the masons and builders' association. The bricklayers and hod carriers working together, and the hod carriers upholding the rule to work for nobody but the masons and bricklayers' association, the bricklayers being outside of that rule and agreement with the association, the one that had been broken, with the right to work for anyone outside, it placed the bricklayers in a position where they were unable to make a settlement on a job with the hod carriers, and it placed the other trades in a position where the bricklayers got into that difficulty, and the hod carriers said they would not work for them unless they belonged to the masons and builders' association. It placed every trade in that council where they would stand by the hod carriers' agreement, and they were ordered to abrogate that for the best interests of all parties concerned. The agreement has been broken between the mason builders and the bricklayers; and as the bricklayers and hod carriers work together, if that agreement was carried out it would work for the detriment of every organization in the council. It caused a number of strikes and the shutting down of a number of jobs, and hence the council abrogated it.

Q. Did not the agreement provide for arbitration?—A. The laborers' agreement? I am not sure, but I think it did. I understand that by a joint understanding between the masons and builders' association and the hod carriers that clause was allowed to be set aside, with the understanding that the rule would be observed; agreeing that the wages and hours and the rules of the hod carriers should be observed on the job, but they would not insist on that clause being observed.

Q. You stated that after a continued strike you forced Mr. Clarke to join the contractors' association.—A. I did not say I did; I said our organization, the

representatives of our organization and of the other trades in the building trades' council.

Q. Was that case taken to Philadelphia, and from there ordered off as an unfair strike?—A. No.

Q. Against Mr. Clarke?—A. No. The charges that had been preferred against some of the men under the laws of our organization were taken to Philadelphia, but had nothing to do with Mr. Clarke's case at all.

Q. Was his case acted on at all?—A. Philadelphia has never taken the stand to order a strike off in Chicago, to my knowledge; they could not; it would have no legal force. Our agreements, working rules, by-laws, and the like of that, especially the by-laws made to govern the council here, under the constitution of the brotherhood, must be submitted to the general executive committee before they become lawful, after a referendum vote; and they have never taken an arbitrary stand in local matters, to my knowledge, in the city of Chicago, telling us that such and such a strike that was on was declared off by the general executive board.

Q. Was his case acted on at Philadelphia?—A. Why, in relation to these men I believe there was an appeal; when the men were tried I believe there was an appeal to the general executive board, and I believe the appeal was sustained. I do not remember the exact point in the case, but, as I said before, it was clearly a matter between the members of our organization and the organization; it was a matter that did not affect Mr. Clarke at all, and there was no such thing as the ordering of Mr. Clarke's strike off, or the strike on Mr. Clarke's job.

Q. Who took the appeal?—A. The members who had charges preferred against them; they were the only people that could take it.

Q. Was not that virtually an appeal taken by Mr. Clarke through those members?—A. I should not so interpret it; no.

Q. If the appeal was sustained did not that sustain Mr. Clarke's contention?—A. Not necessarily so.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Before asking some questions which I had in mind I am requested to ask you, did Mr. Clarke sign a joint agreement or join the masons' association, to your knowledge?—A. I could not swear positively point blank, but I think he did not. I think that the record in the district office will show if he did become a member of the association. He did not have to sign the agreement at that time. We were doing business with the association, and the arbitration committee of the association, together with our joint arbitration committee, had signed the agreement that was supposed to be binding on their organization and ours. My recollection is that Mr. Clarke went into that association and became a member of it. Of course he did not sign the agreement, because we were not asking any of the men to sign the agreement at that time. It was the association that signed it.

Q. Mr. Falkenan confessed here the other night that he had had experience in the matter of, you might say, buying settlements of strikes and troubles from the delegates or business agents. Have you any knowledge confirmatory of Mr. Falkenan's confession?—A. No; I have not, with the exception of one or two cases I do not care to mention. There are one or two cases where the business agent was caught at a little trick of that kind, and he very soon ceased to be business agent; but if there is the amount of truth in the statement that some of the contractors would lead the general public to believe, that all business agents are for sale, or a majority of them, in my estimation there is only one reason why it has not come out, and that resides in the fact that, generally speaking, the bribe giver is looked upon as being pretty nearly as bad as the bribe taker, and the man who gives the bribe, as a rule, has a business reputation, and he doesn't want to go out and admit to the public that he has bribed a man to do a dishonorable act against the interest of the organization that pays him a salary to enforce the agreement. If there is anything in this statement I am satisfied that is the only reason why it did not come out. Personally I should be glad, if there is anything in these statements, to see them come out. I can not say positively, although I don't want to state the gentleman's name, for it is very easy to get into names in these matters, and you have to prove what you say, and after it is all done, especially when you are talking of past history, it has not done any good. I had a ten-dollar note put into my hands once by a gentleman who was a superintendent for a prominent construction firm in this city. It happened that a very little grievance was on the job, and he very diplomatically placed it in my hands and informed me that that was the appreciation of the company for doing the business with the gentleman. But he took it back.

Q. You forced him to take it back?—A. I certainly did, and if he had not taken it back he and I would have gone to the floor together right quick.

There is another thing I came pretty near forgetting, to which I understand some reference has been made.

Q. I have a few more questions to ask. I will wait if you care to go ahead with another matter.—A. Go ahead. I had rather answer the questions first.

Q. Do you believe there is any hope or chance of settling this difficulty while the ultimatum of the master contractors stands?—A. No; I do not.

Q. Do you believe, then, that they are very largely responsible for the industrial depression which stares Chicago in the face, and perhaps widespread ruin that will result from a continuance to the bitter end of this struggle?—A. I do. I do not say that they are wholly responsible. I do not say that the building trades council and some of the affiliated bodies have no faults in this matter. But I believe the contractors in this city, aided by the public press, are a great deal more responsible. And if there ever was a wicked conspiracy against the growth and development of the city of Chicago and the industries of Chicago it is this newspaper conspiracy, together with the contractors and material men, in this struggle to-day. While we may be partially responsible for it, I believe there was no necessity for having it assume its present condition or position, and I do not believe there is any necessity for its continuing a great while longer, except from the fact that they claim that the building trades council has got to be dissolved before a settlement can be made. We have never made a claim that the contractors' council had to be dissolved; we do not ask them to dissolve. I am satisfied the contractors' council should live. I believe the lessons taught in this contest will result in great good to both sides of this controversy. In fact, I am satisfied that if the contractors' council lives they will profit by the experience, and I almost know the building trades will.

Q. Is the membership of your union heartily loyal in this strike or lockout, whatever you call it?—A. I do not know of anyone that has broken away so far. I know of some exmembers of our organization who have been caught violating our rules, and fined, and have not paid up, who are working—a few of them, not many; I know some of them who are not working, even though they have not paid their fines and are not members of the organization. I do not know of any breaks in our ranks so far.

Q. Has Mr. P. G. McGuire or the executive council of the national organization any authority to call you out from affiliation with the Chicago Building Trades Council?—A. No.

Q. Have they any authority to expel you from the national organization?—A. Yes.

Q. If they should demand of you to go out, and you refused?—A. Subject to the approval of the general convention. That approval comes to the organization by referendum.

Q. Go to a referendum, would it?—A. Not in the matter of expulsion. I will take that back. But it would be subject to an appeal to the general convention; and in all my knowledge of the organization I can not remember of a case where the general organization or general executive board have done that in regard to any matter of this kind. I know where they have expelled organizations for violation of the constitution, where it was a gross violation of the constitution, and they absolutely refused to abide by the decision of the general executive board, and they have afterwards come before the convention and were sustained. But I know of no case similar to the one you have mentioned, where it was ever brought before our board, and I do not believe it is a matter that our board would attempt to take up for a minute.

Q. Do not the officers of the International Brotherhood of Carpenters maintain that the foreman should not be under the jurisdiction of the union, as expressed by Mr. P. J. McGuire, its secretary?—A. Well, I do not know that I have ever discussed that point with Mr. McGuire; and even though it was Mr. McGuire's opinion, it would simply be Mr. McGuire's opinion. It would not necessarily be law in the organization because it was Brother McGuire's opinion. It is a matter that the general organization has never attempted to dictate to any city or any district council in. They have not that authority. The district council makes its own trade rules, subject to the approval of the rank and file, and if there is nothing in those trade rules that violates the constitution of the United Brotherhood, it is a matter over which the general officers have no jurisdiction, unless they are called in to decide a point of law.

Q. Did your union at any time forbid the use of the patent miter box, or the mortising machine, in a building?—A. I think they vetoed the use of the patent miter box; but I will tell you why they did it. In the first place, the carpenter that lugs a kit that he usually has to lug from job to job has got enough to carry without lugging an iron miter box; but not only that, they are a very expensive

luxury, and the carpenter's kit is a very expensive kit anyway, and he runs a great risk of losing it. A great many carpenters from time to time go home at night and leave the kit worth from \$25 to \$40 on the job, and go in the morning back to work and find that somebody has broken into the building or the lockup shed and stolen their tools, and they find themselves without a tool to work with; and if they haven't got a bank account, and mighty few of them have, they will not have any money to put into new tools. The iron miter box simply increases your kit, and adds more weight to it, and more expense to it. We feel that it is a tool that if the bosses want you to have and want you to use, because it is perhaps more accurate than the average wooden miter box, they should provide the carpenters with them. We have never said to one of our members, You can not use it. But we forbid them—I believe at one time we forbade them to buy them and carry them around with them, because the simple fact of the matter was that it would be but a short time before we should all have to carry them around and run the risk of losing them.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You said you had some further statement to make.—A. I understand some statements have been made here in reference to a speech I made before the Sunset Club last September, I believe. I don't want to go into that in detail, but the gentlemen who made the statements were all present at the Sunset Club, and I believe were members of it; at least I know they were there, and that they understood the English language thoroughly; and I will present the commission, if they desire to have it, with a verbatim copy of the proceedings of the meeting. The Sunset Club make it a rule to have a stenographer, and publish a verbatim report of the addresses made by anyone who addresses that club. I notice that the verbatim copy of the addresses of the contractor and the architect came out verbatim in the newspapers, but mine did not; and, thanks to the fairness of the stenographer, it is a pretty fair verbatim report in this copy of the proceedings of the meeting; and at the leisure of the commission they can find out whether what the gentlemen said here about my remarks there is true.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you make the statement that it is not true?—A. Yes.

Q. Is there anything further?—A. Nothing that I think of.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) A gentleman desires me to ask you if it is true that the carpenters make wooden miter boxes at the building on the boss's time?—A. Why, they certainly do. Always, since I know anything about the carpenter business, or anyone else that I know of, when a man started in on a job, one of the first things he did, if there was not a miter box or a bench on the job to go to work with, was to make a bench and a miter box, and possibly a stepladder. That is about the first job a man gets at before he proceeds to work, when he is trimming a building; and the boss is always supposed to furnish the lumber for that box, and he is always supposed to pay for the man's time in making it. It has always been the case.

Q. It is a custom of the trade, in other cities as well as here?—A. Yes. It is also a custom of the trade for a man to sharpen his tools on the boss's time.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 31, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JAMES BRANNOCK,

Treasurer of the Building Trades Council.

The special subcommission met at 2 p. m., pursuant to recess, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 3.40 p. m. Mr. James Brannock, of Chicago, treasurer of the building trades council, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) What is your business address?—A. 1039 North Oakley avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Q. Your occupation?—A. My occupation, sir, was a carpenter.

Q. Not engaged in active work now, perhaps?—A. Oh, yes; I am young yet; I am hearty enough to work.

Q. Do you belong to the carpenters' union?—A. I do, sir.

Q. Hold any official relation to it?—A. Yes.

Q. What is it?—A. That of treasurer of the union.

Q. And you belong to the building trades council?—A. Yes.

Q. We should be pleased to hear any statement you may wish to make.—A. Well, sir, I think I shall begin, not in relation to any particular trade, but on

unionism in general and the necessity of labor unions. My first entry into the labor unions was in 1858, in Albany, N. Y. The necessity of the union I found out at that time was the bosses forgetting the custom in that year. That custom was that on the 10th day of November wages were reduced 1 shilling, a York shilling, or 12½ cents, a day. Nobody said anything about it, nobody got any notice of it, and nobody found any fault with it, and the 10th of March thereafter that shilling a day was restored, and nobody asked it, and nobody got any notice of it prior to 1858. In 1858 it appears that the bosses forgot all about it, and they did not advance the shilling the 10th day of March, 1858. There was an Englishman that worked for Mr. John N. Parker, an old trades unionist in the old country, and he got to talking about the neglect of the bosses on the 10th of March to his fellows. He was foreman for John N. Parker, and they did not say anything to the bosses about it; everybody tried to keep still; and he suggested that it ought not to be overlooked, and they asked him for a remedy on the matter. He told them there was nothing to do but to form an organization, and a meeting was called of a very few men. The few men that came organized. The next meeting they had a few more. In the course of a couple of meetings we had got a goodly number and sent a communication to the bosses about their neglect on the 10th of March, and they graciously reinstated the shilling a day. About the 1st of April, or a little after that, about the 10th of April, I think it was, we asked for another shilling a day advance. Times were very busy and men were very hard to get, and that was granted. Before the 1st of May there was another shilling a day, and finally, before the 1st of June, it cost them 3 shillings that year on account of their neglect on the 10th of March. I believe it would have cost them more than a shilling or 2 anyway, but the men made up their minds that as the bosses were willing to neglect their duty and their custom on one occasion they certainly would fleece them every time they could. I worked along in Albany until 1864, and the union got along very well and prospered, and the relations between the men and the bosses were very amicable—no disputes whatever, no strikes, or anything of that kind.

Coming to Chicago in 1864, I brought a traveling card with me to show that I belonged to the carpenters' union in the East. To my great surprise, when I got here there was no union in Chicago where I could deposit that traveling card. I went along here in Chicago, and wages were up and down; you got 10 cents a day more than I did, and this man got 25 cents more a day than either one of us, and another man probably got 50 cents less. The carpenters of Chicago kind of talked union, and I suppose I did not keep still any more than any of them. Finally they inaugurated a union that kept together until they had probably 400 or 500 members. Then a demand came for wages, and that was lost—the union was dissolved. There was no cohesion about it: it got broke up. Come along then until we got to about 1875 or 1876, and there were 4 or 5 or 6 different carpenters' unions in Chicago, and one was an international, the other was an independent, and the other was something else. No kind of cohesion or concert of action between them at all. In 1884 they inaugurated another strike for \$3 a day, and of course, on account of the want of unity and want of common interest, that was lost. There came a Scotchman along over from Scotland; I could mention his name, he is living yet. He said, You can never win anything in Chicago in your condition. We wanted to know why. He said, "There is no community; you must get together; you must form some solid body where all interests will be combined." They went along and formed a plan, and he laid out the plan and called a meeting; and the result of that meeting was that they inaugurated the United Carpenters' Council of Chicago. After that strike the Knights of Labor established a carpenters' assembly, and all the rest of the carpenters were broken up. They were all willing to go into anything except any of the old unions that were in existence that got broken up. The result of the establishment of the Knights of Labor assembly was that they flocked in there by the hundreds every meeting; some nights, in fact, 200 members got in there. The Knights of Labor carpenters went up spontaneously. Then the result of that growth was that the Brotherhood of United Carpenters and Joiners of America themselves began to prick up their ears, too, and say, now we must begin to do something. They did so, and their organization grew by 2—actual numbers. But the old organization got so much run down on account of the loss of that strike of 1884 that they did not get money enough to pay their per capita tax to the national organization. After the Knights of Labor were established they grew on apace together. The result of that was the establishment of the United Council. They took in the Knights of Labor and the United Carpenters, whose headquarters is in Manchester, England, and from that day up the carpenters were a complete success. Anything that they asked in reason was conceded by the contractors. The first demands the boss carpenters refused. The next

demand they made they sent their representatives to the strike committee—I think it was in 1885, or 1886, or 1887, along in those years; I am not giving this with certainty—and there is a gentleman now in the house who was at the head of one of these committees. The 8-hour day was established, I think, in 1886, and this strike in 1887 was for an advance of 5 cents an hour. The 8-hour day was established at the same ratio of wages that they worked the 10 hours for. So eager were the carpenters to establish the 8-hour day that they never demanded that they should have 10 hours' pay for 8 hours' work. They established the 8 hours successfully on that ground. Then the next year they made a demand for 35 cents an hour. As I said, there was a gentleman in the house who was on the committee of the bosses that came there, and they offered 30 cents an hour. The chairman of the strike committee thanked them and told them they could not accept their offer, and asked them to call again. Then in that year, after they had failed to make an agreement with the bosses as they then existed, they turned out and called another meeting of bosses and established another bosses' union. It matters not what the features or the character of the members of that union were. It was done to counteract the refusal of the old general bosses' union, and as soon as they had enough members to reasonably employ a large number of the carpenters of Chicago they made a contract with them at the prices that they asked. It went on very successfully until the fall, and the boss contractors who refused to give any more were obliged to submit to the conditions, as well as the new bosses' union. They went on then for that year, and I believe there was a communication passed between the original bosses' union—because the new one, like the new carpenters' union, went out of existence, and they had the old bosses' union to go back to, and they made agreements with them coming up to the World's Fair. As it was related to you here, wages went up to 40 cents an hour, and when the World's Fair was over the bosses thought it was not feasible to keep the wage so high, and demanded that it be reduced.

Prior to the establishment of unions and consolidated councils of the trade we used to have every once in a while contractors go up and say that they could not pay the wages of the men. The men would come up complaining all the time; everyone had to go around with his finger in his mouth—that he could not get his wages—never got it. If there were \$5, \$10, or \$15 due a man in wages, he could not put up \$15 for lawyers and wait for it. But since these unions have been established, since the building trades council has been established, we have not had to spend 5 per cent of the amount recovered of wages that we did before. Contractors here in this town would pay all right Saturday night. Many of them here in this town are wealthy that have gone up in bankruptcy once or twice. There are still in this city men whom these contractors owe money to-day. That was the condition things were in before the unions were established. Since the building trades council was established I do not believe the carpenters with their 5,000 men for the last 3 years have spent over \$10 to recover wages in the courts. As soon as they refuse to pay wages so soon their business ceases. There is the necessity there is for unions, and without the union of the trades the condition of the workingman to-day would be so poor that it would be worse than degradation—be worse than that of a slave. His wages would not be, in my opinion, working off his hands, 10 cents an hour, and without regard to the trades of the men. Until these little rules came up regulating and threatening punishment on these men that do it, there was hardly a single man of them that hires a half dozen men or more that had not a brute to drive them all day long from morning to night. There is nobody who can earn a day's wages, that has got the muscle and superior strength to stand it. That is the condition of it and hence these rules that are put down on paper here for your inspection and were held atrocious by the other side in your eyes. It was nothing more nor less than pure necessity that ever brought them to the surface, and even to-day, after all these precautions, they do not hire these foremen for their ability in superintending their work, but simply for their brutality and their ability to drive the life out of the workingman. For instance, the carpenters will go to work and put 8 or 9 men in a row on the floor, one laying one board after the other, and anybody who can not keep his place—"You get out"—he can not keep his job. I believe furthermore it has another cause, the carpenter is anxious to do competent work and have it finished when it is done. In such a case as that, the longer you take the step and the more nails you miss, the longer the jump you make and the better the contractor likes it; hence the restriction of the day's work.

I have talked to plumbers—20 of them—since this thing was complained of, and I have asked them if these 8 joints were sufficient for a man to do in a day and do properly. They tell me, invariably, it is as much as a man can do or ought to

do; and furthermore, they say that even the ratio on the bosses' books in their offices did not show as high an average as 8 joints a day. You could go down there to the conference, in Mr. Madden's office—the lathers came up there; they are limited to 25 bunches a day. He said he could put on 25 bunches to-day, a good job of it. He said he could put on 30. He said he could put on 35—nay, he could put on 40, and then you could not tell the difference, when you were on the floor and he was on the scaffold; but he said, I would put no connection on the corners; then you would have a nice job of plastering.

Now, you take the sanitary condition of the city of Chicago. The plumbing is being complained of in numberless cases. Supposing a plumber is obliged to run himself all day and make incompetent work, what manner of sanitary condition will you have? And the plumbers tell me, every one of them tell me, it was on account of botched work they had to do under pressure that they did this, so that you can see plain enough the necessity of unions among the men.

I saw the time, in my young days, when a man according to his ability could take care of himself. Then, as the case of the bosses in getting the shilling a day on the 10th of March, 1858, came up, we found out it was necessary to have a union. It went along for years. We found the unions of a trade could protect itself and its interests. Now how is it? No single trade can protect its interests now and get justice. There had to be a combination of trades, and hence the establishment of the building trades council, the best organization that was ever established in America; there is no question about that; and it would take the most power to break it of any labor organization that ever was established in America without any exception. The building trades council takes this stand, that an injury to one organization is the concern of all. The hod carrier is looked upon in different parts of this country as being nothing more or less than a common laborer. He is outside of the pale of notice of organized labor, by tradesmen, by mechanics of any kind. He is an honored member of the building trades council, and an injury to him is just as important to the building trades council as an injury to the highest trade in the body. The wages of carpenters or any other trade that I know of—before the building trades council came into existence their wages ranged from \$1.50 upward and downward, both. The hod carrier ranged down to \$1.25 a day. The plasterers' laborers were always pretty low, for the reason that plastering in Chicago was always more or less easy. The steam fitters' wages were poor before the organization. If it is contended that the industry can pay \$4 a day now there is no reason why it should not have paid that in the past. We believe it can, and we have found, furthermore—the laborers believe—the workingman has never been known to ask too much for his labor. He has never been known to get what he earned.

I know of contractors, men that have gone to contracting in this city at my business since I came to this city, and they had no more dollars and perhaps not as many as I had, and now they are worth their hundreds of thousands. Who has done that for them? Nothing more nor less than the labor of my hands and everybody else's that labored for them. Since that time they have never taken off their coats to produce one dollar; never done an hour's work, nor even superintended their own work; as I told you before, they employ drivers to get the utmost out of the muscles of those they hire. They have never done a day's work since they went to bossing, and they hold the workingman to-day in contempt, these same men, and then they say that the workingmen and the labor unions are tyrannous. I can not see where it comes in, and I hope they won't stop at the object they have gained now. There is still something else before them.

Here is Levy Mayer, who came before you the other day. He is nothing more nor less than a corporation lawyer. When he stated that incorporated capital was not protected in the courts as well as labor was, he knew he said what was not true. I know the time, as I stated a while ago, when a working man, if his wages were due, could go into the courts and stay there a year before he could recover it; and I know they went into the courts and asked injunctions as late as this last year, and the injunctions were granted without hearing the other side as to their feasibility, whether it was justice to grant them or not; and I know furthermore, that all along the whole line of law as it is, it does not do justice to the people. It is all on the side of incorporated wealth. We have got the whole police force to-day, with an extra 400 sworn in by the authorities, to guard the interests of this contractors council, and yet they say the mayor is lax in his duty because he does not give them protection enough. That is the condition of things. I do not believe that even to-day, if the present circumstances are a boon to the laboring man, that he has got enough. I do not believe he should rest satisfied. I still aspire for more. We have got statistics and figures that the production of labor in this country is as much as \$13 a day.

Who gets it, if that is true? I believe there must be some remedy in order to do justice to the whole people.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) You have had much experience and have given much study to the labor problem. Can you suggest any improvement in the present system of organization whereby grievances can be more promptly and effectually redressed and rights secured and work permitted to go on?—A. I will tell you. Where there is stubbornness on one side and unwillingness on the other to get together with amicable dispositions, I do not see any way out of it but that the fittest may survive and the fight be to the bitter end. If they were at all amiable to one another now the ultimatum that the contractors council sent to the building trades council was an insult pure and simple. They did not ask a conference; they made the demand that the sympathetic strike should be abolished. They made the demand, if I remember rightly, that 6 days should constitute a week's work. It was a demand. It was not for a conference at all, and hence the first time that ultimatum was read, if I remember rightly, it was filed; no notice was taken of it. Then Mr. Madden of the stone company stepped into the breach and had a conference at his office. They appointed a representative of every trade from the building trades council—I think I am pretty correct—to meet in his office with a like number of contractors from the contractors council. The contractors council would not deign to notice that invitation nor send their representatives there. Then the next thing was they sent a communication asking a smaller committee to confer. When the smaller committee conferred—held over there for a week, it was nothing more or less—on every proposition that was made it was a tie vote, until they came to a certain vote, and then one of our men voted with the bosses, but they came to no settlement in the matter.

Q. Do you think the building trades council is a good thing?—A. I certainly do. Q. Let me inquire if you think it perfect?—A. If you show me a human institution on the earth that is perfect; if you can point out to me one that is perfect, besides the building trades council, then I will tell you positively that the building trades council is perfect.

Q. Can you suggest some improvement of it whereby conditions can be generally benefited here?—A. No; I can not. Here is the point I take: The building trades council as it is constituted can not undertake a general settlement for all the trades represented. If you were a plasterer and had a difficulty with your employer, you would not like a tailor to go and settle your difficulties. He would not know anything about your business. I do not think there are five trades in the building trades council from each one of which a man could be selected for an arbitration committee to settle for the other trades. I believe, if a settlement is made, it must be made with the individual trade. Hence the demands that are made by the several trades are made by themselves, and sent in for the sanction or approval of the building trades council. That is read on the first occasion, and it is referred then to the committee on rules, and resubmitted back to the building trades council before it is indorsed.

Q. But as matters are here now with the building trades council, is it possible for the several trades to deal with the several bodies and get arbitration and a settlement?—A. Possible? It is. As Mr. Woodbury here related to you the relations that were between the carpenters and the employers, the old rules required that the bosses should not hire anybody but members of the carpenters' union, and, in turn, that they should not work for anybody but the members of the bosses' association. We made that agreement with them. Their numbers were very small, as Mr. Woodbury stated to you. At the ultimate disagreement on that very plank they wanted to make that absolute. They wanted to obliterate the condition from that plank and provide that we should work for nobody but members of the association, while it was known at that time that the members of their association could not employ more than one-third of our men, and that was the plank on which they split, and hence the strike of two years ago this coming 1st of April.

Q. It seems that the contractors, or at least some of them, have an opinion that the building trades council is in the way of proper settlements with the different trades. If this is so, can there not be some amendment of the rules or other changes made whereby it will not be in the way and whereby settlements can be effected?—A. There is nothing in the constitution of the building trades council, so far as I know, that prevents it. You see, the autonomy of the trades must be preserved. One trade would certainly not allow another trade to interfere.

Q. There never was any great difficulty in the several trades settling with their bosses until this council was formed, was there?—A. You see, now they have sent out the ultimatum. If the papers are to be relied on—as far as the press has

gone on this business—there is no reliance to be placed on it at all, because they will give one side a good deal better than it really is and they will paint the other side in the worst possible colors. That is the way it has been all along. If the press is to be believed, the only ultimatum that the bosses' council puts out is the destruction of the building trades council. That is something that no one trade that is represented there will consent to, and certainly the whole of them, collectively, will never allow it.

Q. Maybe you, in your wisdom as an old trades-unionist, who have probably studied this matter more than any other man in this assembly, can suggest some improvements whereby the building trades council will not be in the way of procuring a fair arbitration and speedy settlement of difficulties. Maybe they would withdraw that ultimatum.—A. It is just like this with me: I have got now to be a pretty old crab. I believe the time is very near at hand when the world can get along without that animal the world calls a contractor. I believe it would be better for the community if there was not a contractor on the face of the earth. They would have better value and they would do more justice to one another.

Q. In that case if a man wanted to erect a building he would make his own contracts with all the separate trades?—A. Yes; get a superintendent. I believe that is pretty near at hand, because I believe that the contractor is not satisfied with getting a reasonable, honest living out of the labor of other people, but he must make a fortune in a few years. That is the way I look at it. Under the present circumstances if the contractor and the workingman would come together amicably and quietly without one of them putting a hog shoulder on himself and a side stroke in his tooth to beat the other fellow, I believe they could settle this difficulty now. You see it is so hard to do; I believe they could do it. Yet, knowing the interest of both, I can not say they are identical, because I know they are not. The advantage is always on the side of the contractor. But the interest of this community is in the hands of both, and I do not think both of them ought to hold aloof from settling their present trouble and allow the good of the whole community to go on as it used to do. I certainly should be willing now. If I were siding with a contractor I would not talk this way. I am only just giving it now as a public statement of my opinion on the matter; but if I sided with them and made a statement I certainly should be as bad as the rest of them.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) If this animal called the contractor is done away with whom would you have to assume the responsibility and also the losses in case of loss?—A. The owner directly.

Q. You spoke about the wonderful growth of the Knights of Labor in Chicago many years ago, when they went into the carpenters' assembly by the hundreds of a night. What was the cause that led to the displacement of the Knights of Labor in Chicago by trades unionism?—A. I joined the Knights of Labor at that time. In fact, I was in the Knights of Labor before the carpenters' assembly was established. I was one of the two that established Nos. 65 and 70 here in this city.

The Knights of Labor was established, as I understood it, as an educational institution. But I believe the establishment of Nos. 65 and 70 in Chicago was the first step to take care of trade matters, and I believe that was the first seed of its destruction. It kept on then until they went to work to establish the stock yards up here. Then they went to work and established the Southern Pacific Railroad people. They established trades unions all over the country. They established strikes. It has never been known in history where they gained one strike; they were all failures. The trade unions tried to handle trade matters, and I think that is what broke them up. It was just exactly what happened to them here in Chicago in regard to the carpenters' assembly, because they did not deal direct with the trade. Now, here is the point: The meetings were held in the carpenters' assembly, and there were certain things brought up connected with the Knights of Labor, and they were referred to the district assembly. When they were brought up in the district assembly the district assembly did not handle them as it ought to, or perhaps could not handle them intelligently, because they were trade matters, and the district assembly was all mixed up. Every kind of trade and calling was in there—all except the lawyer and the whisky man.

Q. Were any assemblies of the Knights of Labor which control building trades represented in this building trades council?—A. No; there are no building trades assemblies in Chicago at the present time, not one.

Q. Are there any Knights of Labor assemblies of workmen in Chicago controlling any trade?—A. Not controlling any trade that I know of.

Q. Or industry?—A. I believe there may be some of them among the tailors or some of the trades that I do not know of.

Q. Are you familiar with your local Federation of Labor or Central Labor Union, or whatever you call it?—A. Chicago Federation of Labor.

Q. Are you acquainted with that?—A. Yes.

Q. Are there any Knights of Labor assemblies in that organization?—A. Not that I know of.

Testimony closed.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 31, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. FRANK BUCHANAN,

Business Agent Structural Iron Workers' Union.

The special subcommission met at 2 p. m., pursuant to recess, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 5.55 Mr. Frank Buchanan, of Chicago, business agent of the Structural Iron Workers' Union, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) You may state your name.—A. Frank Buchanan.

Q. Your post-office address?—A. 338 Fullerton avenue.

Q. Your occupation?—A. Structural iron worker.

Q. How long have you been a structural iron worker?—A. About 13 years.

Q. What is your official connection with the organization?—A. The only official connection I have at the present time is that I am on one of the arbitration committees; also a delegate.

Q. You may state what you desire in regard to industrial conditions here in the city of Chicago.—A. Mr. Chairman, the reason I have come here to make a statement is to deny a false statement that was made here in regard to a controversy between the bridge and structural iron workers and the architectural iron workers while I was representing our organization, the last half of last year. Giving you a little experience that I had while representing that organization, I want to say, first, that I was always treated with great respect by the different contractors that our men worked for, and had reason to believe that a majority of them were nice gentlemen. And I will say that I am surprised to hear and read some of the statements that have been made by these same men. During that time, as I said before, with few exceptions I was always treated with great respect. A controversy came up between us and the architectural men on the Marshall Field building, that is on the corner of Clark and Adams streets. There was a misunderstanding between the men of our organization and the architectural iron workers. I suppose they both believed they were right at the time. My attention was called to the fact that the architectural iron men were putting up work there that was considered bridge and structural iron workers' work. By some agitation being in the papers at that time which was not true—most of the statements made were not true—and it not being my desire to put the contractor to any unnecessary trouble, for I believe, as a rule, that the members of labor organizations that I know have not the intention to put any hardships on the contractors that they work for, and thinking it was policy, if possible, to settle this matter between ourselves and the structural iron men, I tried to get a settlement with the architectural iron workers. I spent about 3 days' time, and allowed this work by the architectural iron workers to go on; but failing to do so without being criticised by members of my own organization, I was forced to bring some pressure to bear and go to the contractors to have the architectural iron men stop this work and allow our men to finish it, which was done. I am sorry that Mr. John Griffiths, a man that I have been slightly acquainted with for some years, a man for whom I have always had great respect—I will state that I have been told that he said that that work was delayed, I believe, for 2 weeks, and that some of the iron was taken down at the expense of the builder and put up again by our men. If Mr. Griffiths said that he knows it is not true, because he certainly knows all about it; for somebody has told him about it if he did not know about it. There was not 2 hours' delay on that building; neither was there a pound of iron taken down and put up. If there was it was not done through any demand made by myself as representative of the bridge and structural iron workers' organization or by any member of that organization. I believe, if I remember rightly, about half of that work was put up—of that particular kind of work—by our men and the other half by the architectural iron workers. But

there never was any demand made by me or any man in our organization that a pound of that work should be taken down, neither was that work stopped on account of it.

Now, I will state from my experience as a business agent for 6 months, as a representative of our organization, that the position is one of the hardest positions that I ever had in my life. I worked harder, I believe, than I ever did in my life, and the bigger part of my life I have been a hard-working man. But it seems that the contractors of Chicago would be pleased to make an impression on the public by having the use of the press, which we do not have, to make it appear that the members of the different organizations are terrorized all the time, and that the business agents have the men twisted around their fingers. I will state that any man with common sense knows that that is not true, for the simple reason that the business agents are elected, and they are elected by an honest election by ballot. There are no guns there to force anybody to vote either one way or the other, and they vote for whoever they think is the best man to fill the position. I know that, because I was defeated myself, and, of course, the majority of the members of our organization thought the other fellow was the best man. But I will state, Mr. Chairman, that during the time that I was business agent for the organization there were rules laid down for the business agent to go by: they are made by the rank and file of that organization, and whenever any matter came up as to which it was not clear to me whether I was carrying out the will of the majority of the organization or not, I always put that matter before the meeting of the bridge and structural iron workers and they instructed me what to do, and when I was instructed I might possibly oppose something that I was instructed to do, but I always carried out instructions just the same.

I will state in regard to the building trades council calling strikes that the contractors ought to be pleased that there is a building trades council, in place of trying to tear it down. The building trades council at the present time, I claim, has not the power to stop any trade from going out on its own responsibility to enforce any demands; but when another trade asks—say, for instance, if I was representative of our organization and another trade should have a grievance on a certain job, and their agent should come to me and ask for assistance. He might come to me possibly and ask me to call a strike on that building. I would ask him what his grievance was, and before I should be satisfied to call the members of our organization off on that job, I certainly should go to the contractor and find out what the grievance was, and see what could be done to settle that without having a strike. A strike is not what we want. We are out for the money. There is no money in strikes for the laboring people. Work is what we want; that is where we get the money. I will state, too, during my experience as a business agent, there were men on a particular job that saw fit to have a grievance and went on a strike themselves, without asking the advice of the representative of the organization. I went to investigate the matter, and demanded of them that they should go back to work until we had time to adjust this matter without calling a strike, which they did, and the matter was adjusted to the satisfaction of all concerned.

In regard to public sentiment, the contractors should have that on their side, as they can get any kind of a statement, whether true or not—the majority of them are not true, which they know as well as I do—into the papers; and we can not get the plain facts, that are proved to be the plain facts, before the public through the press to-day. For instance, it has repeatedly been stated that by the arbitrary rules of the building trades in Chicago the building interests have been hampered. I know of cases where we could not get material in our line; and it is not to the interest of the workmen to do that. For instance, in the Northwestern shops there was a job that hung on for months that probably would have been finished in 6 weeks if we could have got the material. The men would go there and work a few days and would be laid off. That certainly is not for the interest of the workmen, to have work go like that. And I will state further that anyone that thinks that we would put in arbitrary rules to hamper the business interests in Chicago, in a labor organization, must think that we are a lot of fools and do not know anything. I believe that we are the most interested people that there are in Chicago to have the building interests in a healthy condition. These are nothing more than facts that could be shown to any reasonable man if he would know the circumstances. I would not ask anybody to take my word, because I have heard so much in the last few weeks from men that I had the greatest respect for that I am inclined to disbelieve anyone. The contractors appear to be in favor of labor unions, but at the same time they are opposing those labor unions enforcing any rules that they have. As a matter of fact, if they could have a trade union that they

could go to and tell them what kind of rules to have, they certainly would be in favor of it; but whenever those trade unions see fit to make any rules that they think are for their best interest, of course they object to them and try to tear them down, as they do to the building trades council to-day. There has been something said about a secret ballot—that if they could have a secret ballot the building trades council would be dissolved. I will state in regard to that that at any time that any member on any important matter sees fit he can call for a ballot and have a secret ballot. That is a matter that any member can make a request for, and no one will know how he or anyone else votes if he does not want them to. There is another statement that you hear. The contractors are very ignorant of the rules of the building trades council, or else they are very much pleased to make those misstatements with their hands uplifted to heaven.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You mean to say that in all subordinate trade unions there is this provision for a secret ballot?—A. Yes.

Q. And that members of the subordinate unions could through the medium of the secret ballot abolish the building trades council if they desired to do so?—A. Yes. I will state further, too, that some of the unions are even having the Australian ballot system to elect their representatives, to show you that they are in sympathy with the Government as run to-day and do not want to tear it down. I do not care to take up much of your time in going over something that has been thoroughly gone over, probably better than I could state it. I have been working steady all the week, and I have not had any time to prepare anything, and, of course, I have got to take it just as I think of it. I will state further about the charges against members—of course, in regard to those I do not know the rule of that union; but in our union if a member is charged with violating any rules of the organization, the charges have got to be brought in against him in writing, and a trial board of 12 selected by the chairman of the organization to try the members, and due notice given to the member who is charged to prepare his defense. To show that we are not in sympathy with false charges being brought up against members, I will state that we have a fine that we put on anyone that brings charges against a member that he can not sustain—in other words, that brings false charges against any member of our organization.

I think that a reputable laboring man has an equal right to hold public positions with any other. He gets his position by the force of his intelligence, while the rich man's son often gets his by his ability to corrupt the appointing power. Of course, it is a fact that it can not be proven, we can only draw our inferences about that; but then I guess that we all know that such things have been done, and we know, too, that there is many a rich man's son that has got positions that he has had no experience to qualify him for. And I will say in answer to the charges that are made against the union men, of being so very unlawful, I have been in Chicago now about 7 years and I have never witnessed any unlawful acts. They usually do business around where there is a large police force. I believe a person is safe in Chicago; that the policemen of Chicago are always ready to do their duty and arrest men committing unlawful acts. On the other hand, it appears that the contractors are willing to arm men and at the same time instruct them to shoot down workmen if they interfere in any way, and sometimes if they meet them on the street. I suppose if they had the chance to have the police and the law all on their side they would kill every labor leader in the country. I think their disposition has shown that since this trouble has come up. I will state again that I am sorry I had to come and appear before you and call your attention to the fact that a man, Mr. Griffiths, that is in my presence to-day, as I have been told, has made a statement here, knowing that it is absolutely false; there never was a pound of iron taken down or a day's delay on account of any arbitrary rules of the bridge and structural iron workers or their representative at any time. He knows I am telling the facts, and he can not deny I am telling the facts, unless he has been told by somebody else; if he has, that might excuse him, possibly. He was right there. I had a talk with him, and he has always appeared to be a reasonable man, and I can not understand why he has made such a statement as that; there is no foundation for it.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You have heard statements made about the manner in which the contractors say they have settled strikes by giving business agents monetary considerations. Have you any knowledge that will substantiate the statement of Mr. Falkenau?—A. (Interrupting.) That they have settled strikes for money considerations?

Q. Yes.—A. I think the idea is absurd. In the first place, if a strike is not settled according to the will of the majority of the organization it is not settled at all. No one man has any power to settle any strike unless he is instructed or given the power by the majority of the organization he represents. That brings

to my mind another question. They will talk about the arbitrary rules in Chicago preventing prosperity of the building interest here. I can state it as a fact—and, of course, I could bring proof of it if I had the time or wanted to go to the trouble—that men in our line, and I do not believe we are an exception to the rule, have gone out of this city at a larger scale of wages than they paid in the city. For instance, last summer a year ago we had 40 men who were taken over to St. Louis at 10 cents more on the hour on the St. Louis scale. The latter part of last spring, I think it was the first of April, I had a contractor come to me three times to get myself and the gang of riveters I worked with to go to Milwaukee, where the scale was 30 cents an hour; and we went there, and made \$540, and he said with smiles on his face, "If you had not gone down there I could not have completed the job." It stands to reason that a man is not going to Milwaukee when he can come to Chicago and get 45 cents an hour. And before I leave I want to tell you of a telegram that I got from Old Mexico while I was representing my organization, to send 12 men to Old Mexico—I can not name the place now—at \$4 a day, payable in gold. Now, gentlemen, it is a fact that this is a demand that was never made by any of those contractors. We do not try as a rule to make any demand that they take our men to other places like Mexico. They have the opportunity to go where they can get men at smaller wages, and they thought those men were workmen as good as ours, and we have never demanded of them to do it; but at the same time we have men scattered all over the United States, and we have some in Japan putting up a mansion there for a prince. They are scattered all over the United States. They went to New York City at a larger scale than they were paid here. To show you that there is no foundation for the statement that the arbitrary rules hampered the work, and that business agents come around to keep them from doing over a certain amount of work, I will just put this plain statement. For instance, our work covers all the city limits of Chicago; is it possible for our representative to go around and to see whether our men are working? We only have one representative. How is it possible for him to go around and know whether our men are working longer hours? Could he get around in 1 day and find out? Is it his business? I tell the contractors, if I send a man that is not good, I have got to send you the first I see. And if they are not good you can discharge them and get good men as long as you hire men of our organization. And some of the other statements there is no foundation for, but it usually goes right along the line in the same way.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Here are 3 questions that have been handed me to ask you. "Did the bosses have any voice in the formulation of the agreement they are compelled to sign before they can employ any man?"—A. Yes.

Q. In the formulation of the agreement?—A. Well, the agreement is usually formed—and that brings my mind to a matter, that there is a clause in our agreement that only one member of a firm is allowed to work on a job without being a member of our organization. That was put in there at the request of the contractors, for some of the contractors. Further than that I do not know that they have ever had anything to do.

Q. Is it a fact that wages in your trade are higher in this city than in any Eastern city?—A. Yes.

Q. Any Eastern city?—A. I believe it is a fact that they are. Our men in New York City, that have been taken there, have received a higher rate of wages than they pay in New York City, and the workmen in New York City have felt that they had a grievance on account of the amount of work that they did while they were there. They did so much more work than they were in the habit of doing in New York that they felt a little bit bitter toward them on account of that. That only goes to show that the higher-priced labor is always the best. You pay a man good wages and you can demand the best men in the market, and you will have a man that will willingly do all that he can in a workmanlike way and do a fair day's work. It is like water seeking a level. The best wages will command the best men. If I was a contractor I would pay the best wages and allow the best opportunities possible. I believe I could get a better class of workmen and have the work done better and more satisfactorily.

Q. Do you compel the bosses to pay mechanics' wages to rivet heaters, which work in most shops is done by boys?—A. Yes. No, sir; the shop heater can not heat rivets for us on a structure. That brings my attention to a fact that I did not intend to dwell on. I see that some of the contractors are asking these questions.

Q. Yes.—A. Which I did not know was allowed of any outsider, but at the same time I am willing to answer them in my way. To explain about that, the inexperienced contractor in our line of work would be liable to make a great mistake by thinking that any man, for instance, could go there and heat. I have

had, as I told you before, about 13 years' experience at this work, and I to-day can not go and heat rivets. What I mean is, to heat rivets in a satisfactory way. There is a man that holds up rivets. I am a riveter, and through experience I can make these statements with a clear conscience. It is a fact, gentlemen, that to have a successful riveting gang you have got to have a good all-round gang; you have got to have a heater that will heat those rivets—for instance, that will watch you when you are taking out a plate; that can heat a rivet and heat it right away, or else you will not have enough stock there to finish the rivet. Besides, the rivet will not be sound. The fact of the business is that it is necessary to have an experienced rivet heater. I will state, too, that there are only a few of what I call really first-class rivet heaters even in the union now in Chicago. They are all good. But there are but few that are first-class. A person does not know the advantage of having a first-class rivet, having one that is heated right at the proper time. He has got the whole gang. If he loses a rivet, it takes 5 minutes to get another hot. What I mean by losing a rivet is that he burns it up or melts it away. If he does that there are 5 minutes lost for 3 men; and for that reason it is very necessary to have a competent man to heat rivets. And I will state further that a heater, to be a good heater on structural iron work, has got to do something more than heat rivets. He has got to be able to heat his rivets on scaffolding; he has got to walk a 6-inch beam and carry a forge; and it is necessary for a heater to do all these things to be what I call a good heater on structural work. The matter has been brought up about shop work, and this question has been argued by contractors, and some of them are always willing to hire men at the least money; it does not matter whether they can do anything or not; all they want to know is that they can get men cheaper than anybody else; some of the contractors are that way. We had a little experience with Mr. Falkenau once over on the Western Electric Building. He stated that if it had not been for the rules of the building trades council his work would not have been delayed 10 days. If he had been willing to be guided by the rules of the building trades council his work would not have been delayed an hour. The rules were that his work should be done by the structural iron workers. The boiler makers, as I understood, worked for \$1.14, helper at 75 cents, and the bridge men at the same price, because we believe that it takes men to do the work. If they had been willing to live up to the rules of the building trades council they never would have had their work delayed an hour. But they saw fit to hire their men because they were working for smaller wages. The consequence was, after our men did that work they got an extra day's pay for doing the work in a workmanlike way, and they gave thorough satisfaction, and the work was done cheaper, as was reported even by the contractors that seem to be so dreadfully interested to-day in tearing up the affairs of this city. They were satisfied that the bridge and structural iron workers did that work cheaper at their higher price than the boiler makers would at their cheaper price. Now, it stands to reason, gentlemen, that this is the fact. If a man is used to work in a shop, do you think that man is going up on a stack, where he is up a hundred feet high, and going to work there with any confidence? It is not natural. I have not done that work for 6 months, and I should not feel right to go there where I should be a hundred feet high. I should not feel natural. And it is not natural to suppose that a man working in a shop has the ability to go out and do work like a man that follows it all the time. For instance, they got the estimates for the boiler makers, got the work out of the shop and put it all up. If that is the case we should not do any work at all, for the simple reason that they could do all our work; they punch the holes and roll the beams, and they roll the plates out for the columns and the girders, etc. If it is necessary to have shop men simply because they roll out the work, of course there would be no use for structural iron workers. But any man with any judgment knows it is not natural; it is not the same work; it is not sensible to suppose that a man can go out of his shop, go up on a high structure, walk a 6-inch beam and handle his men up there and do the work. You could find men that possibly could go up there and hold on, but they could not do much.

Q. These questions are submitted by outsiders; a great many questions were submitted to me by outsiders which I asked the contractors yesterday. I should not have known whether to ask a contractor yesterday whether he had ever been fined by his association or not, if that information had not been furnished by outsiders. I think that your associates will, perhaps, be proud of the way in which Mr. Woodbury and yourself have acquitted yourselves by answering the outsiders.—A. That is all right.

Q. However, if you take exception to them I will not ask the others.—A. I have not taken any exception, any more than that if we had known that this would be

permitted, we should have had men to prompt you in asking questions in a way that would have twisted them so that they would feel a little sore on themselves before they got off the stand.

Q. I have not been in favor of this, but I have asked the questions, and I think it is only fair, if it brings out the truth.—A. That is fair, I think, only we should have had the same privilege.

Q. Well, I say it was used to a certain extent. I asked many questions that were prompted, that I should not have known how to ask.—A. I have no objection, Mr. Chairman, because I am here to tell the truth. If I do not know anything about it I will say so.

Q. I will ask you these two other questions: "Is a union laborer allowed to handle a piece of iron or to move it at a building?"—A. A union laborer is allowed to do his part of the work. I can state our agreement on that, probably. That will give you light on it, and we never have failed at any time to live up to that agreement. There was a strike last summer on account of unloading iron. The men did not understand the matter, and they thought they had no right to unload iron. By our agreement, which we are at all times willing to live up to, iron can be unloaded by the laborers, except when block and tackle are used to unload it, and then it is done by members of our organization.

Q. This perhaps answers this other question. Did you go to the building referred to—this is perhaps at some other point that was some time ago referred to—and insist upon the ornamental iron workers stopping the setting of iron mullions and insist upon the structural iron setters doing this work, which delayed this part of the building for some days?—A. No, sir.

Mr. FAULKNER. That is the Marshall Field building.

The WITNESS. No, sir; I absolutely did not. As I stated before, I went over there and had them continue the work until finally it was necessary to make a demand, and my demand was granted and the work went ahead. Our men even were working all the time. I can prove that by 20 men, if it were necessary, because they were working right there on that building. I could bring 20 men here that would testify to the same thing; and I am surprised that Mr. Griffiths did not testify to the same thing. He certainly does not thoroughly understand the case or has forgotten it or something like that.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Have you anything further to state, Mr. Buchanan?—A. I should like to speak further in regard to a boy riveting in a shop, if I may be allowed. He heats there with an air blast. He uses no pumping forge, and he heats there by the shovel and by the bushel. In our work they pull them out of the fire with a pair of tongs and throw them to the riveters, who catch them in a powder can, or something like that, that will hold the weight. The heating is altogether different.

Testimony closed.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 31, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. EDWARD CORRISTON,

Carpenter, Chicago, Ill.

The special subcommission met at 2 p. m., pursuant to recess, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 4.45 p. m. Mr. Edward Corrison, of Chicago, a carpenter, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) You may state your name.—A. Edward Corrison.

Q. Your business address?—A. 6751 Winchester avenue.

Q. And your business?—A. Carpenter.

Q. How long have you been a carpenter?—A. Fourteen or fifteen years.

Q. Are you a member of the brotherhood of carpenters?—A. No, sir; I am a member of the Amalgamated Carpenters of America.

Q. Are you a member of the trades council—the building trades council?—A. No, sir; I am not.

Q. You make your statement in your own way.

The WITNESS. Mr. Chairman, as a member of a labor organization in Chicago here, I claim that I have as much right as all men in America, being an American citizen. I never was known to molest anyone in any way, shape, or form. The other night I had occasion to go home on the Wentworth avenue car, and changed at Wentworth and Sixty-third. A number of men got on the car at the

post-office; not the post-office, but at Washington street they got on. They were escorted by policemen. They got on the car, and I had no seat to sit upon. I stood up there in the car, and when we got to Wentworth and Sixty-third street I got off to change cars, and got on the car again, and at Halsted street I had to go to the back end of the car. There were a lot of ladies that got into the car and sat there, and the men got off; there were 9 of them. Judging from what I had heard in the car they were men that were working on some buildings on the West Side, nonunion men, and the 9 got off there and 8 of them went down Halsted street. They went down Halsted street, and 1 stayed back and waved his hands like this [indicating]. He says, "Get off that car," and put his hand in his pocket, and he says, "I will fill you full of lead." Now, I never spoke to that man in any way, shape, or form, and that was the reason I came down here this afternoon, to let you know the way these men were carrying on. They think they have got full power in their hands. They sat in the car—I heard their whole conversation, and they said they had good jobs when the thing was over, and they did not care now. I just came down to let you know the way these men were carrying on. Ever since I have belonged to a labor organization—I belonged to the brotherhood at one time, and then I joined the amalgamated association, and in either of these organizations I have never heard of any one in connection with the organization instructing any man to do violence in any way, shape, or form.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 31, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. THOMAS PREECE,

Bricklayer, Chicago.

The special subcommission met at 10 a. m., March 31, 1900, in the auditorium Hotel, Chicago; and at 5.35 p. m. Mr. A. L. Harris, who was in the chair, introduced as a witness Mr. Thomas Preece, who, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Please state your name and post-office address.—A. Thomas Preece, 1557 Harvard street.

Q. Occupation?—A. Bricklayer.

Q. How long have you worked at your trade?—A. Twenty-seven years.

Q. Do you hold any official position in any labor organization?—A. I am delegate at large for the Bricklayers' Association of Chicago.

Q. You are a member, of course, of the building trades council?—A. Yes.

Q. You may make your statement in your own way of any facts that you have in connection with the industrial conditions of Chicago. Make it as briefly as possible.—A. I will state as briefly as possible my opinion of the origin of the present labor troubles of Chicago; also my experience before the adoption of arbitration by the organization of which I am a member; and also my experience after arbitration was adopted and until the present time. I became a member of the bricklayers' organization in Chicago about 1885, and I think we had one strike between that and 1887, if I remember right, and it did not last but a day or so, I believe. In 1887 we had a strike that lasted some 11 or 12 weeks. Finally it was settled in the joint arbitration board. Rules of arbitration were drawn up, the arbitration board met, and settled the grievance satisfactorily to both sides. We then lived in harmony until 1897. In that year the contractors gave our organization 6 months' notice, according to agreement in our arbitration rules, that the agreement would run out by limitation. At the same time they issued an ultimatum to the organization stating that after we refused to work only for members of the Chicago Builders' Association they could not meet us in arbitration. I was a member of the board elected that year, and when we sat, organized the committees, and elected our umpire, the employers introduced a resolution there stating that the United Order of American Bricklayers and Stone Masons of Chicago would hereafter work for none others than members of the Chicago Builders' Association. I myself introduced an amendment to that resolution, reading something like this: That the members of the bricklayers of Chicago would work for none others than the members of the Chicago Builders' Association and members of the United Order of Bricklayers, meaning by that members of our own organization that were already contractors and still held their cards in our organization, thereby shutting out probably 20 per cent of the contractors in Chicago that did not belong to their association. We went on and arbitrated. That was adopted, and we went on and arbitrated the rest of the working rules, and worked all right for that year—the year of 1897.

The next year the employers complained, for the reason that the competition of the members of our organization holding contractors' cards with the members of the Chicago Mason Builders' Association was too keen. They introduced the same resolution again in 1898, and called upon us to force the members that belonged to our organization holding contractors' cards either to get out of business or to join the Chicago Mason Builders' Association. We sat for a long while—several days I presume—and argued the points. At last we gave in to the contractors. We went over to our organization—the committee did. Before we could proceed with arbitration this agreement had to be agreed upon by both organizations. The committee took it over to our organization and fought on the floor, thinking it would be better to do anything than break the relations existing between the two bodies. Our organization adopted that rule. We went back and finished the arbitration rules, and went on and worked harmoniously for another year. After forcing all the small contractors, those of them who belonged to our organization, into the Chicago Mason Builders' Association, which I believe amounted to 50 per cent of the contractors, probably more, we found that this element we drove in there on the suggestion of the Chicago Mason Builders' Association had become the majority, and at their first election they voted out all the old officers and elected a board of their own, men that had very little experience or executive ability in organizations, as I took it; and from that time on, which was 1898, trouble began between the organization of bricklayers and their employers. The men that were elected on their board of arbitration were men that were very arbitrary, far from being the gentlemen that represented the organization so many years before; and it was a case of domineering, a case of dictation, and not arbitration on their part. Bad feeling came between the two organizations. They were unable to formulate rules; even objected to electing an umpire. Each was there for two weeks nearly before they consented to have an umpire appointed, believing that no outside person should have anything to do with the relations of the organizations, or with settling any difficulty.

For two years bad feeling existed, and has existed, and last year the arbitration rules were broken altogether. It put our organization in a very bad position, and that was because of the laborers having to break their agreement. We partly upheld them too, I suppose, for our own protection and for the protection of other trades in the council. It must have appeared to all the contractors in town, that is, the mason contractors, that there was something wrong, for I see that the old contractors that used to control the organization have got back, been elected to the positions to which they should be elected. But the damage has been done. The members who held these positions have misrepresented the trouble between the bricklayers and themselves, and it has caused the better element of the contractors to be, as I take it, prejudiced against the labor union, that is, our organization as well as others. The consequence is that the present trouble has occurred through this anger toward employers forming their council, which they have a perfect right to do. I do not dispute that; but when they say they have a right to fight to the bitter end, and that the building trades council must be annihilated, meaning of course that the trades affiliated will also be annihilated, practically so, we think it is unfair. I want to say right here that the result has got to be, no matter how long it is fought, that arbitration has got to be adopted by all the trades, and each and every employers' association has got to do the same. They have had strikes in Chicago before, and they know they have fought weeks and weeks and then have had to adopt the same tactics of coming to arbitration with the other side. I want to say that I speak for myself, and I have questioned many men prominent in labor circles, and they, the same as myself, are all very sorry that this has occurred.

As I stated before, this has got to be settled by arbitration. The employers must consent to arbitration. As far as my organization is concerned, we have already consented to arbitration, and I believe every trade in the building trades council is willing to arbitrate; and I do not think that any employer, no matter who he may be or what association he belongs to, has a right to say to his employees that he has no grievance, or that they have no grievance worthy of arbitration. I do not care how trivial it is or how small the organization, or how large, they have a right to come down as men, and if there is anything wrong, to adjust matters. I believe in arbitration, because my organization lived in peace for over 10 years; had no trouble whatever. I believe our organization will arbitrate; this will be settled by arbitration; and I also believe that there should be a higher board of arbitration, a board of arbitration selected by both bodies, that could be called upon in case any trade and its employers can not agree; that they shall not disrupt the rest of the trades and also destroy their own organizations, but shall be compelled to go to the higher courts and have them decide; and both sides shall abide by that. I have read some very harsh words in the

newspapers, uttered by some of the contractors towards labor men. If the contractors would only look back and consider what harsh words they use to their men, most of them—it has been my experience that while the men are working and doing their best, these contractors at the same time try to drive them to the limit of their capacity, and go so far as to call them things you would not call a dog; not saying they are all like that, but there are quite a lot of them; and walk along every morning and call off out of probably forty bricklayers and other men, a few men, and discharge them in order to make the others submissive; in order to drive the others and make them feel if they do not exert themselves their life is short there. This is not hearsay; it is what I see; I have experienced it; I have seen it done. I can not say anything about the experiences that some of the contractors have had with walking delegates, because I never was a walking delegate; but I want to say on behalf of the bricklayers' organization that its membership would not permit any of its membership or delegates to settle any grievance for a money consideration or for good fellowship. An organization of workmen is a business association; they run their organization in a businesslike manner; and a trade union, if for nothing else, is worthy of its name even as a collecting agency for its members.

We can say, in our organization, that since we were organized in 1879, its members have not lost one-half of 1 per cent of their wages, for the reason that the organization collects those wages. They do not have to go to trouble to collect them; have no legal means, only their own; and for that one reason the organization is good—the union is good; while, before that, it is estimated that the bricklayers in those towns lost fully 20 per cent, and it is said 25 per cent was lost oftentimes, for the reason that there was no organization and no community amongst the men. Employers would hire a man and lay him off in the middle of the week, probably for that week, and have his time coming; tell him to come to the house next week; go to the house next week and lie about the house a week trying to get the money; finally see the man and offer to settle for two-thirds or a half. That was done in this town; scores of cases like that. It seems to me, through my experience of last week with the president of our international union—I was with him when he visited the mason builders' association—while I know there are members in the Chicago mason builders' association, a great lot of them, who would like to see it settled by arbitration, would vote for it; like all other organizations there are a few influential men—men who can get on the floor and champion a cause probably to the detriment of its membership; that is done in all organizations; that is undoubtedly being done to-day in some of the employers' associations. I am personally acquainted with a great many good employers in that association, and I have talked with them in the last three or four weeks, and their sentiments have been that they would be only too glad to see it settled, and would vote for arbitration if they had the chance. I think that the employers have a right—not that they could hurt me personally; they are not bothering me at all—but they have a right, all the trades belonging to the contractors' council have a right to notify each individual trade interested and ask for an arbitration board to settle this grievance. The business of Chicago, and the progress that we have seen in Chicago, does not warrant any body of men in putting anything in the way of the progress of a city of this kind; and I venture to say that if all the employers representing the various trades call upon the employers' associations for a board of arbitration, every one of them would respond, because there is no organization but wants to be fair. While there may be members in it that don't want to be fair, the organization wants to be fair; the vast majority of every organization is fair; the vast majority are intelligent, too, and there is no excuse, whatever, because when a communication is sent to an organization, it is sent to its body, and no officer has the right to open it, read it, and throw it into the waste basket; it is to be read there before the organization, and action will be taken.

It is demonstrated all over the world that the vast majority of members of labor organizations are fair and intelligent men. The contractors themselves acknowledge that the union men are the best workmen. We know they are the best workmen because they have the welfare of their family at heart; they have the welfare of their fellow-men at heart; and that is the reason they organize, to better their condition, and better the condition of their fellow-workmen. Certainly, when a man will sit down and consider all these things, he makes a better citizen. He certainly must be intelligent or he would go rambling around like a dog. That is the way with a nonunion man. He is like a dog. He is chased all over the world, because usually a nonunion man, with very few exceptions, is only a botch, commonly called by the workmen; he is a man who is not capable of going into his branch of business and taking up any part of it; is not

capable of even speaking for himself; he must get somebody else to talk for him; and nearly all those men are men who have been fined for violation of rules—because they are not competent to fill the bill. They go around and get fined for violating the rules of the organization. They become useful in times like this, in times of trouble, where the employers can pick them up and pat them on the back and tell them what good fellows they are, and after the trouble is over they have no room for them. We have seen them driven out of Chicago even, when we have settled our troubles with them. So that the whole thing lies now with the contractors, as has been stated before. The public are beginning to talk about it. The advertisements in the street cars that were supposed to bring down public opinion upon the heads of the workmen, and also to drive their grocery men to refuse them their little groceries, etc., while this trouble lasted. A whole amount of stuff was calculated to be done by that advertisement in the street cars; but that has been taken care of, and it is becoming a laughing matter now, more than becoming effective on the part of the contractors.

In conclusion, I should like to say this, that I think it behooves the contractors of each individual trade to send a communication to each organization asking for an arbitration committee to be appointed or elected, to meet a like arbitration committee of its employers; and I think they ought to do that, and do it quick. I do not believe this thing ought to be carried on any longer. The idea that the contractors or anybody else will destroy labor unions is ridiculous. Labor unions are here, and here to stay. They originated in Great Britain, I believe, or some part of Europe, many years ago. They have been a success there. They are a success there to-day. In fact, they are far ahead of us people. And the trade union is in Chicago to stay. They might weaken or disrupt it for a time, but the union will get on its feet again, and the moment the contractor has got his work in full swing they will strike him a deadly blow. It is no good time to destroy a thing. That is impossible. It is impossible unless military are brought here to shoot the men down, because they have rights as well as any other citizens. They have a right to better their condition, and that right can not be taken away from them.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) What difference is there between the way in which the bricklayers' union settles a strike or lockout to-day and the time when William O'Brien, now president of the contractors' council, was president of the bricklayers' union?—A. I can not answer that question from personal observation, but only from what I have heard amongst the old-time bricklayers in Chicago. I do not believe that Mr. O'Brien was a member of the bricklayers' union when I came to Chicago in 1885. I have heard that when there was a strike, when Mr. O'Brien was president, there was a job somewhere on the west side where there were some nonunion men; and I have heard them say he made use of the remark, "Come on, boys," and they went to the job; and they said he had a gun and said he would fetch them off; he would show them; if they didn't stop he would make them stop. They went and got the nonunion men off and got the job all straightened out, or taken out, or something; I do not know; that is history to me; that is only what I have heard the old heads say—the old bricklayers.

Q. Did your union receive a reply from the contractors' association to a letter which they sent them requesting arbitration, in the present year?—A. Yes.

Q. You sent them such a letter?—A. Yes; we sent them a communication notifying them our arbitration board was elected and was ready to meet them in the month of January.

Q. Was that previous to the beginning of this trouble?—A. Oh, yes; last January. We are supposed to meet in January and February. We also notified them by telephone several times, but the secretary said he had not seen Mr. Kehoe; he had not seen the rest of the committee, or something; any way arrangements had not been made, and they never answered.

Q. Did you ever see a strike or lockout of only one trade that was outside of the building trades council that caused more trouble than the whole building trades council? That is a question that was handed to me to ask you.—A. Well, the only trade I know of was our own, in 1887. We tied up all the work in Chicago for about 11 or 12 weeks. The other trades had no grievance. We tied the whole business up.

Mr. GUBBINS (who had handed question to Commissioner Kennedy). The sense of the question was that while the contractors claim there is a great deal of trouble here, originating from the building trades council, even if it were all piled together and put on the building trades council, one trade at different times here has caused more trouble. One trade in town here has caused more trouble than everything caused by this lockout.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Do you accept that as your answer?

The WITNESS. Yes.

Q. When do unions think is the most opportune time to strike? That is another question that is handed me.—A. Well, in good times, prosperous times, we always strike—prosperity strikes. We do not strike in dull times. In dull times we are all on strike—have nothing to do. As soon as prosperity strikes us we want to make up for a little of those dull times when we walked around so much.

Q. Has there been an increase of wages in your trade in the past 2 years?—A. No; not in the last 7 or 8 years.

Q. The question was given me to ask you: To what do you attribute the increase of wages in the past 2 years, if there has been any increase?—A. There have been increases in the various trades of the building trades council, but our trade—we never fight much for wages; we generally get our wages; when the times are good the bosses need the men. We make our regular rate, 50 cents. All through the hard times we got the 50 cents. When prosperity comes we get 55 and 60 cents, when the employer needs you. I never had any trouble getting 5 or 10 cents more than union wages. I do not believe I have worked for union wages but 3 months in my life. The increase of wages in other trades is owing to good times coming and prosperity. We are the same as other people. We think we ought to have a share of prosperity when it does come.

Q. When prosperity comes the union is able to get some of the benefits of prosperity?—A. Oh, yes; the more work comes the less the men, and the more we demand.

(Testimony closed.)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 31, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. E. W. SPROUL,

General Contractor.

The special subcommission met at 2 p.m., pursuant to recess, Mr. Clarke presiding. At 6.30 p.m. Mr. E. W. Sproul, of Chicago, a general contractor, was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) You may state your post-office address.—A. 312 Chamber of Commerce building, Chicago.

Q. And your occupation?—A. Mason and general contractor.

Q. You know the object for which you are called to the stand?—A. Yes.

Q. You may proceed in as brief a way as possible to make your statement.

The WITNESS. About the middle of July the brick masons of Chicago and in the little surrounding towns went out on a strike. I really do not know what they struck for at that time, but after the strike had continued for probably two or two and a half weeks, a prominent brick manufacturer of Chicago approached me—a man I had known for years, and always supposed to be right, and said, "Send me your check for \$50, and ask no questions." I did not ask any questions, and when I came back to my office I mailed him a check for \$50. Two or three days after that occurrence the strike was declared off. The supposition was that it was to be arbitrated—a board of arbitration appointed, as I understand it. Neither the brick manufacturers nor the labor leaders ever appointed that arbitration board. The matter ran along for probably 2 or 3 weeks after the strike was declared off, and the men went back to work, when this same manufacturer showed me a list of probably 10 or 15 contractors, written out on an envelope, ranging from \$100 down to \$50, and he said that money was used to settle the strike. He said, "That is the way your money was used." I want to state that Mr. Wells, the gentleman that was on the stand here yesterday, also contributed \$50 toward that in the same manner that I did. I did not know what it was for at the time it was contributed. I did the same as I would if any friend had made the same demand; I wouldn't question what he wanted the \$50 for. That is as far as I know anything about it.

Q. You can state that a little further; you can state the name of the gentleman.—A. No, sir; I will not state the name of the gentleman that asked the contribution.

Q. Well, of course you are privileged, I suppose, if you so demand?—A. Yes, I do; I demand it.

Q. For the reason that it would incriminate either him or you?—A. I am not a bit afraid of incriminating myself, because, as I said, I do not know what the \$50 was for, and if I had known it, my \$50 would never have gone for that purpose.

Q. You took up that check?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you the check that you gave?—A. I certainly have.

Q. Should you be willing to produce that to the commission?—A. No, sir; I will produce it in court, if it is necessary.

Q. Have you anything further to state?—A. There is a communication handed to me here, or a statement. I want to state that I do not know anything about it, whether it is a fact or not, gentlemen. If the commission wants to know whether it is a fact or not—

Q. Not unless you are able to testify that it is a fact.—A. I am not.

Q. Even on belief?—A. Even on belief I am not able to testify.

Q. Then I do not see how you can possibly introduce that as a part of your testimony. If you believe it to be true, of course you could.—A. Gentlemen, there has been a great deal said here for and against the building trades council, and I should like to make just a brief further statement.

Q. Very well, you are privileged to do that.—A. I have been doing work for the Deering Harvester Company for a period of four years. I have been entering into my contracts with them along about the 1st of March or April each year, to lay a number of brick, more or less, at so much a thousand, wall measure, then submitting the price to the Deering Harvester people for the work, and getting an option or contract, and the Evanston Brick Company had furnished all the brick I had used there. In March, 1899, the Deering Harvester people called me out to give them an estimate on the year's work. I went to the Evanston Brick Company and got a price of them, \$4.90 a thousand, f.o.b. I got the foundations in for one or two buildings. When the brick came on the ground I was informed by the laborers that they wouldn't touch them; they were from outside the union, and the union label was not on them, and therefore they couldn't unload them. Rather than have any trouble I canceled my contract with the Evanston Brick Company. I was forced to go to the Purinton Brick Company, of which S. F. Purinton is president, and pay them \$5.25 a thousand for brick, and the brick 15 per cent smaller than the brick that I bought. I went to the president of the bricklayers' union and asked them if they thought it was fair. He said to me, "No, it is an outrage, but my hands are tied in the matter; I can not help it." Finally, after several days, the president of the bricklayers' association did take it up, or I understood he took it up, and they got fifteen or twenty days' time more for the contractors to finish up their work with large brick. It cost me and the Deering Harvester Company for that change probably \$5,000 or \$6,000. Otherwise I have never had any trouble. I have been in business here since 1882, and I have never had any material trouble with any of the labor unions or the laboring men outside of one time, a little bit of a sympathetic strike, that lasted about four or five days.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have you ever given any money to any business agent of any of the trades represented in the building trades council?—A. I am not aware whether it was the business agent or not. I think about the 1st or middle of December—I am not just positive of the date—3 bricklayers waited on me and asked me to donate a certain sum, or any sum that I saw fit, to give Mr. Gubbins, as they call it, a blow-out when he returned from the East. I think I contributed \$10. About 2 weeks afterwards the same gentlemen came to my office and handed me a \$10 bill or a \$5, I am not positive which it was, and said, "Mr. Gubbins has demanded that we return this money to the different contractors or anybody that has contributed." They gave me my money back. That is the only time that ever I did.

Q. Do you know of any agreement with the brick trust, or lime trust, or stone trust, so called?—A. No; I do not know of any agreement at the present time.

Q. Were you ever fined by the contractors' council?—A. Yes; I was.

Q. State the circumstances under which you were fined.—A. I was fined for disobeying the rules of the association.

Q. Could you state what rule of the association?—A. No, sir.

Q. You do not know?—A. I don't say that.

Q. You simply refuse to tell?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you any opinion to express as to the manner in which the contractors and masons ran their business last year?—A. As far as I was concerned, I got a day's work out of a man, and that is what I wanted to get out.

Q. What is that?—A. So far as I was concerned, the men that were working for me performed a day's work and they gave satisfaction. I do not know how any other member runs his business.

Q. You have presented a document of which you claim you do not know whether it is true or not. Is it a fact that a gentleman stated in your presence that he could prove it if the parties charged wished to defend their character in court?—A. Yes.

Q. Will you state who that gentleman was?—A. No, sir; and the reason I will not state that is that I just happened to be standing out here when a gentleman was telling another man about it. I did not mean to be an eavesdropper, but I heard the statement, and I do not believe that it would be right for me to state who the gentleman was. I have no right to doubt that it is reasonably true, but I do not know that it is. I understood the question—Do I know that this was true? I do not.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Of course you are testifying now, and if you can incorporate that as a part of your testimony it must be with the belief on your part that it is true.—A. I have no reason to believe that it is not true. I have no right to doubt the gentleman that said that it is.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Do you believe it is true?—A. Yes. Do you want me to submit this?

Mr. A. L. HARRIS. I think it is of such a character that you certainly should testify with some information. It is entirely outside of the matter of ordinary belief. It is outside of common rumor.—A. It is. That is the reason why I answered the question as I did.

Mr. A. L. HARRIS. I think you answered it correctly.

(Testimony closed.)

Whereupon at 6.30 p. m. the subcommission adjourned sine die.

AFFIDAVIT OF MR. AMBROSE HILL,

Business Agent, Slate and Tile Roofers' Union, 112 West Madison Street, Chicago.

The slate and tile roofers' union was organized January 7, 1897, and is affiliated with the building trades council.

The slate and tile roofers of Chicago are about the poorest paid workers in the building trades. The wages were but 35 cents an hour up to August, 1899. From that time we have got 40 cents. We are able to work only about 4½ or 5 months in the year. Any contractor with any knowledge of the business and the dangerous risks we have to take is well aware that we deserve better pay; but no, they would deprive us of the privilege of improving our condition, by destroying the building trades council first and the unions second, and they declare we are committing a heinous crime in looking after our own interests.

When Mr. V. Falkenau, chairman of the press committee of the contractors' council, and the leader in the fight which that body is making against the building trades council, was asked by the commissioners if the contractors would be willing to dissolve their council provided the workmen gave up theirs, he answered without hesitation: "No; we will not abandon the contractors' council. Our aims are on a much higher plane than those of the building trades." I wish to say in connection with those higher aims, that to my mind the contractors' council is likely to drift into a large contractors' trust that will embrace the entire building industry. The organized workmen, while they may disagree somewhat on the trust question, agree in this, that improved means of protection are of more consequence to them than improved methods of production. To have some say as to the terms of employment is what is wanted. Even though the trust may concede higher wages and shorter hours, it is the recognition of the right to make terms through the agency of the union that concerns them most. Employers will often voluntarily grant concessions as a means of offsetting the demand for recognition, knowing that such recognition would enable the men to deal with the employer more like an equal. Will it be the policy of this corporation, assuming it to exist in the near future, to recognize the function which organized labor fulfills in society and treat with it as such, or will such a corporation deny to the workers advantages which its members themselves enjoy? Will they insist upon ignoring the necessity of workmen acting in groups, in view of the impossibility of the individual making satisfactory terms of employment in a large shop where uniform conditions are determined by the management? What will the policy be toward united labor when the trust is more fully established? Will the unions not have to meet a more unyielding foe? That is the question which thousands of organized mechanics are asking, and an assuring answer can not be given by words alone. It might be said that necessity would stimulate and strengthen the movement of the workers. No doubt it will, because years of struggle and sacrifice made for economic independence have trained and nerved the American toiler for a greater trial. The test must soon come, for

organization on the other side is proceeding at such a pace that labor will have to make great strides in order to catch up. To meet one single employer who speaks for the entire trade is quite different from coping with one who figures on the advantage his competitor will gain in the event of stoppage of work.

Now suppose the unions are overcome and destroyed. Instead of the natural and orderly methods of trade-unionism, discontent will find vent through wild and sudden revolutionary uprisings, or will give way to a dull, deadening passiveness, the very worst fate which could befall society. Consider also what it means to the individual mechanic, who for some offense has been discharged by a trust, and finds that this is equivalent to giving up an occupation to which he has been trained for a life time.

AMBROSE HILL.

Subscribed and sworn to this 3d day of April, 1900.

[SEAL.]

CHRISTIAN L. HAAS,
Notary Public.

CHICAGO, ILL., May 12, 1900.

AFFIDAVIT OF MISS CLARINDA M. COPE,

Illinois Deputy State Factory Inspector, 771 W. Sixty-third Place, Chicago.

During the past three years, while engaged in the performance of the duties of factory inspector in Chicago, I have had opportunities to observe conditions as they exist over the entire field of the garment-making industry, and also conditions as they affect child labor and female labor in other industries in this city. I have made it a practice to inquire as to the earnings of workers and other matters of interest, and have kept memoranda of what I have observed. These inquiries were made in hundreds of places, both of employers and of workers, and I have met with no difficulty in getting prompt answers to such inquiries as I thought proper to make. I will state as accurately as I can the facts as I have observed them.

There are, in round numbers, 25,000 garment makers in Chicago, of whom 11,000 are women, and 1,600 are children under 16 years of age—mostly girls about 15 years old. The women and children, with the exception of a few home finishers, work in shops, commonly called factories.

The merchant tailors, who make garments cut to measure for the custom tailors, and the tailors for the trade, who make suits cut to measure for firms who receive orders from the country, are known as tailors; the others are designated as garment makers, cloak makers, shirt makers, etc.

Out of 150 workers employed by cheap-grade factories in one locality, I found 11 doing finishing work in the home during the busy season. One of these was sewing buttons on men's pants at the rate of 3 cents per pair. She could, by steady work, finish 2 dozen per day. A German woman was finishing pants at the rate of 33 cents per dozen. She made 66 cents per day when doing nothing else. Doing this class of work, and generally finishing work, such as is given out, a woman working 10 hours a day, who is at all capable, earns about \$4 per week. The prices paid do not vary greatly. Women in shops doing the same class of work are more skilled, and earn from \$5 to \$7 per week.

Much of the high-grade merchant tailoring work is done in the home; the medium and lower grade work is nearly all done in shops and factories.

The tailors I have visited in their homes are nearly all well situated in clean apartments usually in the suburbs. Many own their own homes. They generally object to the down-town shop, because of the unsanitary conditions of the crowded shop, the waste of time and car fare going and returning, the cold mid-day lunch or restaurant meal, the beer bucket, and associations not of their own choosing.

The average journeyman tailor earns from \$10 to \$12 per week. The more skilled workers, the artisans in the trade, range from \$15 to \$30 per week.

In the garment factories doing a cheap grade of work beginners earn at first \$2 per week. I have never found one who was receiving no wages. Girls under 16 generally earn from \$2.50 to \$4 per week.

Factory workers who have learned the trade earn about the same as the average journeyman tailor, with a margin in favor of the tailor. A variety of wages and gradations of skill will be found in all these shops. Many are earning from \$10 to \$12, others from \$7 to \$9. In an overall factory on Canal street wages

range from \$5 to \$9, two boys under 16 making about \$5 each, the women generally about \$7 each. In other overall shops I find women who have learned to sew well making \$9 and \$10 per week. In one shop a boy of 17 was earning \$12, while others about him who had worked longer in the trade were earning from \$7 to \$10.

Girls under 17 do not do much machine work. Many of the machines are run by electricity or steam, and on those that are run by the foot the short pedal has recently been generally introduced, making the machines much easier to operate.

In high-grade work on ready-made garments, skilled workmen earn from \$10 to \$25 per week.

Nearly all garment making is piecework, and the worker is paid according to the amount of work done. The usual day is ten hours. When work is slack there are many short days, and during the rush season shops run overtime two days in the week. Steady work is supplied in most shops eight months of the year, and during the remaining four months there is work only during two or three days of the week.

In the cloak factories the earnings are about the same as in other garment factories. I have been permitted to examine the pay rolls in a number of downtown shops, and I find that the most skilled workers are receiving about the same as the high-grade merchant tailors—from \$15 to \$25 per week; others from \$6 to \$15 per week. In the smaller factories, doing a low-grade work, the earnings range from \$3 to \$15, according to age and skill. Generally, in the garment trade, it may be said that the average woman of ordinary aptitude, after learning the trade, can earn from \$8 to \$12 per week; in the high-grade cloak factories some earn \$15 and \$20 per week.

At 7254 Halstead street, Otto Brail employs 27 people at cloak making. Twenty-five of these are women. He has one man who earns \$15 per week, and one man or boy who earns \$10 per week. He employs four home finishers. They are able to earn \$4 per week; but more skilled women in the shop earn \$6 and \$7 doing the same kind of work. Ten women are earning \$12 per week. The others in the shop are making from \$3 to \$9 per week. His prices range the same as are paid elsewhere in Chicago for the same grade of work.

The women and girls employed in the garment factories of Chicago are nearly all of foreign parentage. As a class they are vigorous and strong, and certainly have a more cheerful and contented look than the average housekeeper. They receive as good or better pay in this industry than they could get in other industries, and better pay than is received by clerks in stores by the same class of wage-earners, and at the same time they are learning a useful trade. I consider the garment trade, as it is conducted in Chicago, the best place to work for girls who are compelled to earn a living by day labor. The work is not as hard as in many other industries.

The garment trade is not a belated industry, as is sometimes asserted. It has kept pace with modern methods of improvement; automatic machines have long since displaced the "emaciated buttonhole maker," and light-running sewing machines are in use where foot power is used. It is a thoroughly systematized industry, in which wages are accurately gauged according to the work done, and the labor conditions are substantially the same as in other industries, neither better nor worse. It is one of the few industries that has not been centralized under the control of large capitalists. No other industry is more generally distributed among managers of small means and among independent workers. Owing to the nature of the work, some poor women who are unable to get employment in other lines of work, find an opportunity to earn something in branches of this industry where no special skill is required. The wide distribution of work among poor people has helped them perhaps somewhat to the disadvantage of skilled labor; but the cheapening of the product has increased consumption and made more work to do, and the poor have been most benefited by the low prices of cheap garments.

Among certain persons in the tailoring trade there is a desire to force all garment makers out of tenement shops and out of their homes, and to compel them to work in detached shops or factories. The effect of such a change would be to centralize the industry and subject it to the jurisdiction of the business agent or walking delegate. It would close out the single merchant tailors, of whom there are a large number who sew in their homes, because they can not afford to pay for an extra shop; it would deprive the home finishers of the little work which they are now permitted to do, and retire the journeyman tailor who is getting long in years and is no longer able to keep the pace set by younger men.

Among garment makers doing a low grade of work are a number of poor people of certain nationalities who live in unclean apartments, and who work in shops

that are likewise unclean. From this lack of cleanliness they are themselves the principal sufferers. As to the danger of spreading contagious diseases, it may be said that as a rule garments are not retained long in the home, but are quickly finished and returned; and persons are not likely to go for more work when there is serious sickness of a member of the family to require attention. I doubt if there is any more danger of the spread of disease from the home than there is from the factory where there are many persons coming from as many different homes.

THE CHILDWORKERS OF CHICAGO.

The number of children working in Illinois under 16 years of age, according to the last printed yearly factory inspector's report of 1898, is 11,845. Of these, 4,371 are girls and 7,474 are boys. Of those employed in Cook County, 3,730 are girls and 5,585 are boys. The following table includes all industries in Chicago where a large number of children are employed.

Business.	Girls.	Boys.
Stores and offices.....	1,294	681
Garment makers.....	1,218	406
Metal trades.....	114	1,101
Woodworking trades.....	65	782
Leather industries.....	130	275
Printing and publishing.....	80	243
Steam laundries.....	123	13
Food products.....	150	328
Confections.....	259	22
Cigars, tobacco, and snuff.....	79	56
Paper boxes.....	57	83

The other children are distributed in numerous other industries, including manufactures of soaps and perfumes, school supplies, tents and awnings, brick, stone, and terra-cotta works, musical instruments, bicycles, etc.

Of the child workers as a whole in Chicago it may be said that in intelligence, education, and physical development they are certainly not inferior to the unemployed children of the same age. There is only a small percentage of them who do not speak English, and those who do not soon learn. The conditions under which they work are not more exacting than they are on the farms of Illinois. Some children are at work who ought to be in school, and some are at work who are not very strong. They are at work because they are poor and work with them is a necessity.

There being no textile factories in this city, there is very little demand for children under 15 years of age. The largest proportion of children under that age working in any one industry will be found in the department stores, where they are employed as cash girls. In the garment trade, more especially, young girls are useless, as they do not readily learn to sew, and, as in all garment shops, except those engaged exclusively in high-grade work, all work is paid by the piece, there is no object in wasting time in teaching 'little children to sew. Besides, there are more applicants from among rugged girls of 15 years of age and upward than can find employment.

As a rule the children at work are vigorous, energetic, and cheerful. There are some, not many, whose tasks are too heavy. There are special instances of abuse. But children are not inclined to remain with employers who are harsh or unkind, nor will a boy work for a dollar when he can get two. Parents also are sensitive on the subject of the treatment of their children by other people. The right to abuse them they reserve to themselves, and the greatest abuse of child labor in this city is in the home, where young girls are sometimes overtaxed, and not in the workshop.

The greatest evil affecting young boys is idleness. A boy of 14 who is not in school ought to be at work at least a portion of the year. The delinquent children of this city do not come out of the factory and the shop, but are recruited chiefly from the idle classes. The persons who suffer most, and who should be the objects of the greatest sympathy and solicitude, are poor helpless people, out of work and out of money, many of whom are deprived of the opportunity to earn a living by organized interests that prescribe conditions that make work impossible for them.

Labor conditions as a whole can not be determined by what is to be seen in a single factory or shop; but the following particular accounts of a group of representative business establishments may materially assist in giving a fair idea of the conditions affecting child labor and female labor in Chicago:

The garment trade.—I recently visited a coat maker's factory at 430 South Morgan street, a Russian shop, M. A. Bernstein, proprietor. Twenty were at work, 11 being women. There were none under 16. They do only high-grade work in this shop. The manager permitted me to inquire of the workers as to their weekly earnings. I found the 11 women all doing hand work, and earning from \$5 to \$8 per week. The men were earning as follows: \$10, \$19, \$20, \$18, \$16, \$14, \$19, and \$16 per week, and two doing piecework were earning \$22 and \$24 per week. The foreman gets \$28 per week. Eight of these men were paid by the hour.

A shop on Maxwell street, near Morgan, was reported to me as a place where low wages are paid. The people here are also coat makers, doing high-grade work. The earnings per week in this shop ranged as follows: A boy of 19, just beginning, \$6; a boy of 15, who was learning cutting, and had been at work three months, \$3; another boy of 15, \$4; 6 women doing finishing, \$5 to \$8; the men in the shop, \$9, \$14, \$16, \$10, \$18, \$8, \$13, \$14, \$8.

John Harper, 179 Franklin street, a coat maker, employs 150 people. About one-half of these are women and girls. Thirty are under 16 years of age, but most of these past 15. Seventeen of these girls are receiving \$2.50 and \$3 per week. The women and girls all do finishing, and the women receive from \$5 to \$8 per week. All the workers here are paid by the hour; the reason assigned being that the work is more satisfactory, as it is done less hurriedly. The pay roll shows some earning \$18, \$21, and \$27. Pressers receive on an average \$13.50. One man of 65 years of age is earning \$9, and there are others receiving from \$7 to \$15. The working day is 10 hours, with the privilege of working 2 hours overtime. But few, however, choose to work more than 10 hours.

On Market street, where hose supporters are manufactured, 140 women and girls and 10 men are employed. Twenty-one of these are girls under 16 years of age, but nearly all are over 15. The girls earn from \$2.50 to \$4 per week, but one girl is receiving \$5 and another \$6.40 who have not been there longer than the others, but who are more expert. The women are earning from \$5 to \$9. The foreman gets \$22. The work is piecework and requires no special skill.

Wood workers.—S. Franklin, of 447 South Morgan street, manufacturer of picture frames and moldings, employs 350 people. Eighty of these are boys under 16 years of age, a large proportion being past 15. Much of the work done here requires little or no skill; and as a result wages on the average are not high. Most of the boys are earning \$3 and \$4 per week; two as guilders are getting \$5.54 and \$6.66. Three, working at carving, are earning \$8.37, \$9.11, and \$8.12. The men are earning from \$7 to \$22 per week. These figures are taken from the pay roll.

Metal-working trades.—Crane Company, of No. 10 North Jefferson street, manufacturers of steam and gas fitters' supplies, employ 31 boys between 14 and 16 years of age. The wages of these boys average a trifle over \$4 per week; a few are earning \$7 and \$8 per week. The boys usually start in with the intention of learning the trade. Some of the men are receiving from 30 to 38 cents per hour. Five hundred people are employed, and the wages here represent the average wages paid in the larger shops in the metal-working trades.

Candy making.—Rubel & Allegetti, 48 Lake street, candy makers, employ at present 27 girls and 5 men and boys. Fifteen of these girls are under 16 years of age, and all are over 15, except 2. These girls receive from \$2 to \$2.50 when they first go to work. If they are quick and bright their wages are advanced to \$3 and \$3.50 by the time they are 16. Women doing more skillful work earn from \$5 to \$8. The men having charge of making the candy are getting \$6, \$7, \$8, and \$12. The girls nearly all sit down while at work; and the work is simple and light, and requires no special skill. This factory is a fair sample of other candy factories.

Messenger boys.—The messenger service of Chicago is in charge of the Illinois District Telegraph Company. There are 400 messenger boys in Chicago under 16 years of age, a large proportion being past 15. These boys all receive either \$15 or \$18 per month, and when any are required to work on Sunday, \$1 extra. No boys under 16 are given night work.

Department stores.—The Fair, a department store, employs 300 children under 16 years of age, nearly all of these being past 15. There is a school in the building which the children have the privilege of attending between the hours of 8 and 10 in the morning. Reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, and singing are taught. The girls on entering receive \$2.50, and their wages are advanced as they show

capacity, so that some at 16 are able to earn \$4 per week. Those I questioned expressed themselves as pleased with the school and with the opportunity to work. Younger children are employed in some of the stores.

Errand boys.—If a boy is obliged to earn his living in early years he is in luck if he secures a situation as errand boy in some large office that employs half a dozen or more. In the first place there is the good fellowship of companions of his own age. The work is not generally hard and there is time to rest; besides, the wages are better, on the average, than in most lines of work open to boys.

The business bearing which these little men soon acquire is admirable. Traits of promptness, accuracy, and good manners fit them for promotion as they advance in years and intelligence, and many men now occupying lucrative positions commenced as errand boys.

Wages of errand boys between 14 and 16 years of age range from \$3 to \$5 per week. I have frequently found boys of 15 earning \$5; but more frequently \$3 or \$4.

There are many manly little fellows also to be found in the factories; but the work is harder there, and more exacting, and the factory does not offer the incentive to cultivate manners that the office does; besides, there is not the opportunity there to enjoy the companionship of other boys. But the boy in the factory or shop is learning a trade, and has the opportunity to advance according to the industry and skill which he displays, and sometimes boys of 16 are found earning \$6 to \$8 per week.

STATE OF ILLINOIS, *County of Cook:*

I swear or affirm that the statements hereinabove made by me of my own knowledge are true, and that all other statements I believe to be true.

CLARINDA M. COPE.

Sworn and subscribed before me this 12th day of May, 1900.

[SEAL.]

E. STORKE LATIMER,
Notary Public, Cook County, Ill.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 11, 1900*

TESTIMONY OF MR. DUNCAN DOUGLAS WILSON,

Vice-President of International Association of Machinists.

The commission met at 10.45 a. m., Mr. A. L. Harris presiding. At that time Mr. Duncan Douglas Wilson, of Washington, D. C., vice-president of the International Association of Machinists and editor of the Machinists' Monthly Journal, was introduced as a witness and, being first duly affirmed, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) Please give your name.—A. Duncan Douglas Wilson.

Q. And post-office address.—A. 82 Corcoran Building, Washington, D. C.

Q. You are a member of the International Machinists' Union?—A. A member of the International Association of Machinists.

Q. What official position do you hold in that organization now?—A. International vice-president and editor of their monthly journal.

Q. What is the title of the monthly journal?—A. The Machinists' Monthly Journal.

Q. Can you inform the commission how long this present organization has been in existence?—A. It came into existence in Atlanta, Ga., as far as I know, in 1888.

Q. Did you ever have before that in this country any isolated associations of machinists?—A. No.

Q. Or any national union before that?—A. There were branches of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers of Great Britain in different parts of the country, but more particularly in the centers. That was the only one, as far as I know, existing. I was in the South at the time this organization came into existence, and the nearest branch of the Amalgamated Society was in Nashville, Tenn. Whether it is in existence now I do not know. I was a member of the Amalgamated Society at that time, but dropped my membership when the International Association of Machinists came into existence because you can not belong to two trade organizations if you are a member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

Q. Were those branches of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers operated under British charters?—A. No British charters; having complete jurisdiction of their own affairs under the American and Canadian council, the same as Australia has complete control of its affairs.

Q. Has the organization of your present association abolished all these charters from the parent society in England?—A. Oh, no.

Q. Are any of these in existence?—A. Still in existence and stronger than ever.

Q. In this country?—A. When it commenced there were very few native Americans members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, but a good many have since joined through being educated in the International Association of Machinists. The benefits to be gotten from the Amalgamated Society of Engineers are greater than our native American workmen are educated up to pay sufficient to receive, such as out-of-work benefits in particular.

Q. Then did the American association—was it modeled somewhat after the British association?—A. No; it is becoming more in that line now; that is, the better features of the British trade-union idea are becoming a part of the American one, and a great many of the ideas that it was built upon are being eliminated, such as, for instance, taking up the whole of a meeting with initiative ceremonies, a lot of nonsense; that has been entirely eliminated now. And there was a great deal of secret work, in emulation of the secret societies; that is done away with.

Q. Did you have passwords, and grips, and recognition signs?—A. Passwords, and grips, and signs of recognition in the daytime or dark, and hailing signs, and grip, and all that nonsense, which had no business; it has been a great deal of hard work to bring it about to drop that out, but now we are practically clear of it. There is a traveling password now. That is all I know of it.

Q. Has the American association taken over from the British association any of those things that we call the customs of the trade which have usually caused troubles and strikes and disputes?—A. Customs of trade?

Q. Yes; independent of the wage question?—A. No.

Q. Privileges of trade?—A. No; in the association of machinists we are particularly free from that because the American workman has to work at high pressure all the time. There have been none of these restrictions that are common in England, and Scotland, and Ireland. There has been none of that—restricting the output of work.

Q. The output?—A. There has been no restriction of output. I suppose that is what you refer to.

Q. That is what I mean. That is one of the customs. I mean those customs that are foreign to the trade unions of this country. The earlier unions carried with them the customs of these foreign countries?—A. Yes.

Q. Would you say, then, that your association is almost entirely free from those older customs in respect to output, and time, and everything of that kind?—A. It is entirely free.

Q. Placed on a more democratic basis?—A. Yes.

Q. And yet you say that the old Amalgamated Society of Engineers here still maintains its ground and grows?—A. Oh, yes.

Q. Is that more a matter from what you might call the habitat of the worker than it is from any particular advantages you gain?—A. No; I should rather say that it is through the clear-headedness of the American. When he once sees something that is going to benefit him he is going after it. For instance, there is a superannuation benefit that is attached to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, a sick benefit, and an out-of-work benefit that are not incorporated in the American organization. He has to pay a great deal more, but he sees the benefit of it.

Q. Your organization in America does not contain these benefits?—A. Not yet.

Q. Have you any death benefit at all?—A. Yes; a small death benefit of \$50, and that is the first thing in the shape of a benefit that we have been able to wedge in.

Q. In the last 10 years what has been the growth of your organization?—A. From 5 men beneath a locomotive engine in a locomotive shop in Atlanta to (this morning, when I got the figures) 35,000 members in good standing.

Q. What are the annual dues?—A. It varies with localities. Where wages are high the dues are a little higher, though all that is paid to headquarters is the same—15 cents per capita per month and 25 cents every 3 months, which entitles them to \$50 death benefit and a copy of the Journal for each month.

Q. What is the initiation fee in your order?—A. Not less than \$2.

Q. Have you any well-defined apprentice law?—A. Yes.

Q. As to the time and proportion of apprentices to journeymen?—A. As to proportion of apprentices to journeymen and time.

Q. Will you please give us that?—A. I will quote from our constitution, if you have no objection, section 1 of article 2 of our subordinate lodge constitution. I will say that our branches are called lodges, which is a part of the early idea of the secret organization that has not been rubbed out yet. (Reading:) "Any boy hereafter engaging himself to learn the trade of machinist must serve four (4) years. He shall in no case leave his employer without just cause. The following ratio of apprentices shall be allowed: One to each shop, irrespective of the number of machinists employed, and one to every five (5) machinists thereafter, and no boy shall begin to learn the trade of machinist until he is sixteen years old, nor after he is twenty-one years of age."

I will say that this has been practically a dead letter, as far as we are able to put it in force through our jurisdiction, until the recent meeting in New York last month between the members of the manufacturers' Metal Trades Association and ourselves, and they have adopted this ratio of apprentices.

Q. Do you find among the employers a desire to enlarge your apprenticeship?—A. Yes.

Q. Both as to time and as to the number proportionate to the journeymen?—

A. The number in particular; and the boy looks after the time himself, because as soon as he thinks he has acquired a little skill he breaks away and goes elsewhere.

Q. None of your lodges are incorporated, are they?—A. No; not to my knowledge. They may be locally, but not to my knowledge. I have no official knowledge.

Q. Has your organization ever discussed the incorporation of unions?—A. Well, we have done so, and we have concluded that it would not be wise just yet to become incorporated, for the simple reason that we are ignorant as to what incorporation means.

Q. That is, ignorant of the advantage or disadvantage?—A. Exactly; and we thought it wiser to let matters stand as they were until we had time to investigate and give them attention.

Q. What means have you taken to safeguard your national fund?—A. By bonding the officers—bonding in surety companies.

Q. Have your local lodges jurisdiction of their own local funds independent of the capitation tax?—A. Yes; outside of the per capita tax. The per capita tax is paid in the shape of stamps that are bought from headquarters, and they are put in the book of membership, dated, so that any person going to a shop in search of a job or going to visit another city can show that he is in good standing through his stamps being there up to date.

Q. And every one of your members carries one of those books?—A. Yes. We have endeavored to run the association for the last 3 or 4 years as nearly on scientific lines as we could. We have adopted a number system, so that we can tell where a member is, when he left a particular locality, what rate of pay he was receiving, whom he worked for, where he went to, and the next place where he deposited his book. Then he appears in a page of our system—card system—as a member of so and so local, so that we can put our finger on any man where he was within 3 months.

Q. Does your organization receive on an equal footing the card of the English Amalgamated Society?—A. No; they are not interchangeable, though we are on the most friendly terms. If we can not find an International Machinists member to take a job that is vacant, we get an Amalgamated Society of Engineer man to take it. They do the same for us.

Q. What is your strength in Canada?—A. Oh, probably 2,000 members.

Q. In good working order?—A. Oh, in excellent working order, particularly in the west. We have every machinist along the Canadian Pacific system from Winnipeg to British Columbia, and have an agreement with the railroad company that is particularly favorable to our organization.

Q. You might as well state to the commission the definition of the engineer proper. What is his business?—A. The engineer proper as it is understood in this country?

Q. Yes.—A. Just to attend to an engine.

Q. That is all?—A. That is all. He is not supposed to make any repairs or anything like that. In fact, he is not supposed to be skillful enough to make repairs.

Q. He is the engine runner?—A. Keeps the engine running. Mr. Reynolds, the superintendent of the Allis Company, in Milwaukee, told me that his most successful engineer was a man who never took off a cylinder cover, but just kept it running from year to year; the most successful man was a man who did not interfere with the mechanical part of it at all.

Q. Then your organization has control over the stationary engineers?—A. We claim no jurisdiction over stationary engineers; none whatever. Our members

can run engines for the simple reason that they build them. They could run any machine that they built.

Q. This commission is interested in the settlement that was made of the late strike.—A. That is, after the Chicago strike?

Q. Yes; the Chicago strike—the agreement between the National Metal Trades Association and the International Association of Machinists. Will you state to the commission what position you held in that settlement?—A. I was secretary of the board of arbitration.

Q. Will you state where it met and the time?—A. It met at the Murray Hill Hotel, in New York.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Secretary for the one side or for both sides?—A. For both sides; the joint commission.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) Do you know how long it is since the National Metal Trades Association was organized?—A. No; I do not. I have heard it has been in existence for about 12 months.

Q. It is an organization then apparently to meet an emergency?—A. Yes; at the first go off I think it was to meet an emergency.

Q. Do you know now whether it is permanent or not?—A. To the best of my belief it is a permanent institution.

Q. If you will, just state to the commission the troubles, the conditions, that led up to this last strike or disagreement, and then the various steps that came into the strike situation, and then the means that were used to bring around an agreement, and the basis of both sides in making the agreement—just a general statement. A. The whole aim and object of our organization has been to reduce the hours of labor. That is one of the fundamental principles; that is the only excuse, I might say, for our existence at the beginning. Working along these lines, we concluded that the time had come when we ought to ask for a 9-hour day, and we realized the fact that to get a reduction of the hours of labor from a machine shop means a great deal more than it does to get the same concession elsewhere. We recognize the fact that when a gentleman sinks his money in machinery he does it on a 10-hour basis. It is a strictly business proposition, and if a man, we will say, has 10 machines and turns out 10 machines a day with the aid of these 10 machines that he has invested in and he cuts off an hour, it means that he can turn out only 9 machines, irrespective of whether wages have advanced or not. He can only turn out 9 machines, and to get the output he had formerly he must have 11 machines and hire another man. Our idea to get a shorter workday is to give labor to the unemployed, and also to get a little more time to become human beings. In the larger cities a man has to leave his home very early in the morning to get to work at 7 o'clock, and if he works until 6 o'clock at night he gets back at a very late hour. The result is that he is tired and worn out and he is not as good a man morally or physically as he would be if he had a little more time for recreation and rest. Knowing this, we thought that the time had come when we ought to make a request for a 9-hour day, saying nothing about an advance of wages or anything like that; and we thought that Chicago, being geographically the central part, a great distributing point and so on, would be a good place to try it. So early in the year the local lodges—I think we have 8 or 9 in Chicago—brought up a set of resolutions in which the 9-hour day was embodied. Others had only reference to shop management. That was the principal thing. But owing to the prosperity that we have been enjoying for this last couple of years, probably 3 years, unprecedented in the history of our organization, I might say, the men were in that frame of mind that they thought that they could win anything, that they had only to make a demand and it would be granted. They were excited, and I am under the opinion, as far as Chicago is concerned, they went off at halfcock. They really went on strike before the time agreed upon, and probably had they waited until the time agreed upon the manufacturers of Chicago would have come to some understanding similar to the understanding that they did reach eventually after the strike had been in existence some months. I am not very familiar with the situation in Chicago, not having been there, but after the strike had been in existence some little time the manufacturers and some of our officials got together and they came to an agreement that if the strike was declared off a meeting would be called later and these gentlemen would use their influence with the National Metal Trades Association to come to an agreement with our association. Agreeably to this understanding they met at the Murray Hill Hotel. I may say that the presidents were appointed, and they had to appoint two more on each side, and it had to be a vote of 4 one way before it would pass. We met in the Murray Hill Hotel and we went very carefully over everything. The session lasted 8 days. We were in continuous session and were in communication with our advisors in all parts of the Union where we have

officials, by telegraph and long distance telephone; and the Metal Trades Association had their board of advisors there with them; they were more able to afford it than we; of course we could not afford anything like that. The result was that we came to a very good understanding with each other, entered into a written agreement recognizing each other, and making concessions on both sides. That, I think, has been the best step that has ever been taken by either the employer of labor or the organized labor in the United States of America. It has shown that the principle of arbitration is scientific and correct, and we hope for the very best results. Both sides will require a little time to be educated up to the point where they have to lose their individuality, so to speak, and put it in the hands of a national body to adjust for them any personal grievance that they may have, the employers as well as the employees.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have you a copy of the agreement?—A. I have not a copy of the agreement.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR, producing pamphlet.) Is this supposed to be a copy?—A. (Examining pamphlet.) I do not know that. This has been issued by the National Metal Trades Association, by Mr. Devens, the secretary.

Q. And supposed to contain the whole agreement?—A. Undoubtedly, without reading, if they sent it out, it must be correct. I have every confidence in them as being gentlemen of honor, and that they would make no variation at all on anything they sent out. This is practically correct, I think. I see one or two little points here that it was agreed would not be made public, as we thought it was not of interest to the world at large—just merely in connection with shop management; does not affect the outer world at all; did not affect the arbitration in any way.

Q. Would you say that that was a fair statement of the agreement?—A. Yes.

Q. And will you present it, so far as you are concerned?—A. Yes.

Q. And take that as part of the minutes of your own testimony?—A. Yes.

(A copy of the agreement referred to by the witness, entitled Joint Agreement between the National Metal Trades Association and the International Association of Machinists, New York, May 18, 1900, was put in evidence, a copy of which will be found set out in the testimony of Mr. H. F. Devens, secretary of the National Metal Trades Association, p. 505, this volume.)

Q. What cities were involved in the strike before you made your settlement?—A. Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit—but only in a lesser degree—Paterson, N. J., Philadelphia.

Q. Was Youngstown?—A. No.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Columbus, Ohio?—A. Yes; we had a strike in Columbus, Ohio. That is a minor place.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) Probably involved half the membership in these strikes?—A. Oh, no.

Q. Not as many as that?—A. Oh, no.

Q. You gained the 9-hour day, did you, in your settlement?—A. Yes.

Q. So that the 9-hour day is now universal in your trade?—A. Not yet.

Q. Accepted by all the parties to the agreement, anyway?—A. Yes; but it is not in existence yet. We work 57 hours a week, 9½ hours, beginning next November, and next May we get the 9-hour day, which is far better for everybody, I think.

Q. Your splitting of the time was to cover contracts?—A. So that it would not interfere with the men's contracts; it would be an injustice, we realize that, particularly in a machine shop. A man who is digging sewers or who is knocking down rivets can do as much work in 8 hours as in 10; but a machine only runs so many feet, and we claim to get everything from a machine that it is possible to get out of it. Being expert mechanics we work a machine up to the breaking down point. When we say a man can get out as much in 9 hours as he can in 10, it is impossible. We can only get out so much in a given time. When you reduce that time you reduce the output.

Q. What is the average wage in your trade?—A. It will average throughout the United States probably \$2.25 to \$3.50 a day. Some places it is as high as \$4, and other places it is down to \$2.

Q. Of all the machinists of the country what is the proportion, or percentage, in your union?—A. I do not know. I do not know how many machinists there are in the United States.

Q. The organization, of course, is really in the larger cities and cannot enter into very small cities, six and seven thousand, and towns such as that?—A. Well, yes, and less than that. For instance, in little villages where there is only a roundhouse of a railroad, or it is the end of a division and there is nothing there except locomotive shops, that may be thoroughly organized. There may not be

a man employed there who is not a member of our association or the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

Q. Have you any sympathy, or relationship rather, with the brotherhoods of the railroads?—A. Oh, the very best feeling exists between us.

Q. While you were in this discussion in New York over your agreement, did it seem to be the opinion both of the employees and the employers there that arbitration in the handicraft or in the business or trade was better than state arbitration?—A. Well, that did not come up.

Q. What is your own opinion of it?—A. My opinion of it is that it must be spontaneous to be effective. I do not think that arbitration would be successful if either or both parties were coerced into it either by law or anything else. I think that when you enter into an agreement, as we did in New York, it is far better to trust to each other's honor for the results than to be forced into it by a law; and I am under the impression that the meeting in New York opened the eyes of both parties to a great extent. It made the employer more tolerant toward the organization. He got disillusioned in a great many things. He thought that a trade unionist was a long-haired individual with horns and all that sort of thing, going out in search of trouble; and the man, the employee, was taught that the employer was a reasonable being just the same as he was himself, and would not harm him. I have the greatest hopes for the results of that conference. I am glad that I have lived to see it.

Q. You know how these State arbitration boards act and all that. Do you think that the trades could settle their disputes better among themselves through voluntary arbitration than through a State law?—A. Well, I think that they are able to settle it among themselves up to a certain point. For instance, I think that the building trades in Chicago, from my knowledge of both parties there to the controversy, ought to be forced into arbitration. That is my private opinion. I think that they ought to be forced into it for the good of the rest of the city.

Q. That is, it is detrimental to the local well-being?—A. Yes, it is detrimental.

Q. In the way that it has been?—A. In the way that it is now or as it has been. They are getting together now.

Q. So that in the event of a dispute you would have a State law that you could make an arbitration independent of your own trade?—A. Yes, I think that would be beneficial.

Q. How far would you go?—A. Well, it would only depend on circumstances. I would not call a halt before patience ceased to be a virtue, to bring them up.

Q. Do you think that these mobs and scenes of violence are detrimental to the trade unions?—A. Yes, yes.

Q. Do you think that when you reach the destruction of property and danger to life and limb, the law ought to step in, when destruction comes from a strike. I mean?—A. I have never known of a strike yet where trade unionists had anything to do with the destruction of property. They have been blamed for it, as in the A. R. U. strike in Chicago, and it was found afterwards that it was others than the strikers that did it. That came out in the evidence.

Q. Well, would not the law look on the strike as being the incentive to the mob?—A. Yes. But a strike is very often caused by the arrogance of the employer, saying, "I have nothing to talk to you about; come to me individually;" ignoring the fact that the men are organized the same as he is himself. Ignoring that fact, he treats them with contempt and pretends to treat with them as individuals. But if he would just get rid of that and treat with them as an organized body, I do not believe there would be any strikes at all. See how the strikes are eliminated from the railroad brotherhoods. A strike very rarely occurs. There was a strike among the telegraphers on the Southern system awhile ago. It was a running away, taking the bit in the teeth and going away without consultation with anyone, that brought on that strike—probably an individual.

Q. How far do you think arbitration by the State ought to go in the settlement of disputes?—A. Well, I do not like the State stepping in at all, personally, because if the State says to me that I must go to work, it can also say to me what church I shall go to or what political party I must uphold and all that sort of thing. If it has the right in one case, it certainly would have it in the other. I am afraid that if the State steps in, as the socialistic school wishes it to—when I say socialistic school, I mean the German idea of socialism, the barrack-room idea of socialism that has been taught throughout the United States—I am afraid that if enforced it would be detrimental to us as a people. We are different; we ought to have more elbow room. Personally, I am in favor of socialism; not the barrack-room socialism; not that I should lift my hammer and bring it down as a soldier would his musket. I do not believe that, and I do not believe the average workman does. I think if the State should interfere we probably should not do

as well as we are doing in the way of expanding, opening up new territories and new countries. I think the present system will keep in vogue until the Sahara blooms like a rose; until a locomotive through Siberia and Africa will be going everywhere; until we have an electric light in every little town. I think we are doing so well without State interference that it would be folly to bring the State in; and if we bring the State into labor troubles it is the thin edge of the wedge that would bring it into other things.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Suppose that the strike had reached a point that it was necessary for the governor to call out the militia to protect life and property, then would the public have an interest in the matter in dispute?—A. Yes; I should say so, when it came to that point where you must arbitrate. In all labor troubles I have never known of a single instance where the employee refused to arbitrate. It has always been the employer who refused to arbitrate.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) Have your local lodges the power of arbitration?—A. Oh, yes.

Q. Do they have to go to the national council for their advice or appeal?—A. If they can not succeed.

Q. In the local lodge?—A. Yes.

Q. (By Representative LIVINGSTON.) On what ground do you justify the conduct of the labor men in St. Louis at this time?—A. I do not know that the labor men in St. Louis are doing anything out of the way. I do not believe there is a single trade unionist involved in those struggles. I saw a statement made by the president of the street car men's union, in which he repudiated everything. I know the gentleman personally and I do not think he would be a party to any of the—

Q. (Interrupting.) Well, have you taken any means of making that public so the world would know it. You know the outside world holds your organization responsible for all that conduct there?—A. I do not know what means I could take to give it publicity—merely my opinion.

Q. Suppose that the heads of your organization should publish a card denouncing it; have they done that?—A. No; I do not think it would have any effect if they did.

Q. You think not?—A. No; the Associated Press gave publicity to Mr. Mahon's statement that he did not countenance, or his organization did not countenance, anything like what was being carried on in St. Louis.

Q. Well, is the Federation of Labor involved in it in any way in St. Louis?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Do you not think your organization should put a stop to that by coming out and denouncing it and asking these men who have been displaced from the street cars to prohibit it?—A. I do not think it is the men who are displaced from the street cars that are creating the disturbances; it is their sympathizers. Who these sympathizers are I do not know. They may be the hirelings of some people who would be interested in seeing the men on strike getting into trouble.

Q. Do you think that the sympathizer would go counter to the bidding and orders of those he is sympathizing with?—A. No real sympathizers.

Q. Suppose a discharged street-car driver, a conductor, or a motorman would come out and ask these sympathizers not to engage in these public demonstrations—shooting and throwing rocks, and taking off women's clothes and painting them green, and all that—do you think they would do it then?—A. They have done so, but it seems to have had no effect.

Q. Is there any way that your labor organization can discountenance that kind of conduct so as to stop it. It is hurting labor organizations worse than it is hurting anybody else. The public charge it on you?—A. I am aware of the fact, I do not know of anything that can be done.

Q. You were talking about arbitration. While arbitration is in process it seems that these outbreaks occur. Is there any way of preventing these outbreaks?—A. As far as St. Louis is concerned—

Q. (Interrupting.) I only mentioned that as an instance.—A. In that particular case, as an instance, there is no chance of arbitration, because the street-car company will not arbitrate. They will not recognize the right of the men to organize; will not treat with them as an organized body.

Q. That brings on the trouble?—A. That brings on the trouble.

Q. When the matter was before Congress your people objected to compulsory arbitration. If you had not done that and the law had been passed providing for compulsory arbitration, these men could not have objected. What do you say about that?—A. I do not know.

Q. Would you recommend any addition to the methods of arbitration so as to make it compulsory?—A. As I said before, I am afraid of the State stepping in.

Q. You are afraid you would get into the lion's paw?—A. Not particularly that. At the present time we know that the State apparently is more friendly to the employer of labor than it is to the employee, judging by results.

Q. I think perhaps that is far fetched. I do not want to dispute it, however, but I am inclined to think you are mistaken about that.—A. I may be mistaken and the working people may be mistaken.

Q. I will tell you why. You come to Congress now, and let the labor people make their wishes known, and Congress has invariably tried to accommodate them, to do what they want done. You could not charge that Congress is more friendly to the employer than the employee, and I am inclined to think that in many States you are mistaken. You may be right in some, but it seems to me you want a stronger remedy than you have now; and how are you going to get it?—A. There was a meeting the other day in Chattanooga passing resolutions, and I am afraid if you went there for arbitration the average worker would get very poor results—very poor.

Q. Now, if you ask this commission to recommend things to Congress as to such legislation, if there is nothing in it, no power in it, no means of enforcing it, it appears to us as an idle proposition if there is no legislative power, no court, no executive power behind it. It is a matter of good will, whether you get the employees and employer in good humor and get them together and settle on it. You take your chances altogether, and as in Chattanooga and St. Louis you will find they will not do it. Have you any other method you could suggest, by which you could force these employers to arbitrate?—A. No; I do not know of anything.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) Is it a fact that over half the strikes in this country are caused by the nonrecognition of employees by employers?—A. Yes; I should say. There is a very small percentage of strikes in our organization that have taken place through the stupidity and bullheadedness of local officials of the organization, but very rarely; where they have got it into their heads that they were bigger than the organization and saw they were going to make a winning fight out of it, and made demands and in a tone of voice that probably no man would listen to—kind of a case of "putting a beggar on horseback."

Q. Do you have the business agent or walking delegate in your organization?—A. Oh, yes; but he is a very harmless individual. He has no powers except the powers delegated to him by the local—absolutely none. He can not do anything without instructions of the local lodge. He only came into existence because if a committee—a shop committee, for instance—was appointed to go and lay a complaint against a shop grievance; for instance, a machine that had not the proper housing around it, or some grievance of that nature, in many cases the committee were discharged—lost their jobs. Putting the business agent in, he goes and makes the complaint and he can not be discharged. So really he is a creature brought into existence by the arbitrary act of the employer. Then he collects dues; tells a man when he is getting in arrears; tells a man where he can get a job. If a man comes in that is out of work he goes to the business office and the business agent tells him where there is work to be had. So he is really a useful and inoffensive individual, and not to be compared with the popular idea of a walking delegate.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) He has no control over the shop?—A. None whatever. We paid to business agents last year \$5,046.07 in the shape of wages, and we have had 20 of them in the different States; so that sum divided among 20 for 12 months does not show an extraordinary pay received.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) He is not admitted to shops, except at the pleasure of the proprietor?—A. Oh, no. In fact, he does not go into the shop at all during business hours. He goes to the business office if he has business with the firm, and when he goes to collect dues or to notify men of their appointment on committees—sick committee, entertainment committee, or picnic committee—he goes at the meal hour.

Q. Do you believe that strikes and lockouts are now done away with in your organization as the result of this action at the Murray Hill Hotel in New York?—A. Yes; as far as members of the Metal Trades Associations are concerned. We may have strikes at shops outside of that organization.

Q. You mean nonunion shops?—A. Oh, no; the shops that do not belong to the Metal Trades Association. They are nonunion shops as far as that organization is concerned.

Q. Your people are organized in those shops?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you many such?—A. Oh, yes.

Q. What percentage of your 35,000 members are under the jurisdiction of the Metal Trades Association?—A. I could not say. I do not know how many firms—

Q. (Interrupting.) All in Chicago and Cleveland?—A. No. I think only 5 firms in Cleveland belong to the Metal Trades Association. They are stronger in Chicago than elsewhere.

Q. Is not this action likely to have an influence on these shops to bring the proprietors into the Metal Trades Association?—A. Yes.

Q. And bring them under this agreement of yours?—A. Yes. A great many of them have come in under this agreement. Whether they have joined the Metal Trades Association or not, I do not know; but they have agreed to abide by the decision of the New York conference.

Q. Under this agreement you work with nonunion as well as with union men?—A. Yes. We have always done so. We have never made any claim that a man must belong to the machinists' union before he can work in a shop. That was the idea at the beginning of the organization, but some people came into power with more advanced ideas and they eliminated that altogether. It is our policy that any man has a right to work irrespective of whether he belongs to a labor organization or not, but we are going to try and induce him to join, and make him see that it is to his interest whether a machinist or not, whether a helper in the shop, or a boiler maker, or a pattern maker—we endeavor to show him that it is to his benefit to join the organization of his craft.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) So that really you have the open shop in your organization?—A. We do not know anything of the closed shop.

Q. What is your experience about that after these years of organization—holding to the open shop; has it increased your membership and strengthened your union?—A. Undoubtedly it has.

Q. Do you find these nonunion men faithful to you when they come under your discipline?—A. Oh, yes. The men whom we have had occasion to discipline, when they have been disciplined and humbled, become the most loyal, and they are strong in propaganda work.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) By disciplined, do you mean a laying off or a fine for some infringement of your rules?—A. Yes.

Q. He does not become an enemy then?—A. Oh, no. We have found, at least I have found, that the teaching of discipline is the hardest thing; to make a man amenable to the laws of the organization. He joins, and probably has never read the constitution and all that sort of thing, and when he infringes a certain thing, and gets fined, he studies the constitution and becomes loyal to it.

Q. Have you any rule covering expulsion?—A. Not particularly.

Q. Do you hold out probation for a man to amend his ways and come back?—A. That is always advocated.

Q. So that you have not really a permanent expulsion list?—A. No, we will forgive seven times seven.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have there not been recently large accessions to your ranks from these nonunion men who work in shops with your members?—A. Yes, there has been quite an accession to the ranks this spring from the ranks of the unorganized who were supported by the organized men during the strike. They had nothing to fall back on themselves, and were very anxious to go out on strike; in fact, in Cleveland they were the principal factors in starting the strike, and it was under the impression that it could be won like the charge of a regiment. I think that time has gone by. A strike is more like a siege, a matter of endurance. These unorganized men had made no preparation as we had done. They had no benefits coming to them and all they received was from the organized men. Now that they have gone back to work again they have invariably made application for membership.

Q. (By Representative LIVINGSTON.) You have the native and foreign element in your organization?—A. Yes.

Q. Which is the harder to control?—A. Some are hard to control along certain lines and others along other lines. For instance, we have a strong German element in the large cities where they transact all their business in German, have a constitution in German, etc. They are strongly tinged with socialistic principles and have very often kicked over the traces of trades unionism as we lay it down, while, on the other hand, the English-speaking lodges need be disciplined along other lines altogether.

Q. Then you admit the foreign element is more apt to do what you call kick over the traces than the native?—A. They seem inclined to, yes.

Q. Do you encourage lodges where they transact all their business in a foreign language? Have you no rule to prohibit that?—A. No.

Q. Do you want to encourage that?—A. Oh, no; we do not encourage it.

Q. Do you discourage it?—A. We do discourage it, but we can not help ourselves. For instance, we used to have constitutions in French, German, Bohe-

mian, and English; now we have them only in English and German. We knocked out the French, which was very strong in Canada and in Quebec, around there, and they are now transacting their business in English and all their correspondence with headquarters in English; and the Bohemians in the West—Chicago, Minnesota, and around there—are working English now. We try in various ways. For instance, we would hold back the printing of the constitution for months and months until they got disgusted. We could not do it openly, but we did everything we could to retard the foreign spirit.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) The organization is an Americanizing institution then?—A. Thoroughly so, yes.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) Speaking of foreigners, what do you think is the proportion of foreign born in your whole membership?—A. Perhaps 50 per cent. It might be a little over that.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) A large portion of that is English speaking, though?—A. Yes.

Q. English, Irish, and Scotch?—A. Yes, and Welsh. You see, the moment a man comes here from an English-speaking country—an immigrant—he does not require to be educated up to trades unionism; he has absorbed it with his mother's milk, so to speak, and he comes here fully prepared to join us.

Q. (By Representative LIVINGSTON.) What political influence do you exercise over your membership?—A. We claim none. We advise them at all times to vote where it will do the most good.

Q. That is what I mean. You require and expect your members to vote where their interests lie?—A. Yes.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You do not accept that word "require"?—A. We advise.

Q. (By Representative LIVINGSTON.) Let us put it "advise." You advise your members to vote where their interests lie. What do you mean by advise? Suppose a man kicks and does not do it?—A. We can not object to his kicking. We endeavor to show him that it is to his best interest to vote for Mr. So-and-so, because Mr. So-and-so has pledged himself that he will do everything he can to introduce an 8-hour law or support an 8-hour law if introduced, irrespective of what party he belongs to.

Q. It is charged sometimes that these labor organizations are bought up by wholesale by political leaders. How about that?—A. I do not believe a word of it.

Q. You have never had any advances made to your people?—A. No, indeed; absolutely none.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) Have you any rule in respect to the introduction of political questions into your lodges?—A. In our lodges all questions of an economic nature are discussed, and one meeting in each month is set apart for that purpose—educational. For instance, some member is appointed to read a paper on a certain subject—municipal ownership, or anything like that of interest to working people; the republican principle of expansion, whether good or bad for the working people. We had that discussed in Youngstown, Ohio, a couple of weeks ago.

Q. Can you admit the discussion of partisan politics in your lodges?—A. Not partisan.

Q. Entirely excluded?—A. It is entirely excluded—partisan politics and religion.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) It is in your constitution?—A. Yes.

Q. (By Representative LIVINGSTON.) You take up the tariff and the financial questions, and you discuss them?—A. Yes.

Q. And municipal ownership?—A. Yes.

Q. You take up all the questions that the different political parties handle, and discuss them, do you not?—A. If they affect labor economics at all.

Q. They all affect it. I contend that taxation in its last analysis is the sweat of the face, and the man that holds to that doctrine must believe that all political questions affect labor.—A. Yes; but the average workman can not think deep enough to see that.

Q. If you mean by partisan politics that you do not participate in a convention and nominate Mr. Bryan or Mr. McKinley or anybody else, I understand it; but if you mean that you do not take hold of any question that the political parties handle, that is not correct.—A. Certainly; but not from a partisan standpoint, and not to indorse any particular political party. We indorse principles, not parties.

Q. Suppose two parties come to you and say to your organization, "We will both fight for the measures that you are fighting for." One is a Democrat and one is a Republican. What would you do in that case? Let us see how partisan you are.—A. Individually?

Q. No; your organization.—A. We would not interfere at all.

Q. Would you advise your members to vote for one or the other?—A. No.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) You could not pass a resolution advising the body to vote for anybody?—A. No; the only thing is to pass resolutions saying it is advisable to vote for the party who will do so.

Q. (By Representative LIVINGSTON.) I presume they have intelligence enough to know who their friends are, whether in one political party or the other, but it has been charged openly, and strongly, too, that you would hold together in a partisan campaign and throw your whole weight to one side or the other.—A. I know that has been claimed by so-called labor leaders, but it is only for their own personal ends they make that claim, and they have no power whatever.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) The so-called labor leader who deals in politics and pretends to deliver goods never delivers them?—A. He is a fraud; yes.

Q. (By Representative LIVINGSTON.) Do you discipline such men?—A. We have never had anything to do with them in our organization.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Do you find that your members generally belong to one party or the other and vote with one party or the other, and can not be influenced, as a general thing, away from their party affiliations?—A. That is so as a general rule, though we find the local lodges will pass a set of resolutions and instruct the secretary to write to Senator So-and-so and ask him to do what he can for such and such a measure, irrespective of the party he belongs to or the majority of the members belong to.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) Have you any data you would like to present to the commission in respect to your organization?—A. Strikes cost us this last year \$31,833.89.

Q. (By Representative LIVINGSTON.) Who do you mean by us?—A. The organization.

Q. Not the whole labor organization?—A. Oh, no; the International Association of Machinists.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) How much of a fund did you have to draw that from, or was it by special assessment?—A. Special assessment.

Q. Do you have any fund?—A. We have never made any pretense of having a fund.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) Do you believe it is good policy to have a strike fund?—A. I think not, because if there is a big strike fund, with a crowd of men that have been organized very rapidly, they are very apt to take advantage of it and go on strike whether there is any chance of winning or not, and whether they have a just cause or not.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) And there is no necessity for a strike fund now, in view of this agreement?—A. Not as far as the members of the Metal Trades Association are concerned. We think we have eliminated strikes altogether, and the sooner all the manufacturers join that association the better we shall like it.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) What items make up that amount—the actual money paid by the organization?—A. Yes.

Q. Any loss of time?—A. Oh, no; that is not taken into consideration at all. In death benefits, \$2,725; we pay \$50 a death and the \$25 was for a half-member, an apprentice in the last 6 months of his membership.

Q. (By Representative LIVINGSTON.) Can you give an estimate of what strikes have cost the labor organizations of the United States in the last 12 months?—A. No; I could not.

Q. Is there any way of getting at that?—A. I do not think there would be, because we have found that every dissolute man, whether a machinist or not, in the larger cities, where we have had a strike, has come around to the headquarters of the strike committee and asked for assistance; and we have no way of finding out whether he is a machinist, but he has to be assisted, as otherwise he threatens to go in and work.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) Did the large strike fund in the hands of the British Association of Engineers tend to its disadvantage in the long run in their great strike?—A. No; they are thoroughly educated there; they do not go off at half-cock.

Q. What was the cost of the last great strike in England?—A. I could not say; I have not the figures in mind, but it was way up in the millions of pounds.

Q. You give it as your opinion that a large strike fund at headquarters is rather detrimental?—A. To a young organization, yes.

Q. In the case of the Cigar Makers' Union you think it would be proper?—A. Yes; they are all educated; and in fact there is no chance of having a big strike fund, commonly, until they are educated, because they can not see any advantage in putting any money away to one side.

Q. Do you believe in high dues or low dues?—A. I believe in high dues and in having sick benefits, death benefits, out of work benefits, etc., which can only be had through high dues.

Q. Is it your observation of trades unions that those having high dues are the strongest organizations and the longest lived?—A. Yes; and the freest from trouble.

Q. What idea have you relative to cooperation of labor with capital in respect to rules of work and hours of work, and even sliding scales carrying wages with them?—A. I believe in that, if it could be established. They require a great deal of hard work and getting of data so as to work correctly—classifying it—which could never be done by the workingman's side. They have not sufficient capital, and the assistance in that direction must come from above.

Q. Your idea is, then, that ultimately what is contended against is what is called the wage system, which will be amalgamated into the cooperative system of labor and capital, where every man gets what he is worth?—A. Yes; and the total elimination of wages, as wages, altogether. It is bound to come eventually.

Q. As the trades unions become educated in the economics of the country you will approach that condition?—A. Yes; and as the employer gets organized into trusts and saves all waste, and the department stores increase in numbers for a time, and then decrease in number, concentrating more in one, having distributing points, eliminating all waste, I think it will be to the advantage of every one. It will be a slow process and a great many will suffer during the period of transition.

Q. Do not all evolutions reach a condition of hardship in the process of change?—A. Undoubtedly; birth is always painful.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have you any further data to present?—A. I think I have given you about all the figures. We increased in membership, judging from the due stamps at headquarters, 100 per cent last year. We paid in victimized benefits \$524 in the year. That is when a man has been discharged without any just cause, and rather than have the men strike to have him reinstated, where we have not been strong in the factory, we have paid him his wages rather than have any trouble. There is no provision actually made for that; that is simply the policy of the organization.

Q. An incidental?—A. An incidental.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Is that adopted by other labor organizations?—A. Not that I know of. It is a capital idea. We find it is very beneficial sometimes, particularly where we have had only a half dozen men in a shop where there were probably 20, and no opportunity of getting work elsewhere, and any number of men for the employer to get to fill the places. Where a man has been discriminated against and thrown out, and the rest of the shop want to go on strike in sympathy, we say, "No; we can not win. We will pay him his wages until he gets a job." In the meantime all the business agents in close proximity look out for a job for him.

Q. Have you a limit to the production of any of your members—the work they do?—A. No; we are supposed to take out all there is in the machine.

Q. You encourage better quality of production among your men?—A. Yes; so that when the employer of labor wants a man he will go to one of our members and ask him if he knows of one of his kind who is out of employment.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have you any statistics from the Government or other sources showing the total number of machinists in the United States?—A. No.

Q. Have you any well-defined idea as to the number?—A. No. I am in hopes that this census will give us something of that nature, because we have had absolutely nothing so far as I know or can find out.

Q. I noticed in the papers recently that somebody belonging to your organization claimed that you controlled 100,000 machinists, and I see you state the number at 35,000.—A. Probably what was meant at that time was that outside of our 35,000 or 40,000 membership there were other men, nonunion men, who would go out as well, which they undoubtedly would. That is how I account for that statement as published in the newspapers.

Q. You saw it?—A. Oh, yes; I saw it.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Have you anything further you desire to state?—A. No; I do not know of anything. I wished to show to the best of my ability that the International Association of Machinists is a new, up-to-date, modern trade union, trying to do the best it can for its members, and trying to eliminate everything objectionable in the old trade-union idea, making it better each day. We publish—something that no other labor organizations do so far as I know of—we publish our financial statement each month and give it to the world through our journal.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) You are not able to give the financial standing of the local lodges?—A. Yes; each month there is a monthly statement sent to headquarters. Everything is known, and we can draw upon our local lodges in times of trouble up to a certain amount, \$1 per capita I think it is. We have never had occasion to do that but once, and then only up to 50 cents.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) What per capita do the local members pay the international?—A. Fifteen cents a month, and 25 cents a quarter for the death benefit.

Q. This 15 cents per month is for what purpose?—A. Headquarters expenses, and all expenses—everything.

Q. Since the question of strikes is done away with you look for a reduction of this per capita tax?—A. No; I do not think so. In all probability we shall take up some other form of insurance and make another beneficial feature.

Q. What salary do your international president and secretary get?—A. The international president has \$1,500; the vice-president—myself—makes \$1,200, and the secretary \$1,200.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) And expense of travel?—A. Yes; actual railroad fare.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) There is no gilt-edged salary connected with the organization?—A. Oh, no; absolutely none.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) Have you any friction between your organization and the International Typographical Union in connection with the control of the linotype machines?—A. There is some, and it is not settled yet. They claim jurisdiction and we claim jurisdiction. The matter is in the hands of the American Federation of Labor now. The American Federation of Labor has appointed a committee of arbitration. Our association has appointed a representative, but the printers have not done it yet. I presume they can not do it until their convention.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) You are under the expectation that settlement will be made immediately after the meeting of the International Typographical Union?—A. We hope so.

Q. Have you appointed arbitrators already on that?—A. Yes.
(Testimony closed.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 12, 1900.

TESTIMONY OF MR. HENRY FAIRBANKS DEVENS,

Assistant Secretary National Metal Trades Association.

The commission met at 10.35 a. m., Mr. A. L. Harris presiding. Mr. Henry Fairbanks Devens was introduced as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) You will please state your name, present address, and business.—A. Henry Fairbanks Devens, No. 95 Liberty street, New York; assistant secretary of the National Metal Trades Association.

Q. What is the character of this National Metal Trades Association?—A. The National Metal Trades Association is a voluntary association of manufacturers who have joined together for the purpose of defending themselves against unjust demands from labor organizations, and also to look into any difficulties that may come up between an employer and his employees, and endeavor to adjust the same in an amicable manner.

Q. How long have you been organized?—A. The association has been organized since December 15, 1899; but previous to that there was a local organization formed in New York City of some twenty of the manufacturers last August, and they used to hold their meetings possibly every week or two weeks at the Astor House there, and discussed the advisability of entering into a national association.

Q. What form does your association take—is it officered fully? have by-laws?—A. Yes; constitution and by-laws. We have a president, a first and second vice-president, a secretary and treasurer, and an assistant secretary; I, however, being the only salaried officer. We also then have an administrative council that is composed of the executive officers and the chairmen and vice-chairmen of our district committees. Our district committees are composed of 5 members each, representing the country in a geographic manner. For instance, the United States at the present time is divided into nine sections, say, in order that we may get together as closely as possible the manufacturing industries under different sections, equalize them I might say. Our present administrative council con-

sists of 16 members, and they have of course the jurisdiction of matters pertaining to the association.

Q. Does your association deal with other matters than simply organized labor? Have you anything in your constitution that deals with your own trade?—A. No.

Q. Nothing at all with the supplies?—A. No.

Q. With railroad transportation?—A. No.

Q. But simply organized under an emergency?—A. That is the idea; yes.

Q. For the care of your own interests as far as the employers are concerned in your trades?—A. Yes. Now, in order to explain more fully: We have two funds established; one is known as the general fund, and the other is the reserve fund. The general fund is made up from the dues. Each member is assessed at the present time, paying \$100 a year, payable quarterly. The reserve fund is a fund that is set aside by the association, and it is derived as a revenue from taxing the employees in the different member shops, that is, the employees, such as machinists, pattern makers, boiler makers, or those trades taken care of by our association. This reserve fund is set aside. I might say it is an emergency fund. In case trouble should come we have this fund to help out a member of the association in any trouble that might arise.

Q. Something of the character of what unions have in strike funds?—A. Yes; it is practically a strike fund, you may say, although we do not like to say that our association is simply formed as a fighting organization, or that the fund is a fighting fund. We do not care about using that term, and try not to. The object of our association is not to have any such difficulty.

Q. How large is your membership now?—A. We have 114 members at the present time.

Q. Then, when you say members, you mean representative firms?—A. Yes; 114 representative firms.

Q. Do you cover pretty nearly the whole United States?—A. No; we do not. At the present time we cover Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, and Colorado.

Q. What were the causes that brought about the late strike in the machinists' trade in this country from your point of view?—A. I suppose you mean the city of Chicago, do you not?

Q. Yes. While Chicago was really the nucleus of the strike, was there not a sympathetic strike feeling in the other cities like Cleveland, Youngstown, etc.?—A. There was a rather sympathetic—I might call it a sympathetic movement on foot. There had been no actual strike, although it was acknowledged by the International Association of Machinists that if the Chicago strike—if the demands, rather, which led to the Chicago strike were not acceded to, sympathetic strikes would follow in the large cities of the Central West and in the East, and many manufacturers expected that that would result. The Chicago strike came from a demand made by the business delegates of the Machinists' Union upon the manufacturers in the city of Chicago. The demands were in the form of an agreement which they desired to have the manufacturers enter into with their association, and it contained 11 clauses. This agreement was sent to a good many of the manufacturers, and in other instances it was merely taken by the business agent to the manufacturer, who was asked to look it over and to sign it. Previous to that, Business Delegate Brown, representing the International Association of Machinists in that city, about the 22d of January, I think it was, wrote a letter to a number of manufacturers in Chicago asking them to meet him at a certain place (I forget the name of the place) to talk over certain matters regarding their employees, and I think there were 4 manufacturers of the city who went there. He then waited for some 3 weeks, and again wrote to them, stating that the first call apparently had not met with hearty response, and that he would like very much to take this matter up again. At that time, I believe, according to his testimony, he sent out some 20 copies of this agreement to different manufacturers, and as no attention was paid to them, he then took this agreement and went to a great many of the shops and presented it to the superintendent or to the manager, and stated that he had been in communication with them, and that the time had come when he could not hold the men in any longer, and unless they saw fit to sign this he would have to order a strike, and in many instances, according to his own testimony, in 20 minutes he had the men out on a strike.

Q. Of notification?—A. Of notification.

Q. Well, do you care to put that in your evidence, the agreement that Brown presented there?—A. Certainly, if you desire it.

(Agreement above referred to follows:)

Agreement between ——— and ———, of the International Association of Machinists.

Date ———.

1. That on and after ——— the ——— agree to employ only members of the International Association of Machinists in good standing on machinists' work and die and tool work.
 2. Machinists shall be recognized as per constitution of subordinate lodges of the International Association of Machinists, and shall be either a general workman, a competent floor hand, lathe hand, vise hand, planer hand, shaper hand, milling-machine hand, slotting-machine hand, die sinker, and tool maker, or boring-mill hand.
 3. The minimum rate of wages for machinists shall be 28 cents per hour, and for die and tool work 32½ cents per hour.
 4. All overtime up to 12 o'clock midnight shall be paid for at the rate of one and one-half time.
 5. After 12 o'clock, and all legal holidays and Sundays, shall be paid for at the rate of double time.
 6. The employment of apprentices shall be in accordance with constitution of the International Association of Machinists.
 7. Nine hours shall constitute a day's work. All time worked over 9 hours shall be governed in accordance with sections 4 and 5.
 8. When necessary to reduce the force of employees on account of slackness of work, the ——— Company hereby agree that employees who have been laid off will be given first opportunity for reemployment, seniority and proficiency to govern.
 9. In case of a grievance arising, the ——— Company agree to receive a committee of their employees to investigate and, if possible, adjust the same. If no adjustment is reached, the case shall be referred to the ——— Company and the executive board, district No. 8, International Association of Machinists. If no satisfactory settlement is agreed on the whole subject-matter shall be submitted to a board of arbitration of 5 persons, 2 to be selected by ——— Company, 2 by district No. 8, International Association of Machinists, and the 4 to choose a fifth arbitrator. The decision reached by this board to be binding on both parties to this agreement.
 10. This agreement shall be in force until March 1, 1901.
 11. Thirty days' notice shall be given prior to March 1, 1901, by one party of this agreement to the other for a renewal of the agreement or any desired change in the same.
- (Signed) _____.

I would like to say further, if you would like to know how our association came into the Chicago trouble, that at the time these demands were made upon the manufacturers we had in the city of Chicago 6 members. Mr. Hoyt, of the Gates Iron Works, telegraphed to New York and asked if I could come to Chicago and place the objects of our association before a meeting of the manufacturers. That was on the 13th of February. I left on the following day; arrived there on the 15th of February. That was on Saturday, and on the 17th we had a meeting at the Great Northern Hotel, which was attended by about 40 manufacturers. A great many of the manufacturers stated that they understood that demands had been made upon them, but had not come to them officially; they understood through their shop employees that demands had been made, and further that demands would be made shortly upon them; and therefore they thought that the best thing to do would be to hear about the National Metal Trades Association, its objects, and I explained to them why our association had been formed, the objects of the association, and 18 of the manufacturers decided to become members. The manufacturers who met at that meeting, on the following day decided that it would be best for the interests of all manufacturers of the city of Chicago to form a local association—the machine manufacturers to organize—and therefore organized what is known now, and is still in existence, as the Chicago Association of Machine Manufacturers, and they had a membership of 70 members, and to-day have 69. The Machinists Union, of course, seeing that the manufacturers had formed for defense purposes and being unable to get any reply from them, immediately after that time took up a method of forcing this agreement, presenting it direct, and of course when it was presented to a manufacturer he stated he would not sign it, and strikes were ordered for the following 10 days—

6, 7, 8, 9, or 10, as the case might have been—just as fast as the walking delegate got around.

Q. By the machinists' union?—A. By the machinists' union. That was the 1st of March. Practically there were, I think, some 3,500 machinists out of work in the city of Chicago.

Q. At that time were there any members locked out by employers?—A. No.

Q. Sure?—A. Yes; not that I am aware of from any testimony that I have heard or any meetings we have had. I know of no shop in Chicago that locked its men out. Our association at that time being young, not being in any shape to practically take hold of the matter at large in the Chicago strike, was obliged to simply await the action of the local association. Having, however, obtained, as I say, 18 additional members, making a total of 24, they acted for the National Metal Trades Association, and after three weeks from the time they organized on the 15th of March, our administrative council was summoned by the president of our association to assemble at Chicago to endeavor to see if something could not be done to straighten out the difficulties. I might add that Mr. Hoyt, of the Gates Iron Works, had been in conversation or correspondence with Mr. O'Connell, who had come to Chicago at that time.

Q. President of the International Association of Machinists?—A. Yes; and had arranged for this meeting which took place on the 17th of March at the Grand Pacific Hotel. Our administrative council appointed a committee to meet with the International Association of Machinists, their committee representing the officers of their grand lodge. There were 6 on each side. The administrative council met there in order to justify the action of the association in any course it might pursue in regard to the matter.

Q. But was not the endeavor made to confine the strike to Chicago?—A. Oh, yes; and settle the grievances there.

Q. That was the main purpose of your administrative body coming there?—A. But you see our administrative council in order to act for the full membership must get the consent of the members, and we met there and immediately telegraphed that the administrative council was acting, asking authority for them to act for them in any matter which might come up. These committees met and, finally, our association submitted to the International Association an agreement which is now widely known as the Chicago agreement. The machinists' committee was in favor of the agreement—of its adoption—for the reason that it simply confined the line of action to arbitration and to adoption of arbitration for the settlement of disputes; but Mr. O'Connell stated that it would be impossible for him to accept that on behalf of his association for the reason that his men or his members would not abide by it. As he expressed it, while he was in sympathy with it, he could not deliver the goods. That was the expression. So the meeting adjourned without accomplishing anything except that we left in Chicago to represent our association, Mr. Hoyt, of the Gates Iron Works; Mr. Pillsbury, of the Fred W. Wolf Manufacturing Company, and Mr. Chalmers, of Fraser & Chalmers, so that should the International Association of Machinists desire to open the question again we should have a body there who would be willing to consider the question with them. Matters went along until the 31st of March. A letter was then addressed to Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Reid of the machinists' union, in which 6 of the manufacturers in Chicago stated that they would endeavor, should the machinists' union be willing, to sign the agreement as presented on the 17th of March. They would endeavor at the next meeting or at the annual meeting of our association to present it to the association and get the association to sanction certain clauses or certain demands which the machinists' union were endeavoring at that time to obtain. The following is a copy of the Chicago letter (reading):

“MARCH 28, 1900.

“MR. JAMES O'CONNELL, President, and

“MR. STUART REID, National Organizer,

“International Association of Machinists, City.

“GENTLEMEN: In the interest of peace and to show, if possible, our desire to find common ground on which we may meet and arrange the differences between the men now or heretofore in our employ who are members of the union and ourselves, we beg to submit the following suggestions which represent our personal views and which we believe also represent the views of the majority of the members of the National Metal Trades' Association.

“If the suggestions meet with your approval, and you will have the proper committee sign the agreement presented at the conference meeting at the Grand Pacific Hotel Saturday night, March 17, and will have the men return to work not later than Monday, April 2, pending the arbitration of all differences now existing, through the arbitration board provided for in said agreement, we, on our

part, will use our best endeavor to secure the signature of 5 or 6 of the prominent manufacturers from the members of the National Metal Trades' Association to indorse and work for the establishment of the following principles by the arbitration committee and for the carrying out thereafter of said principles by the manufacturers:

"First. That the manufacturers will not discriminate, either directly or indirectly, in any way against union labor.

"Second. That not more than 57 hours shall constitute a week's work, from and after 6 months from the closing of said conference, and that not more than 55 hours shall constitute a week's work from and after twelve months from the closing of said conference—the hours to be divided as will best suit the convenience of the employer.

"Third. That if the conference establishes a minimum rate of wage, the employees of each shop shall receive an addition equal to the difference between said minimum wage and the rate of wages which he was receiving at the time the strike commenced, providing said minimum rate is higher than the rate paid at said time, but in case the minimum set is lower than the rate being paid at said time, then no deduction shall be made from their pay on account of said differences.

"Fourth. We agree to the principles of arbitration and that all differences arising between employers and their men that can not be satisfactorily settled between them shall be referred to the national organizations for prompt settlement, and that there shall be no strikes or lockouts called until every effort has been made to settle the difference by negotiations or arbitrations between the national organizations.

"Fifth. That it shall be the policy of the International Association of Machinists, and shall be so stated in the records of the arbitration committee, that there is to be no limit in any way placed upon the production of the shop and that they believe in a fair day's work for a fair day's wage and that this principle shall be considered a part of the consideration to the employer for concession in working hours.

"Sixth. That all men shall be taken as rapidly as possible, and there shall be no blacklisting of employees by employers.

"GATES IRON WORKS,

"By H. W. HOYT,

Secretary and General Manager.

"THE FRED W. WOLFF CO.,

"By F. W. PILSBRY,

Manager.

"THE LINK-BELT MACHINERY CO.,

"By E. A. TURNER,

President.

"THE GOSS PRINTING PRESS CO.,

"By J. J. WALSER,

President and General Manager.

"ROBERT TARRANT,

"FRASER & CHALMERS,

"By W. J. CHALMERS,

President.

"We hereby acknowledge receipt of the above communication and agree to accept and be bound by the same and the recommendations therein made.

"JAMES O'CONNELL,

International President.

"STUART REED,

General Organizer.

Now, that letter, you see, embodies a great many of the principles which our association adopted in the joint agreement, and that letter, having been accepted by the International Association of Machinists, the Chicago agreement was then signed by H. W. Hoyt, F. W. Pilsbry, and W. J. Chalmers on behalf of the National Metal Trades' Association and by James O'Connell, international president, and Stuart Reid, general organizer, on behalf of the International Association of Machinists. The men all returned to work, and Chicago, as far as the machinists are concerned, has peaceably pursued its ways.

The Chicago agreement is as follows (reading):

COPY OF CHICAGO AGREEMENT.

Joint agreement adopted by the Administrative Council of the National Metal Trades' Association at the Grand Pacific Hotel, Chicago, March 17, 1900, and concurred in by the International Association of Machinists, March 31, 1900.

Whereas the National Metal Trades' Association, party of the first part hereto, is a voluntary association of employers, persons corporate and individual, and firms, members thereof; and

Whereas the said National Metal Trades' Association claims to represent and does in fact represent all such persons, its members, with power and authority to act for such members; and

Whereas the International Association of Machinists, party of the second part hereto, is a voluntary association of employees, members thereof, claiming to represent and in fact representing such members, both the grand lodge thereof, the district lodges thereof, and the local lodges thereof, throughout the United States and Canada; and

Whereas there now exists and may exist hereafter, or occur, a condition of industrial disturbance and cessation of contract relations between employer and employees, commonly called lockout or strike, in the United States or Canada; and

Whereas the undersigned, George D. Selden, F. H. Stillman, M. H. Barker, George A. Watts, H. M. Leland, J. W. Gardner, Charles Allis, Fred Schwedtmann, H. N. Covell, Fred F. Stockwell, Nathan B. Payne, J. A. Jeffrey, F. W. Pillsbury, H. F. Crandall, and N. O. Nelson are a lawfully appointed committee to represent and bind by these presents hereto the said National Metal Trades' Association, and all members thereof; and

Whereas the undersigned are a lawfully appointed committee with authority to represent and bind by these presents hereto all members of the International Association of Machinists; now, therefore,

This agreement made this seventeenth day of March, 1900, between said committee acting for and representing said National Metal Trades' Association, and said committee acting for and representing said International Association of Machinists,

Witnesseth, the parties hereto believing in the principle of national arbitration in settling contentions that arise between employers and their employees, instead of resorting to lockouts and strikes, do hereby recommend for ratification by the two organizations known as the National Metal Trades' Association and the International Association of Machinists the following joint agreement:

Whereas the past experience of the National Metal Trades' Association and the International Association of Machinists justifies the opinion that mutual agreements conducing to greater harmony in their relations as employers and employees will be of advantage: Therefore,

Resolved, That this committee of conference indorse the principle of national arbitration in the settlement of trade disputes and recommend the same for adoption by the members of the National Metal Trades' Association and the International Association of Machinists. Be it further

Resolved, That in all pending disputes, and in disputes hereafter to arise between members of the respective organizations—i. e., an employer and his employees—every reasonable effort shall be made by the said parties to effect a satisfactory adjustment of the difficulty; failing in which, either party shall have the right to ask its reference to a committee of arbitration, which shall consist of the presidents of the National Metal Trades' Association and of the International Association of Machinists, or their representatives, and two other representatives from each association appointed by their respective presidents. The findings of this committee of arbitration by a majority vote shall be considered as final as regards the case at issue, and as making a precedent for the future action of the respective organizations. Pending adjudication by the committee of arbitration there shall be no cessation of work at the instance of either party to the dispute. The committee of arbitration shall meet within two weeks after the reference of the dispute to them.

This agreement shall take effect from the date of its ratification by the two said associations, notice of which ratification shall be promptly given to each other by the respective secretaries.

And it is further agreed that during the time necessary for the ratification hereof, as above provided, and the time needed to consider and act upon the above-proposed joint agreement, there shall be no lockout or strikes in either association, and all lockouts or strikes that now exist and are participated in by the members of either of the parties to this agreement shall be immediately and officially called off wherever they may exist.

Signed on behalf of the administrative council of the National Metal Trades Association by the following subcommittee, duly authorized by said administrative council.

H. W. HOYT,
F. W. PILSBRY,
W. J. CHALMERS.

Signed on behalf of the International Association of Machinists.

JAS. O'CONNELL,
International President.
STUART REID,
General Organizer.

The New York joint agreement is as follows (reading):

“JOINT AGREEMENT.

“At a meeting of the Joint Board of Arbitration of the National Metal Trades' Association and the International Association of Machinists, appointed under the Chicago agreement of March 17, 1900, signed March 31, 1900, held at the Murray Hill Hotel, New York City, May 10 to 18, 1900, the following resolutions were adopted and agreements entered into, to take effect from this date:

“*Resolved*, That the strikes be declared off in the factories of the members of the National Metal Trades' Association in the cities of Cleveland and Paterson, the National Metal Trades' Association, members of this board to wire the members of their association in these two cities to meet a committee, from each shop, of their former employees to arrange for the return of as many men as their present necessities require; and that subsequent requirements of men shall be filled from their former employees whom they may not be able to reinstate at the present time.

“The intent of this last clause is that if within the next six months former employees make application for reinstatement they shall be reinstated, provided there are vacancies for them.

“Where strikes exist in these cities in firms other than the members of the National Metal Trades' Association, who will agree to the settlement herein entered into, after the same has been adjusted by this joint body, such strikes shall be declared off also.

“Whereas doubts have been expressed by members of this board, representing both parties to this conference, as to the ability of their respective organizations to control their members: Now, therefore, be it

“*Resolved*, That the members of this board pledge themselves each to the other that in case of the refusal of any member of the respective organizations represented to observe and carry out in an honorable manner the findings and decisions of this board in regard to strikes and lockouts, based upon a fair, just, and liberal interpretation as to what is known as the Chicago agreement, we will report such member or members to our respective organizations for discipline, suspension, or expulsion, as the merits of the case may justify.”

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) What effect had your Chicago settlement on other sympathetic strikes of the country, Cleveland and elsewhere?—A. The Cleveland strike started on the 22d of March. We had in the city of Cleveland at that time only one member, the Variety Iron Works. They would not accept the Chicago agreement. Of course, a member of our association, should he desire to pursue his strike himself, he has a perfect right to do so, and therefore the Variety Iron Works, having formed with other manufacturers in the city of Cleveland a local association, believed themselves strong enough to take hold of the situation as it then appeared, and therefore asked our association not to interfere. In the city of Paterson, N. J., there had been a strike in the shops of two of our members since the 3d of January. The Paterson members took the same ground as the Cleveland members. They said they had fought their strike since the 3d of January. They practically had at that time a sufficient number of men to operate their works, nonunion men. They said that they thought that if they accepted the Chicago agreement, and were obliged at that late day to have the matters arbitrated, they would have lost what they had fought for; but they did do this: They maintained that they had an open shop, and that any man that left the employ had a perfect right to come back and make application for employment, and should they have a position, and he should be competent to fill it, they would take him back.

Q. Under what terms; 8½ and 9 hour terms?—A. No. At that time the 9 and 9½ hour terms were not known. They would have to have gone back under the same conditions.

Q. Under the old terms?—A. Under the old terms.

Q. What was the result of that in the Paterson shops?—A. The result was in the Paterson shops that the old men did not apply, and that nonunion men were employed, and the shops went on and are running, and have been running.

Q. What became of your Cleveland strike?—A. Our president, Mr. Seldon, and Mr. Hoyt, after the signing of the Chicago agreements, about the 7th or 8th of April, went to Cleveland and explained to the manufacturers at a meeting the agreement and what it meant to the manufacturer in further settlement of disputes, the question of all disputes being submitted to a board of arbitration, the doing away of strikes and lockouts by the men being kept at work pending any grievance. The local association, however, voted not to indorse the agreement. We, however, obtained during the month of April the application of the Kilby Manufacturing Company; the Otis Steel Company, Limited; Clisholm & Moore, and McMiller Manufacturing Company. They were at that time both members of the local association, but I myself went to Cleveland during that month by partial solicitation to explain as well as I could the object of this agreement, and they saw the advisability of accepting that document and becoming members of our association; but the Cleveland strike in itself in the other shops has simply dragged along until—I have a letter in my pocket from Mr. O'Connell right here, stating when he declared that strike officially off. This letter is from M. O'Connell, dated June 8, 1900. (Reading:)

"H. F. DEVENS,

Assistant Secretary, National Metal Trades' Association,

" 95 Liberty Street, New York.

"DEAR SIR: I was in Cleveland, Ohio, Monday and Tuesday of this week [that would be the 4th or 5th] for the purpose of trying to bring about a final adjustment of the strike in that city, and I beg to inform you that at a joint meeting of our local lodges of that city the strike was officially declared off on all shops in order that those firms not members of the National Metal Trades Association might make application to be admitted to your association in accordance to the New York agreement."

Q. Now, the first demands of the machinists were for the shorter workdays, were they not? It was not directly a question of wages?—A. In Chicago the first demand was for the adoption of a minimum wage, or 28 cents an hour for machinists and 33 cents for competent tool and die makers. The next demand was for the shorter workday. Of course, the demand in itself, as I say, embodied 11 clauses. The demand I suppose you know about, but the other clauses were set aside, providing a minimum wage might be adopted and a shorter workday; but in the testimony given by the business agent at the arbitration meeting in New York City last month he lays particular stress on the adoption of the minimum wage, and that entered very largely, in fact, in my opinion, more than the shorter day.

Q. How different was their demand from the going rate of wages at that time? How much rise was there?—A. From figures which were submitted I should say that in 50 per cent of the shops in Chicago the demand has been about 10 per cent, as machinists at that time were receiving on the average of shops there about 25½ to 26 cents, but in some shops the men were receiving \$2.75, or 27½ cents an hour. I had better give it by hourly rate. In some shops, of course, the amount would have been very small indeed.

Q. What was the state of your trade at the time that Chicago strike took place and up to the present time compared with what it was a year before that and 2 years before that? What was the condition of your trade, prosperous or not?—A. The condition of trade at the time of the Chicago strike was that all the shops were very busy—full of business. In fact the shops had very large contracts on hand. They were in a much more prosperous condition than they had been for some years past. A year or 2 years previous to that, of course, I am not in a position to state, because our association had not been organized, and I knew nothing of the condition of the membership, but I know at that time there was a great deal of work on the floors—a tremendous amount.

Q. And no proposition on the part of the employers to advance the wages or shorten the hours?—A. No.

Q. Do you think it was natural for the men to make demands for 10 or 15 per cent increase in wages or for a shortening of hours?—A. I think if the men had chosen to make the demand, as is generally done through their business delegate—

If the men had submitted their demands to the employers and stated, We do not expect this in 20 minutes, we do not expect it in half an hour, or a day; we want to place these facts before you and ask that they be given consideration—and had given them plenty of time to look ahead, to look over their contracts, and to get the cost of their present production of their shops, unquestionably many manufacturers would have simply said, Why, we will give this matter consideration—as, in fact, was the case when this agreement was handed to many manufacturers; they said, I can not; it would be impossible here in half an hour or 24 hours to answer those questions; I could not do it. But, as I say, from personal observation of the matter, not only in Chicago, but other cities, if the men had been willing to wait, and had said, "After you have time to investigate this matter—you can give the subject the best consideration it deserves—let us have your answer." But you will notice in all of the demands they ask for 3 weeks, when it shall go into effect. It was practically the same in Chicago. It was on the 1st of March that this agreement must go into effect. In the city of Cleveland it was on the 1st of April that this matter must go into effect. Now, it would be impossible for any manufacturer, I do not care under what conditions they have to work in a shop, to advance wages 10 per cent on contracts taken on the basis of certain prices for delivery 6 or 8 months in the future.

Q. In your final settlement, called the Chicago agreement, was sufficient time given to fill the contracts? That was your means of settlement?—A. Yes; that was the means of settlement, and you can see by the joint agreement that they got a reduction of hours. We gave 6 months for a reduction of 2½ hours, and 6 months for a reduction of 5 hours, which gives the manufacturers plenty of time to clean matters all up and place the shop on a basis of 9 hours for a workday.

Q. You seem to criticise the improper way in which the business agents of the machinists in Chicago presented these demands to the employers. Have you any knowledge how these demands were received by the employers, or the answers they gave?—A. Yes; I know that from testimony given by the business agent of Chicago, Mr. Brown, before the arbitration committee. He stated that in some instances he went to the superintendent and demanded of the superintendent that this matter be signed at once.

Q. The same day?—A. The same day; in fact, before he left. His own testimony gives it. Not going to the official representative of the company, he went to the superintendent. In other instances he had interviews with the manager, presented the agreement, and stated it must be signed, and the manager refusing to do so the men all went out of the shop. This is from his own testimony, as I stated. He has given only 20 minutes in some instances for a manufacturer to accede to those demands before his men were called out.

Q. Coming to the agreement that you made there in New York, have you, through your correspondence and through personal intercourse with the signers of it and parties interested, found that substantially this will settle all your troubles in the future, this system of arbitration in this agreement, or are there any matters unconsidered or undecided between your organization and the machinists?—A. There is no question at the present time that we can think of that can be brought up, but what can be settled through arbitration proceedings.

Q. And is the agreement perfectly satisfactory to both sides, so far as you know?—A. Yes.

Q. Mr. O'Connell said so himself, and does he hold it before his unions as the best way of making settlements?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you think this arbitration between the employers and employees in any one trade is a better plan of arbitrating a dispute than by the State authorities?—A. I think so, for the reason, in my opinion, that those who comprise the board of arbitration—under this agreement it shall consist of the presidents of the two associations, and they appoint from among the members of the associations two others to act with them. Now, the presidents of the two associations, of course, are men who are fully in touch with their associations, and the members of the National Metal Trades Association are manufacturers, and are men who are in active business management of plants. On the other hand the men who represent the machinists are men who are continually making a study of the employees' side. Now, I do not suppose it is right for me to criticise a State board.

Q. We want that.—A. I do not know enough about them, really, to say anything, but in my opinion it would be really this: that members of the State board, not being in actual touch with shop methods, which are continually changing, could not give this subject the large consideration which it deserves. A man, to go to the employees' side of it, has got to be a man right in amongst his men all the time. That is my experience. I have had ten years' experience in large

a demand is made I can readily see the wisdom of it and know their feelings in the matter; but men appointed on State boards of arbitration, unless they be manufacturers themselves, in my opinion are not as competent to take hold of subjects of this character as would be a manufacturer who is in daily practice.

Q. Do you think it is possible for any State board, however organized, three or five members, usually politicians, public men, probably one labor man on the board, to take up the technique of any trade in this country and settle it by arbitration—the business features of the whole dispute; could they?—A. They could not, under the agreement which we have entered into, because our agreement states that the matter must come up before arbitration in two weeks. Now, men who are not right in daily touch with shop practices, who are not right directly interested in these matters—it would be impossible, in my opinion, for them to take that matter up and settle it in a satisfactory manner.

Q. Have you an idea that this is a permanent peace between employers and employees now?—A. It must be until one or the other breaks faith.

Q. Do you think the interests are mutually cared for in your agreement?—A. Yes, I do; most decidedly. I take pleasure in stating right here that the different associations, the National Founders' Association, and other associations formed prior to our association, have all expressed themselves as—in fact say that our association has simply accomplished a master stroke as regards the settlement of contentions that may arise between employers and employees, in this agreement which we have entered into. The matter was given a great deal of thought for 8 days, and worked right out there in New York. The arbitration board was supported by members of our administrative council, and we worked out this agreement, and endeavored to formulate an agreement here which would be lasting, and at the present time we can not see any faults in it, although we do not know what will arise.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) You spoke about a fighting fund which your organization raised by assessment, I suppose, or dues. Is that fund in existence and being added to at this time?—A. The reserve fund. We do not like the word "fight."

Q. I believe that expression was used.—A. It came up as fighting fund. We call it reserve fund.

Q. You said it was for that purpose?—A. It is a defense fund for the purpose of defending the members of the association against any troubles that may arise or contentions that may arise from labor questions.

Q. You know, I presume, that the machinists have no such fund now, and only had a fund of that kind by special assessment?—A. I did not know that, no.

Q. That is their testimony here. Well, with this agreement that you have arrived at, which you believe will be permanent, is there any need of such a fund?—A. Yes, in this respect: In this agreement which we have entered into, when the hours of labor are reduced there will naturally arise the question as to wages. Now a manufacturer pays his employees by the hour. They are now working 10 hours a day at the rate of 25 cents an hour, say \$2.50. When he puts his shop on the 9½ hour basis the question, in my opinion, is going to arise, Are the employees to be paid \$2.50 a day? Are they to receive the same amount of money under the decrease in hours, or will they receive only 9½ hours' pay?

Q. Must not that question be settled by arbitration?—A. It must; but provided they can not settle it by arbitration, then you have got a little trouble on your hands. I merely bring that question up showing you why our reserve fund may be needed.

Q. Well, the hopes that you have for this way of settling troubles between your organization and the machinists would seem to indicate that there is no necessity for a fund of that kind?—A. Yes, that is the idea; but the fund in itself, I might explain, stands as a direct asset to the association. Every member who contributes or is obliged to contribute to that fund can, upon withdrawing from the association, obtain his percentage of the fund, don't you see; so it is merely a fund which accumulates from time to time, and it always stands to the credit of the member.

Q. Is there a better feeling, better understanding, between the employers and employees now, since they got together in New York and agreed upon arbitration?—A. Well, that question is a little difficult to answer at the present time, for the reason that the agreement is not, in my opinion, fully understood yet by the employees. In that agreement there are clauses, especially one, regarding the employment and hours, whereby we state in the agreement that no discrimination shall be made against union men and every workman shall be free to belong to a trade union, should he see fit. Every employer shall be free to employ any man, whether he belong or not to a trade union.

Q. Has not that been the case always where union men were employed in a shop, that they would work harmoniously with nonunion men?—A. You know there are what they term open shops. There are concerns who employ only union men, who, when they want a mechanic or blacksmith, pattern maker, or whatever class of men they want for a certain trade, obtain them through the union. Therefore a nonunion man is barred from getting work in that shop. But under this agreement an employer will not discriminate against the union men. He employs nonunion men and employs union men. These men must work harmoniously in the shop. It is very often the case when both are working on a machine that the union fellow will hide the nonunion man's tools. There has been a great deal of trouble of that kind in shops, where they act like school boys, and where the nonunion man has a special piece of work to do in a shop and the union fellow will tell him, "You are not a union man"; or, the nonunion man will say, "Give us a lift on this machine;" and the union fellow will say, "I am a union man and you are a nonunion man; do your own work." Now, we stopped that under that nonunion clause; but I have learned lately that the International Association of Machinists, in presenting this agreement before their members, have left out this clause relating to employment, and have put only the clause in relating to hours; and have also omitted another very important clause under that same heading which states, "In consideration of this concession in working hours, the International Association of Machinist will place no restrictions upon the management or production of the shop and will give a fair day's work for a fair day's wage." Now, in the Foundry Association, or in some shops which practically are controlled by the union, a man's output is limited to a certain number of flasks per day. He can make that number of flasks, and then when he gets that made he must quit. Also, in the Metal Polishers and Buffer's Union, a man can make on piece work to a certain amount, then he gets his coat and hat and goes home. These restrictions are placed and are in operation to-day in union shops; but under this agreement we do away with that, by saying that no restrictions shall be placed on the output of the shop, and that the employer shall pay a fair day's wage to the employee for a fair day's work.

Q. In the agreement which you arrived at in the conference which preceded the adoption of this agreement, did the machinists make any particular fight against the recognition of nonunion men in the shops and this output feature?—

A. Of course there was an argument made by them, yes; they claiming that if all shops are unionized and are under the control of the union, the employer would never have any cause for grievance or trouble arising in the shop; that they as a union will have perfect control of the men; they will be able at all times to supply competent men to manufacturers, and under those conditions they believe that the shop itself, or the management of the shop, the governing features of the shop, will be best if it is thoroughly unionized.

Q. Were they more or less strenuous for these points than for others?—A. No. On that employment clause, and the apprenticeship clause—they fought harder on that clause than any. That is, they had a longer argument.

Q. On the apprenticeship?—A. On the apprenticeship clause of the agreement and the employment clause. In fact, the employment clause they looked at in such a light that we stated, in presenting this matter to our members—it is in the resolution—that we would recommend that if any of our members desired to add to the shop rules and any portion of the resolution relating to the employment and hours, that they add only that pertaining directly to the hours.

Q. Will you take up the points of this agreement and state what concessions were gained by the employers, and what by the employees, if any?—A. Well, I suppose we had better take the employers' side first. Up to the time that we met they were making or submitting demands for arbitration in the cities of Chicago, Cleveland, and Paterson. We had been unable to get the international association of machinists to officially declare off the strikes in the shops of members of our association in the cities of Cleveland and Paterson. While they said that they had done so, when pinned down to the fact, they could bring no direct proof that they had done so. In fact, the strikes were still in existence; the shops were picketed; and men desiring employment were stopped and urged to keep away. Therefore, before we would consider the question of arbitrating these matters at all, we told President O'Connell that he must officially then and there wire to his representatives in the cities of Cleveland and Paterson, that strikes in those cities were officially declared off, before any arbitration proceedings could be commenced. He did so. They then entered into arbitration.

Q. That is a point you gained before you came to conference?—A. Yes; now at the conference we gained this point with the machinists: Previous to that, when

the International Association of Machinists desired to have a minimum wage adopted, that wage, for instance, was 28 cents per hour for all machinists. They meant by that that the incompetent man—the incompetent machinist—that should be the minimum rate, that should be his rate—his starting point—28 cents. In fact, it practically placed the incompetent man on a level with the competent man. For instances, in hiring a machinist, you must pay him 28 cents per hour; that is the least rate that can be paid. We define there the term “machinist.” Before then I do not think any manufacturer really had any definition as to what constituted a machinist. A machinist was generally considered to be a man who could take a lathe and run it. That is about all. For instance, I have known where a man tending an automatic machine was classified as a machinist. Under that definition, a machinist was classified as a competent general workman, a competent floor hand, lathe hand, planer hand, vise hand, and he must be a man who can take a blue print or a drawing, take his piece of metal, place it on his machine and prosecute that work to the end. Then he is a competent machinist, and the competency of the man is to be left entirely to the judgment of the employer. He is the man to judge as to whether a man is competent and should come under the classification of a competent machinist. Now, that thing in itself is a very essential feature, should in the future the two associations get together and arrange upon a minimum wage; and do you not see the moment you classify your competent man, your competent man ought to and should receive the minimum wage. But the man who can not take his drawing or blue print to the machine and prosecute that work, can not be considered a competent machinist, and should not receive the same compensation as the man who has made a study and arrived at that stage where he is able to take this work and do it in a proper manner.

Q. He is the man who would receive the minimum wage, this man who could not do his work?—A. No; because he is not a competent machinist.

Q. What would he receive?—A. He would receive the wages of a handy man. Do you not know that we have the handy men?

Q. He would not be considered a machinist then?—A. No; not under the agreement; he is not considered a machinist.

Q. Please name your other points?—A. On the question of overtime I can not say; that was a question that was very hard to decide as to where any advantage was gained, for the reason, that from statistics which I have obtained from the different members of our association in different localities, some pay nothing at all for overtime, others will pay time and a quarter, others time and a half, and others double time, and every body had their own method of dealing with their employees in regard to overtime. Therefore, on that question of overtime, it was simply a satisfactory adjustment to both parties, and I can not see myself where any of us gained anything. It merely put the whole machinery industry on this one footing, that they shall all pay a certain rate for overtime. Of course, on some it is advanced and on others it is decreased. You might say it has been a happy medium.

Q. The over time rate is what?—A. The over time rate is time and a quarter up until 10 o'clock; it is time and a half from 10 o'clock until 12 midnight; it is double time from 12 o'clock midnight until the next morning.

Q. And holidays and Sundays.—A. But you will notice in case of a shop breakdown or anything, it is only time and a half, so that you can get the plant running; and on night gangs, of course, they get the regular wages the same as anybody else. That would not apply.

Q. They get the day wage?—A. Yes; they get the day wage. Of course, a great many shops have night gangs. They get the same wage as the day rate. They would not get any over time at all. That is regular shop production; that is regular work.

On the apprenticeship system we believe that in accepting, as we have there, the rule of the machinists' union in regard to apprentices (from my present knowledge), there is not a shop of our members which to-day is affected by this agreement. For instance, 1 apprentice to every 5 machinists. Now, I find that in many shops a great many men look at an apprentice as a fellow who goes into the shop a young man, and gradually works up through the shop. We understand an apprentice to be a person who indentures himself to his employer for a certain term of years, for the purpose of learning a particular trade, and I do not know of any shop in this country—that is, members of our association—that has at the present time more than one indentured apprentice to five machinists.

Q. You said, I believe, that the machinists stood out very strongly for this concession.—A. They stood out.

Q. It must be, then, that the other side resisted it somewhat.—A. The question came up, as I say, in a great many shops, and the question was really as to the definition of an apprentice, and I know one of our members at the present time wrote me a letter the other day stating that he thought we had made a mistake in conceding that clause; but, after a great deal of time and consideration on the part of the arbitration committee, who, as I say, studied the situation very carefully, we can not see wherein it is going to be detrimental to the employer to limit his apprenticeship system to 1 to 5 machinists. Now, for instance, there are boys who run drills and monitor lathes and automatic screw machines—work of that character. A great many say that fellow is an apprentice; he is learning to make a screw. He is not an apprentice; he is a boy; he comes along to be a man; he knows nothing more than to run this machine; he is practically termed a handy man, or by that time he may have got a knowledge of how to put a piece of work in a planer or shaper or something of that nature. He has not indentured himself; he has not learned any trade; he can not go out into the world and say, I am a competent machinist, I am a competent die maker, I am a competent tool maker.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) Have you any indentured apprentices at all?—A. Oh, yes; members of our association have.

Q. How does an indentured apprentice learn his trade in an American shop?—A. Why, it is an agreement made between the employer and the boy's parent or guardian, whereby he agrees to work a certain number of years, whereby he agrees to work a certain number of days during that year at his trade, and, in consideration of that, he receives the first year a certain sum for the first 6 months, and the second 6 months another increase, and so on and so forth, and then there is a forfeiture clause as to the wage of that boy.

Q. Have you ever known of any indentured apprentice in your life that learned his trade in an American shop?—A. Oh, yes; I know—

Q. (Interrupting.) Does not an apprentice in any workshop in the United States pick up his trade instead of learning it? Is there any assistant foreman to direct them how to do the work? Is there any journeyman working alongside of him that will give him his work and give him the points of the trade?—A. Yes: there are assistant foremen in quite a number of shops.

Q. Well, do they take care to show him how the work should be done?—A. I know in the shop where I worked the apprentices were given every possible opportunity to learn the trade thoroughly. The superintendent and the assistant foreman, I might say, looked after the boys and furnished them—I can state I know the boys used to form their evening drawing class, you know, and one of the men would instruct them. In fact, our superintendent used to take the boys there and instruct them nights in the drawing and things of that nature. Well; I do not know that that is the general plan. I should not want to say that it is.

Q. Practically, do you know of a great many shops that ever take care of their apprentices?—A. Not from actual experience, I do not.

Q. I am asking actual experience. They are the general apprentices, bound apprentices, of course; but is it not practically true that in all our shops in the American system we pick up our trade?—A. Oh, a boy must force himself.

Q. There is no care taken; it does not matter if the indenture is signed; it does not give a boy a trade unless he has the adaptability to pick up the trade and learn it?—A. He must force himself ahead. A boy could stand at that machine for forty years and unless he had the push and ambition to get ahead and make it known to his superintendent that he desired to push himself ahead, it is just the same as a fellow in school.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Have you finished your enumeration of the points gained by one side or the other at this Murray Hill Hotel conference?—A. Employment and hours. In regard to employment the shops of the members of our association are all open shops. There has never been a direct discrimination against a union or a nonunion man in any shop that I know of in our association. The managers have always contended that workmen have a right to organize to protect their own interests; that in employing a machinist, or whatever class of workman he may be, it makes no difference whether he is a nonunion man or a union man, provided he will work in that shop harmoniously among his fellow employees and will not try to incite any feeling or prejudice as against the shop rules, or question any methods adopted in the management of the shop, and will do his level best to reduce a fair day's amount of work for a fair day's pay.

Q. You say the proprietors are willing that they shall be union or nonunion. I take it, then, that they are willing that they shall all be union men, if it turns out that way?—A. Oh, yes. As I say, they are willing that they shall be all union, providing there is no discrimination.

Q. Do you take it for granted that all men should belong to an organization, and have it take care of any matters of insurance and sick benefits, etc.?—A. No; I personally believe that a man has a perfect right to himself be the sole judge as to how he shall work.

Q. That comes as a matter of course?—A. Yes; and as far as the arranging for sick benefits and matters of that kind are concerned, why all of our large institutions or all of our large manufacturing concerns are in better shape to handle and look out for their employees in regard to sick benefits or mutual-benefit societies, in my opinion, than is the national benefit association.

Q. You desire harmonious working together in the shop?—A. Oh, most decidedly.

Q. Would not that condition be more apt to be brought about thoroughly if the men all belonged to one organization? You spoke about the hiding of tools, etc. Would not those little things, those petty things, be done away with?—A. I can not see how you could get—it would be impossible, in fact, to get—all men to belong to a union. Men have their own ideas regarding those features. There is a certain expenditure that a man has to make to this association each year. Now, of course, many men believe, "This money that I shall have to give to this association in order to procure work for me, why I need it for my family. Why should I not be able to go out into this world and get a livelihood? I am a competent man. Why should I have to join, and be bound down by certain rules and regulations, before I can obtain employment?"

Q. Do you not believe that employees in the cities where they are organized have received more benefits from organization than they would have received had they remained disorganized? Has not all this arbitration arrangement and conference that you speak of been brought about by organization?—A. Yes, I think that is very true, that the different labor organizations have obtained for their men a reduction of hours and increase in wages, and for that reason, as I say, I think they are good features in the organizations pertaining to labor. It is a fact that the manufacturer, like all other men, is eager to make what he can for his concern. While manufacturers say, "Yes, I look after my workmen," I simply see, from actual experience and growing up through the trade, why it is very seldom that a voluntary increase in wages is made in a shop. It is very seldom. Not due, I do not mean to say, to the fact that the employer desires to hold his men down, to crush them down, to make animals out of them, to get all he possibly can out of them without remunerating them; but those matters do not come to his attention; his ideas are somewhere else; he is thinking of other matters; so that men can go along for year after year and month after month without a dollar's increase in wages. But in their organizations they have men, of course, who make it a study, as Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Wilson, whose business it is to look as to the prosperity of the country, and with the prosperity of the country, of course, they have in mind the condition of the workmen who are members of their organization, and through them, of course, they can bring it to the attention of the manufacturers. And, as I before stated, if they will do so, and do it in a businesslike method, instead of trying to get these demands by force, matters would not have taken the condition that they have in the past.

Q. You believe then that it is just as important to labor, just as necessary for their well-being, that they should organize to look after their rights as it is that there should be these capital combinations, industrial combinations?—A. I do not see why not.

Q. And do you not believe that one is any more a menace to the welfare of the country than the other?—A. I should hate to put myself on record, but I am more in favor of the poor working man getting a show than a great big, fat, capitalist taking in a harvest. (Laughter.)

Q. Was there any understanding in New York that this joint agreement should be kept in any way a secret?—A. No, no; we are scattering them broadcast. Now, I might say right here, I think that probably came from Mr. Wilson's testimony yesterday. The International Association of Machinists have sent out a circular giving the resolutions and also an agreement setting forth to be the true agreement, but leaving out these essential features here in regard to employment and the output of the shop; and in view of the fact that we are distributing this—which is the true document in every sense of the word; there is not an omission and there has not anything been added to it; it is true in every detail word for word—they have received letters from their employees—that may be a mistake; I do not think the employees really understood it—stating, "Here, what is this? What excuse will we have with showing discrimination? Have we not got union shops? Nonunion men shall be employed, and all such things as that. Possibly it is a misunderstanding; that the International Association of Machinists understood that the resolution which was adopted here in regard to changing the shop rules—

it may have construed it that nothing was to be said in regard to this employment.

Q. Mr. Wilson seemed to be somewhat surprised.—A. I told him that we have distributed over 8,000 of those things to every manufacturer in the country.

Q. However, he acknowledged that it was true.—A. True in every detail.

Q. And put it in his testimony.—A. Mr. Chalmers sent me a copy of the resolution and agreement that was circulated through Chicago by the machinists, leaving out the vital clauses, important clauses, and from Pennsylvania, Mr. Lufkin, of the Snow Steam Pump Works, sent me a circular in regard to this trouble that was taking place at Oil City. But I obtained from the lodge in New York City, from their business agent there—I thought I would ask him if he had one and he showed it to me. I saw omitted what we termed the very essential features of this agreement, that there shall be no discrimination, and that in all events the men shall work harmoniously in the shop; there shall be no restrictions placed upon a day's output; and the men shall receive a fair day's pay for a fair day's work.

Q. Has this been published in any of the trade journals?—A. Yes.

Q. Either in those of the metal workers or the International—A. The International Association of Machinists in their June Monthly Journal, but they leave out the employment clause.

Q. They all publish all except the employment clause?—A. Everything except the employment clause.

Q. Now, was there any discussion at this conference in regard to keeping that secret to enable them to carry their point in any way with the members or lodges in the country?—A. No; I have taken it up with President O'Connell and said that there was nothing—

Q. How could they have had a misunderstanding? How could Mr. Wilson been somewhat surprised to see this here in this shape?—A. I could not tell you. I am sure. Why? two days after we got through there I had over 2,000 of these books distributed among the shops and asked the members of our association to give them to their men. Now, I can cite an instance right in Brooklyn where this matter was explained to a union lodge—the agreement—and the men came down flushed with victory, and the superintendent said, "Here, read this book through," and they read through these little clauses there and they said, "Well, that was not explained to us." Now, I say there is a misunderstanding, as it has turned out somewhere; but we on our part have printed the true agreement as it should have been printed. What is there to hold back? If a man makes an agreement and it is accepted, what is there to hold back? What is the use? There is a deception somewhere; it is evidently—

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR, interrupting.) Misapprehension.—A. Misapprehension.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Were there duplicate copies signed in New York?—A. Yes.

Q. No variation?—A. No.

Q. And the one they have here is exactly as this?—A. Yes; they have copies of this book right up in their rooms there.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) It may be possible that in the local lodges the features of that kind should be brought up in the lodges and their local constitutions made to conform to them. The testimony of Mr. Wilson showed that all the local lodges seemed to be very independent of the national body. Their wages were all different; they had difference of hours, difference of overtime, and everything of that kind. It might be possible that it was a matter of policy among the national officers to send out circulars to urge this agreement, for all the lodges merely to come to the agreement. The same has been done by other organizations where employers and employees have been concerned in making a general agreement like this.—A. This matter has just been brought up. Now, I advised Mr. O'Connell at once, telling him that we had circulated these things all over the country, and advised him at once to take up this matter with the president of our association.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) This matter of the misunderstanding.—A. Why, yes if a misunderstanding has occurred, but I can not see how any has occurred. Our board has sanctioned the publication of this book. Our members have called attention to the fact that this agreement, purporting to be the true agreement, being circulated by the machinists, asking the manufacturers to sign the same and as I said to him, in this agreement that has been entered into by the manufacturers, the members of our association are going to live right up to the letter of it we are going to have our skirts clean always; we are going to do what is right in the matter. The question comes up, Can they control their bodies? And I can give you an illustration right in New York City where they are unable to hand

their own men. We had trouble on the American line steamship pier last week, and the machinists quit work, due to a local delegate who took hold of the matter.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) Business agent?—A. He was not a business agent; just a local business agent I had better term it; not the authorized agent of the grand lodge here. But the local business agent knowing that this agreement had been put into effect, that the men should not quit work, made a demand. After it had not been acceded to they quit work. The only thing I could do, I immediately telegraphed right down here to Washington. Mr. O'Connell telegraphed back that he knew nothing of the situation whatsoever and asked me to confer with the business agent there. I got him over the telephone; he said he did not know anything about it. I said to him, "My dear sir, under this agreement that we have entered into the men have got to stay at their work." He said, "I will attend to that," and he went down to them, but they went out, and they said they did not care for the grand lodge or anything. They could not do anything with them.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) What was the outcome?—A. The outcome of the situation is this, that I believe the men have returned to work, but they will have to be disciplined under the agreement by the grand lodge here, and Mr. O'Connell is making an investigation of the case now. It simply shows you, as you see, it is mighty hard work. Really, there seems to be a sort of clash between the local lodges and the national lodges. The local lodge sort of hates to be dictated to by the national fellows, believing that they, knowing the situation, can handle it so much better. Now, I want to say right here that the International Association of Machinists have a harder job before them to inculcate this agreement into the minds of the employees than the National Metal Trades Association. I sympathize with them.

Q. You will be forbearing with them, I suppose?—A. I sympathize with them; they have got a hard proposition; they have got a hard class of men to deal with.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) You have got some of your own members objecting to this agreement?—A. Yes.

Q. You will control them?—A. We will have to control them or they will have to get out. But of course our association, being composed of men of business ideas and influence, they will reason; but these men up here would not reason; they would not listen to reason. It is going to be hard work for the International Association of Machinists to drive this agreement into the men. I thoroughly believe that, with all due respect to Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Wilson, they have to work hard, and they have had to work hard to get this agreement enforced in their association.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Well, do you not think if they have suppressed vital portions of this agreement that they have thereby made the work harder for themselves?—A. Yes, I think they are going to make it mighty tough. I think they are going to have a hard proposition because, as I say, we have scattered this matter all over the United States. We have had it published in the Iron Age, Casser's Magazine, Gunton's Magazine, the Engineering Magazine, and the American Machinists; they have all had copies of the agreement, you know, and they have all commented on it.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Have you anything that you desire to state upon your own motion that has been overlooked?—A. No, there is nothing that I can think of. I want to be perfectly sure that I have explained matters very thoroughly in regard to the agreement. There is nothing that I can think of that I have overlooked.

(Testimony closed.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 9, 1901.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JAMES A. MILLER.

Chairman Legal Committee Building Contractors' Council.

The commission met at 11.47 a. m., Vice-Chairman Phillips presiding. At that time Mr. James A. Miller, No. 129 South Clinton street, Chicago, appeared as a witness, and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Will you please give your name and post-office address?—A. James A. Miller, No. 129 South Clinton street, Chicago.

Q. Did you testify before the subcommission which sat in Chicago and heard testimony in regard to the labor difficulties in the building trades?—A. I did.

Q. In what relation do you stand toward that controversy?—A. Well, I am of the firm of James A. Miller & Bro., who are manufacturers of sheet metal for buildings, slate, tin, and iron roofers. I am a representative from the Sheet Metal Contractors' Association to the Building Contractors' Council and am chairman of the legal committee of the Building Contractors' Council.

Mr. CLARKE. We shall be glad to have you proceed in your own way to relate what has transpired since the hearing in Chicago toward the settlement or termination of that prolonged difficulty, and you will have permission to refer to some things that developed there, if you need to, as a part of your testimony on that subject.

The WITNESS. I will present a copy¹ of the constitution and by-laws (which I know to be a copy) of the Building Trades Council, and I want to draw, in reference to their powers, particular attention to section 1 of article 11, which is entitled "Revenue." (Reading:)

"SECTION 1. The revenue for the maintenance of the council shall be derived from the subrenting of halls and the sale of working cards issued quarterly by the council to the trades herein represented. One side the card shall represent the council, the other the trade to which the holder belongs."

Now, those cards are sold by the council to different unions as part of their revenue. The unions in turn sell them to each of their members. While the Building Trades Council was in power in Chicago a man could not get work without causing a strike unless he had that card, which was evidence of his tribute to those bodies.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Do you mean to say that an individual member of the bricklayers' union, for instance, must have a card issued by the Building Trades Council of Chicago?—A. Yes.

I will read section 2 of article 13. This is as to the powers of the board of business agents. (Reading:)

"SEC. 2. When trouble occurs on any building or job, affecting any trade represented in this council, it shall be the duty of the business agent to immediately endeavor to settle same with contractor or owner, in accordance with the trade rules and to the satisfaction of the trade involved. Failing in this and a strike being necessary, the business agent shall have power to call a general strike; but before doing so he shall lay the matter before the council or board of business agents at their next meeting and be governed by their action or decision, which shall be equally binding on all trades in this council engaged on the job or building. When a trade has no business agent the chairman of the board shall have power to call members of said trade off when strike is ordered. It shall require a majority of the trades voting to order a strike. Unit rule to prevail."

Now, that means that the board of business agents, which by this constitution and by-laws is a board composed of paid delegates of each union, has the power, without referring to their own union at all, to stop any building in Chicago where the union men are at work—stop all men on that building.

Now I want to read section 1 of article 16, concerning trade rules. (Reading:)

"SECTION 1. It shall be the special duty of this council to use the united strength of all trades represented herein to compel all nonunion men to conform to and obey the laws of the trade to which they should properly belong."

It is stated in their own constitution and by-laws as being their special duty to use their strength to compel nonunion men to obey their law.

There is a good deal more that is interesting, but those things I particularly want to get in.

Now, I want to say further that in addition to this Building Trades Council there is a Building Material Trades Council in Chicago, and has been for some years, which is made up of representatives from unions who make work in factories which is to be afterwards put on buildings. That is, their work is in the shop

in distinction from those who work on buildings, and they work together with the Building Trades Council, so that the Building Trades Council, if necessary, would agree to refuse to work material made in the nonunion shop, and the Building Material Trades Council in turn would refuse to furnish work on a building where there was a strike.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) I would like to have you state whether those regulations are still in force.—A. No, they are not in force. They have not been repealed, amended, or withdrawn—anything of that sort—but they do not attempt to enforce them, because they can not.

Another feature that ought to be prominently, it seems to me, before the public is that the action of a body like the Building Trades Council, or the action of a union representing the Building Trades Council—the unity of such action is procured by compulsion on the members of the union. That is, each union affiliated with the Building Trades Council has a provision that their men will stop work when ordered by the Building Trades Council; that they must not work with non-union men; and the penalty for violating those rules is fines, which means suspension if not paid, and which means, after suspension, that they will be treated as nonunion men and no other union men will be allowed to work with them. The members of the Building Trades Council are subject to the same treatment if they do not agree to the rules and by-laws of the Building Trades Council. That is, it is not voluntary; it is compulsion.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) What action does the Building Trades Council take in regard to those unions?—A. At present the Building Trades Council has practically lost its power to enforce those rules. They have not now any means by which they can enforce them.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Have any unions affiliated with them withdrawn?—A. I am just getting into that now. I will get around to it in order. About the time you left Chicago we were having a great deal of trouble with intimidation, riot, and assault. We had it particularly at the Butler Building, at Randolph street and the river, and at the Ogdensburg dock building on the north side. There the men had to be sent to and from the job in busses to keep them from the assaults of the union men. At the time you were in Chicago I testified that we had not any complaints to make of the administration of the police. I thought at that time that the administration of the police was, perhaps, as good as it could be, taking everything into account. I know better now, and I know it from what has since happened. About the next large job after those I have just cited, where there was trouble, was the Marshall Field Building. That was at Clark and Adams streets. For a long time that was run with union men, but finally the attempt was made to substitute nonunion men, and it was the signal for all sorts of riots, intimidations, and assaults. About that time the city of Chicago became hard up for money; this I know to be so from a number of people who were directly interested in the matter. The mayor sent a messenger to the banks asking them, as they had often done in the past, to advance money in anticipation of the tax about to come in, and saying that for the credit of Chicago they ought to do so, and all that sort of thing. The banks sent back word that the credit of Chicago was not in their keeping; that just now it was in the keeping of the mayor and those who had control of the police, and that until these assaults could be stopped, and until Edward Carroll, who was president of the Building Trades Council and a member the Civil Service Board, should be removed from that board the city of Chicago could not have any advance from the banks. The rioting stopped instantly. Now, I do not know how it was done, but we know that was the cause of it, and we know it was done, and since that time there has not been one-tenth part of the assaulting that there was before. There have been individual men assaulted where the police were not present, but there have not been those large gatherings of union men that characterized the earlier events of that trouble. Soon after that the Contractors' Council made an effort to get a conference with the union workmen, through representatives, who were not connected directly with the Building Trades Council. They sent out their invitation and they had meetings for two or three days, at which representatives from the employers' associations met these representatives from the unions, explained to them the objections to the Building Trades Council, what the contractors wanted, and the propriety and justice of the contractors' requirements. Nothing at the time came from that. The meetings were harmonious, and there was very free discussion on both sides, but it was apparently barren of result. The next event was the withdrawal of the bricklayers' union from the Building Trades Council, and just what brought it about I do not know, unless it was the fact that the action of the Chicago union in striking was declared irregular by the national association, and the national association refused to send them

funds. The contract that they entered into with their employers' association I have here, which can be presented if it is desired.¹

Q. Was the bricklayer's union one of the largest and most important members of the Building Trades Council?—A. It was, yes.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) What was the date of the last agreement?—A. June 27, 1900.

The contract was drawn up between the two bodies directly interested and as a result of that the Contractors' Council drew up a form of contract which they thought was the right and proper thing, which I will also present.² This latter is a form which has been used in some instances, and in some instances has been modified a good deal, but it represents the contractors' views at that time. Here are the two things the union particularly objected to. (Reading:)

"7. That all workmen are at liberty to work for whomsoever they see fit.

"8. That all employers are at liberty to employ and discharge whomsoever they see fit."

That they did not object to particularly, but they did object to (reading)—

"(Explanation to 7 and 8: This means that these are rights of the individual workmen and the individual employer and are not to be interfered with by any rule, regulation, or threat of fine or punishment by either party hereto.)"

This they objected to as taking away the power of the union to discipline its own members.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) Do I understand that this is an agreement that was executed between employers and employees?—A. No; this was not executed as it now stands, except in one or two cases. It was used as a form in a great many cases, and was used with modifications. It was used in its entirety by the hoisting engineers and one or two other small unions. I only introduce it as showing what the Contractors' Council's position was at that time.

The result of the agreement between the bricklayers and the employers was a partial resumption of building operations, and with that resumption there was a desire on the part of the other trades to go to work—on the part of the employers of the other trades—and the difficulty at that time was for the Contractors' Council to determine just what men they should employ. That is, they were willing to employ any man—either a nonunion man who had withdrawn from his union or where his union had withdrawn from his council; but the practical difficulty was in finding out, when a man came to an employer, whether he really did belong to a union still affiliated with the Building Trades Council or did not. Some of them carry two cards. New unions were formed in different trades so as to take in men who had withdrawn from the old unions. Then it was feared that these new unions might be captured by the old unions. Then affidavits were required that men had withdrawn from the unions. Then in our own trade we required each man to sign an individual agreement. The trades that formed independent unions were the stonecutters, carpenters, plumbers, and hoisting engineers. The plumbers afterwards consolidated with the plumbers of the old union and both withdrew from the Building Trades Council. The hoisting engineers are still in that condition. An agreement was made with the old Carpenters' Union after I left Chicago, and I do not know just how that left the carpenters that withdrew from that union, but I know the intention when I left Chicago was to protect them. Now, I have some of these agreements that have been made by those and other unions that have withdrawn which I can present or not, as you choose.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Are they very similar to the agreement which you submit?—A. Yes; they are.

Q. Can you state, in brief, how they vary, so that we can save space in printing?—

A. Why, they vary more than anything else in allowing the union to control the action of the individual man. They strike out that clause which gives the individual union man the right to work or remain at work; the object of the Contractors' Council all the time being not to destroy these unions—no desire to do that at all, but to break down the excessive power of the Building Trades Council.

Things went along very satisfactorily in the building operations until perhaps 2 months ago, when the Mandell Building—quite a large building on State street and Wabash avenue—was up to the roof, and the parties who were left in the Building Trades Council tried to see how much power they had left, and they called an old-fashioned sympathetic strike on that building; but they found very few of their men would stay out, even of those who went out, and the strike was soon broken up; and I think they became satisfied then that they had lost their power.

Now, one of the peculiar features in the struggle between the Carpenters' Association and the Carpenters' Union that I think worthy of comment is that the

Carpenters' Association made an agreement with the new union society of the carpenters agreeing to pay them 42½ cents an hour, and agreeing to give them the preference over the union men who were still affiliated with the Building Trades Council. The next thing the old union did was to authorize their men to work for any wages they could get, with the result of causing a good many of the employers to hire the old union men because they could get them for less money, although their association had agreed to employ the society men at 42½ cents. The conditions in Chicago now, as far as the employers are concerned, are all that were ever sought; that is, the employers are employing men on any terms that are satisfactory to the employer; that is, the employers' association is seeing that the wages are lived up to as much as possible, and they are not asking any questions as to whether a man is a union man or a nonunion man, and they are not interfered with by the Employers' Association or the Contractors' Council.

Q. Has there been any reduction of wages on the part of employers except when suggested by members of unions affiliated with the Building Trades Council?—A. There has been no agreement made with any union at less than the old wages; there has been no desire to make any such agreements. Where the union has refused to make an agreement, it has led to an open condition of affairs which has been deplored as much by employers as by anybody else, but they did not see any way by which they could prevent it. They stood ready to pay the union scale and to make an agreement, and the union sometimes would not do it, and the Contractors' Council and the Employers' Association could not always control it.

Now, as to the politics that there has been in this whole trouble, there are one or two things that I think might be mentioned. One is that a good many of the public bodies of Chicago, like the Board of Education of the city of Chicago, have, at different times in the past, agreed to employ only union men on their work. The employers rebelled at that not because at that time they necessarily cared to employ nonunion men, but they did not like to make a contract with an outside body agreeing to only employ union men; and as a result, a case was made up and taken to the supreme court of Illinois, which decided that no public body or semipublic body had any right to discriminate between union and nonunion men. That was a case in which the Board of Education were the defendants, and, as a result, they changed their proposals and forms of contract and no longer discriminate.

Regardless of that decision the city of Chicago and the county of Cook still kept on their records a resolution to employ only union labor; and last spring, in May or June, 1900, the Board of County Commissioners advertised for some work and stated in their advertisement or their specifications that the work was to be done by union men, and that the work would be let only to a contractor working in harmony with the Building Trades Council. Representing the Contractors' Council, I called on the superintendent of public service for the county of Cook and asked him if he did not know that that was against the ruling of the supreme court. He said that he did, but that he was an employee of the Board of County Commissioners, and, as far as he was concerned, their orders outranked those of the supreme court. I told him he evidently was not the man I was looking for, and then saw the president of the board and made my statement to him, and he called in Mr. Healy and asked him if my statements were correct. Mr. Healy said they were, and I left them. I did not care to make any threats to them. They went ahead and let their contract with that clause in. We at once went into court with a bill in the name of a taxpayer, asking for an injunction to restrain the county from carrying out that contract, which was allowed in about five minutes after the decision in the Board of Education matter had been read to the court. That is mentioned as much as anything else to show how the politicians are willing to do things that are against the law to favor the labor people.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) Has that injunction been made permanent?—A. Yes.

I suppose you all understand that labor people are always trying to get a little the best of the situation before the legislature and before Congress. I had a report of the Federation of Labor—the National Convention—and in that there are some instances where they were trying to have Congress not pass any laws at all unless the labor unions would be exempted from the operations of those acts.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) What acts do you refer to?—A. Particularly the anti-trust law. That is, they submit and they urge upon their members to do all they can to prevent the passage of this antitrust bill and the amendment to the Federal Constitution unless it contains this provision: "Provided, That nothing in this act shall be construed to apply to trade-unions or other organizations instituted for the purpose of regulating wages, hours of labor, and other conditions under which labor shall be performed."

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Who make these efforts—the Chicago workingmen?—A. No; this is by the Federation of Labor.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) The session last December?—A. Yes.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) That you might presume was simply the protest of the workmen that working organizations were not to be considered as trusts, was it not?—A. Why, I took it to be that they wanted their acts exempted from the operations of laws that ought to be general in their character.

Q. (By Mr. PHILLIPS.) Do you or do you not think it just and equitable and fair that labor organizations should be exempt from the operations of the anti-trust law?—A. I do not think it is fair or just that an organization of workmen should be treated any different from an organization of anybody else. I do not see how they can be under the constitution of the State or of the United States. And that brings me to what I want to say is to me the most humiliating feature of the whole trouble; and that is that probably not one in a hundred of those who were under the control of these labor organizations ever thought of applying for protection to the courts. In all the cases that have been before the supreme court of Illinois I do not think there has been one since the organization of the court which touched upon the question of the right of strikers to interfere with the business of an employer who wishes to have nothing to do with them and who, but for their interference, would be perfectly able to conduct his business without them. There have been cases, to which I have already referred, where certain acts have been declared unconstitutional. There have been cases—to which I may refer later—to test the constitutionality of certain laws passed by the legislature.

In the county of Cook, since 1894, there have been a few cases where employers have gone into court to ask for an order restraining some one or more unions from interfering with the business of the complainant. The results obtained have sometimes been effective and sometimes not, depending usually upon what judge they got before, and how vigorously the defendants were prosecuted for contempt. One case only has ever gone up on appeal, and that is now in the appellate court on an appeal of some workmen who were given jail sentences for willfully violating the order of the court. At present, however, the injunctive remedy is not as effective as it should be from the fact that, as I have already said, the supreme court of the State has not passed upon any of the many phases of the lawfulness of picketing, of boycotting, of coercion of members of the union by the union itself through fines and punishments presumably voluntarily assumed, of the sympathetic strike, or of the attempting to maintain a monopoly in the labor market. The result of this being that the judge of the nisi prius court is at liberty to follow any precedent that fits best with his own idea of the law or of expediency. At present the rule seems to be established that a restraining order can only be asked for—with any certainty of getting it—to prevent the unlawful interference with the business of the employer, leaving for future decisions in contempt proceedings to declare what is and what is not unlawful. The reason that keeps the employer from going into court for relief from the unlawful demands of organized labor is primarily the belief that by doing so he will either get no or insufficient relief—one of the elements of its insufficiency being the length of time it would take him to get it.

In Cook County, at present, to get a case finally decided against a union for damages would require from two to six years, depending upon whether it went up to a higher court or not.

The awarding of damages would be almost invariably of no value, except that if the liability for the damage arose from an unlawful act the defendant could be kept in jail until the judgment was paid and as long as his board in the jail was paid.

Very little satisfaction is ever gotten from a criminal prosecution. Nevertheless, the Building Contractors' Council has tried to do what it considered its duty to society by following up such overt criminal acts as were committed by individuals. The results obtained before the police magistrates were as a rule very discouraging. There have been some few exceptions, some few justices who seemed to realize that an assault upon a workman because he chose to remain at work when some labor leader or set of labor leaders wanted him to refrain from working, was an outrageous attack upon the liberty of the citizen; and fines in one or two cases have gone as high as \$50; but the usual fine has been \$10 and costs. We have always in cases before police magistrates sought to have the defendant bound over to the criminal court, as there a trial, even if a conviction is not obtained, is a more serious matter, and the union slugger has a chance to learn what the laws are that he is violating.

To show what a travesty on justice is its administration in the police courts of Chicago, let me cite a few instances, if you care to listen to them.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) These cases grow out of the labor difficulties?—A. Yes.

Q. All right; go ahead.—A. One case had been fully heard before the justice with the exception of the argument. It had been adjourned several times to suit the convenience of the justice. He finally asked all the attorneys to meet in his court one afternoon at 5, promising to decide the case. The attorneys were all on hand at that hour and waited for the justice until 6.20. He not appearing at all, the prosecution died for lack of jurisdiction. As some 2 months had been spent on the cases with that unsatisfactory result, future prosecution was thought not worth the trouble.

In another case where a premeditated malicious assault was fully proven, another justice (Sabath) let the defendant off on payment of costs—something less than \$10.

In another case the justice (O'Donahue) refused to allow the complaint to be amended—before the trial, while defendants were present in court—dismissing the case at once, refusing to hold his decision until new complaints could be made out. The charge was assault. The testimony justified a charge of assault with a deadly weapon.

In another case the attorney for the complaining witness, before the trial began, noticed that the defendant seemed to have an unusual large number of witnesses. Suspecting something, he asked the justice (Mahoney), when the case was called, to have all the witnesses excluded from the room, which was done. The charge—assault—was proven. The defendant took the stand to testify in his own behalf. The justice noticed that the defendant had no attorney, and offered to act as his attorney; and advised him to tell the truth. The witness swore that at the time of the assault he was in a saloon under the union headquarters several miles from the scene of the trouble. The justice again advised him against the danger of committing perjury, and after considerable advice from the justice, he finally admitted that his previous testimony was false, that he had committed the assault as sworn to by the witnesses for the State. The judge was about to fine him and dismiss the case. The attorney for the prosecution, however, insisted upon the justice calling in the other union witnesses to see what they would swear to. This being done, some half dozen or so swore that at the time of the assault the defendant was in the saloon under the union headquarters with the person then testifying. After they had all so sworn, the justice put the defendant on the stand again, when he repeated his admissions of the assault, on which, one of his witnesses, in response to a question from the justice, admitted that they were a pack of liars. The attorney for the people wanted them at once held over to the grand jury for perjury, which the justice refused to do. On complaint they were indicted by the grand jury, but we have as yet been unable to get them under arrest.

In another case the justice (Dooley) fined the defendant \$25, telling him that he need not pay it at once as he had 20 days in which to appeal to the criminal court. Naturally the fine was not paid. After the 20 days had elapsed, and no appeal was taken, the justice was asked by the attorney for the people to issue an execution. He declined to do so except upon order of the State's attorney. This being communicated to the State's attorney, an officer was sent from that office to the justice to see what he wanted, the State's attorney saying there was no foundation in law for his position and for that reason refused to make such order or request to the justice to do what it was the duty of the justice to do as a matter of course. The justice still refused to issue the execution without such order, said even if we brought him the order and he did not then give us the execution, we could go into court and mandamus him. We notified him that if he still refused we would ask for his indictment from the grand jury for refusing to do his official duty. On receipt of that notice he said we could have any kind of an execution we wanted.

In no case before a justice did we get the maximum fine imposed—\$100. In all we got some 21 indictments by the grand jury. Three of those cases have been tried in the criminal court of Cook County, one a specially brutal assault, where we thought we were entitled to a finding of assault with intent to do great bodily injury, the jury brought in a verdict of guilty of assault, and the judge imposed the maximum sentence, \$100 fine, which was at once paid by the president of the bricklayers' union.

In the next case the defendant got a number of his union associates to swear to an alibi, and the jury disagreed.

In the next case, after the State had put in its evidence, the judge, on motion of defendant's attorney and after an argument by the attorney in support of his motion, took the case from the jury without giving the State a chance to present its view of the law, the judge in my opinion acting upon an entire misconception of either the law or the evidence, or both.

In considering how the laws are administered by the criminal court of Cook County, it must be remembered that there are concerned in that the State's attorney's office, the clerk of the criminal court, the sheriff's office, and the four judges of the court, and as they are all elective offices, there is great danger that some of them will be unduly influenced by what they think is politics.

Q. Now, I would like to know, in brief, whether the Building Contractors' Council and the Building Trades Council are still in existence and doing business at the old stand?—A. The Building Trades Council is in existence. A great deal of its revenue has been taken from it by the withdrawal of more than half of its membership. I do not know how much longer it will continue to remain. The Contractors' Council is still existing as vigorously as ever.

Q. As a matter of fact, then, the withdrawal from the Building Trades Council by some of the old unions, the formation of some new unions, and the permits granted to members of the old unions to engage to the contractors have raised the embargo on labor so that you have been able to carry on business substantially unhampered?—A. Yes.

Q. Is there any present excitement or controversy in the building trades on either side in Chicago?—A. No; I think not. I think things are pretty well quieted down. Since I came here I got a telegram from our people to the effect that the carpenters had made an agreement with the employers' association. That was the only trade left with the Building Trades Council that had any large number of members.

Q. Is there considerable activity in the building line in Chicago?—A. There is a promise of considerable building. It is the season of the year in which usually there is not much work in Chicago. The winter is harder there than it is here. But we are all expecting a busy season.

Q. Can you estimate the loss to those engaged in building operations—that is to say, contractors and workmen—as a result of that prolonged deadlock?—A. It would run up into the millions, but no one can make a very close estimate—that is, the loss of profits by the contractors and the loss of wages by the men.

Q. I saw a statement that it was estimated at about \$14,000,000.—A. I should think that might be an over statement.

Q. Do you think it would reach \$10,000,000?—A. I should think it might be \$5,000,000; that is about what I think.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) You made some criticism upon the system of business agents used in the Building Trades Council. Was not the adoption of that system due to the victimizing of individuals who appeared as representatives of the individual trade unions?—A. I do not think it was.

Q. You have no knowledge to that effect in your own experience?—A. No.

Q. The business agent is under salary from the union that he represents?—A. Yes.

Q. The business agent is not subject to the discharge of any individual employer?—A. No.

Q. And that is the excuse given, is it not, for the employment of the business agent?—A. I think it is.

Q. You have no knowledge, however, whether that excuse is well founded or not?—A. Why, I do not think that an employer would object to his being a business agent or to the performance of the duty which he could lawfully do and properly do. What they object to more than anything else is the arbitrary things which he does and the arbitrary way in which he does them.

Q. You do not object to the fact that the union shall have an agent?—A. Oh, not at all.

Q. Nor a representative?—A. Nor an agent under a salary, nor under a good salary; the best salary that they could pay—not at all.

Q. Now, as a matter of preference, do you prefer to deal with an authorized agent if some means could be adopted for intelligent action?—A. My own individual preference is for individual relations between the employer and individual workmen.

Q. You have an organization of the contractors, have you not?—A. Yes.

Q. Why should you not recognize the organization of employed?—A. We do. I say very frankly that I do not attend the meetings of the contractors' council because I enjoy them. It is a great demand on my time when I have to devote my evenings also, as I often do.

Q. You believe that your organization of the contractors' council is a great benefit in the way of concerted action?—A. Simply to combat the concert of action by the other parties.

Q. You find a benefit from that concert of action, do you not?—A. Yes.

Q. Would it not be the fact that the other organizations find a benefit from concert of action also?—A. I do not question it.

Q. Your association is a voluntary association—it is not incorporated?—A. It is not.

Q. You intend to have it incorporated?—A. We may. We intend to consult our attorney on that point.

Q. At present it is a voluntary association?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, have you any regulations that require certain action by the members under certain conditions under penalty of fine?—A. No. We have never in our contractors' council expelled anybody, fined anybody, nor have we in the association in our own individual trade.

Q. Have you any regulations providing for such action?—A. No.

Q. (By Mr. PHILLIPS.) How old is your council?—A. About 2 years.

Q. What induced it?—A. It was formed solely to unite against the combination of the trade union.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) You spoke of some new unions that were formed. These new unions were formed out of men who had formerly been members of the established trade unions?—A. Yes.

Q. These new unions were formed by the encouragement of the employers?—A. Yes.

Q. Are these new unions recognized among the established trade unions as bona fide?—A. I think the old unions which belong to the Building Trades Council would not recognize them. They consider them as not being union men.

Q. Do you know whether they have any charters from any recognized State or national trade union?—A. The only charters that I know of their having are from the State of Illinois.

Q. That is, of incorporation?—A. Yes.

Q. Then they would be regarded by the ordinary run of trade unions as non-union men.—A. Yes.

Q. You spoke of picketing and that there had been no decisions of the courts touching upon that point?—A. No decisions of the supreme court of the State of Illinois.

Q. But there have been decisions of the courts upon that question?—A. Oh, yes. It has been passed upon by two or three supreme courts in other States.

Q. And they have, within proper bounds, justified the employment of pickets?—A. I do not know of any decision in any supreme court in any State of the United States that has justified the employment of any pickets.

Q. Do you know of decisions of any courts that have justified them?—A. I am talking about courts of last resort.

Q. Do you know of any case where the lower court has given a decision in favor of picketing and where that decision has been appealed to a higher court?—A. Yes.

Q. Is that decision still pending?—A. No. In every case the court of last resort decided that any picketing was unlawful.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) How long has this strike been in existence?—A. Just about one year. It began on the 15th of February, 1900.

Q. How many workmen have been thrown out of employment by that strike, both in the building trades and in the manufacture of building material?—A. The Building Trades Council of Chicago claimed a membership of 20,000 at one time, but they went back gradually and it would be pretty hard to say how many have been out on an average in the year. I suppose a quarter of them—about that.

Q. Have any industries left Chicago as a result of this strike since the subcommittee was there in the spring?—A. I do not know.

Q. Did you say you did not know what influences were brought to bear upon the banks to induce them to coerce the city government into activity?—A. I do not think any influence was brought to bear on the banks. I never heard of any. My opinion is that they were brought to bear on the city and it was an entire surprise to us and entirely unlooked for. But there are a half a dozen banks right there on the same street and within a block of where this rioting was taking place for a week, and I should not think they would need much other influence than that.

Q. Do you regard this at all as an unjustifiable interference of the money power in the affairs of the city government?—A. I regard it as a very justifiable act.

Q. Do you know how the workmen viewed it?—A. I do not.

Q. You said that the banks demanded Mr. Carroll's removal from the civil-service commission; was he removed?—A. He was, and Carter Harrison wrote him a very nice letter thanking him for his services in the past and saying that if the contractors would only do as much as he had done in giving up his \$3,000 job to devote all his time to the work of the Building Trades Council, that matters would perhaps soon be settled.

Q. Mr. Carroll was removed from that commission, then, I take it, not because he had not given satisfaction to the city administration, but because the banks, who held the purse strings, demanded it?—A. Yes; that is my understanding of it.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Had there not been publication in one of the Chicago newspapers of what they called Mr. Carroll's criminal record?—A. Yes; that may have been what caused the banks to take these steps with regard to Mr. Carroll, but that was not why Mr. Carroll was removed. He was removed because the banks insisted on his removal.

Q. You spoke about the attitude of the Chicago courts in these labor troubles. The attitude of those courts is exceptional, is it not, in the matter of labor troubles in the country in the past several years?—A. I do not know much about the attitude of other courts—that is, lower courts, justice courts.

Q. Have not the great railroad corporations been able, particularly to get injunctions, to restrain workmen in strikes?—A. There were not many injunctions they got that they were not entitled to.

Q. Do you believe that the workmen of the country generally believe that they do not get justice in the courts?—A. Why, I think the labor leaders are always talking about the antagonism of the courts to organized labor. It seems to me they ought to antagonize the organizations, the way organized labor comes before them.

Q. Is it your experience that courts that are elective are more apt to take sides in their decisions with the labor side of the question than they are with the capital side of the question?—A. I think they do.

Q. Are you in favor of the elective system or the appointive system for the judiciary?—A. I am particularly in favor of a long tenure of office. I think it does not matter so much how a man gets there, provided that he knows that once he is there he does not have to ask for reelection again in a few years. Of course, all we want is a judge that will administer the laws impartially. We want a judge who will not be subject to influence either by the money power or by the power of the large organizations of labor.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) The further away the judge gets from the direct influence of the people the more apt he is to be an impartial judge; is that your idea?—A. I think so; yes.

Q. I would like to ask what you believe is going to be the future attitude of employers or capital towards organized labor?—A. Why, it ought to be—I do not know that it will be—that they will be perfectly satisfied to have the men organize as much as they choose, provided they respect the rights of the non-union man who does not want to join their organization, and respect the rights of the employer who prefers to employ somebody who does not belong to the organization.

Q. Do you look for a complete organization of the employers of labor?—A. I can not say that I do. Interests are so varied and so diverse that it would be pretty hard to procure unity of action amongst a lot of employers; it requires a great deal to do that.

Q. Being a member of the Chicago Building Contractors' Council, would you like to see all the building contractors of Chicago members of the council?—A. I do not know. I am perhaps in favor of no organization of either kind, or, at least none but what will allow all people to conduct business, and workmen to work who do not belong to any organization. That is my own individual preference.

Q. You would like to see all men free to do as they please inside the law irrespective of organization on either side, and yet you belong to one organization?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you not believe that it is almost necessary for workmen to become members of labor organizations?—A. I do not believe it is at all necessary in building industries. Any man can become an employer in almost any building trade with a very little capital, providing he has the credit of being a sensible man and a good mechanic. I do not think it is necessary to have unions in the building trades.

Q. Do the union men of Chicago get better wages and work shorter hours than they did thirty or thirty-five years ago when there was comparatively little organization among them?—A. They get shorter hours, but I can not believe they make any more money per year on account of the organizations than they would without them. They may get higher wages per hour.

Q. You are pretty familiar with this agreement that you submitted to the commission, are you not? [See agreement in Appendix, page 563.] You look upon that as a rather drastic agreement which was calculated to emasculate the power of the labor unions?—A. No; I do not.

Q. Why, then, would you shut out all outside influences except those of the men who are members of the immediate local union?—A. If we make a contract with anybody, we like to know that we are making it with a man who has the power to carry it out. We do not want to make a contract with a union and then have some other body, standing on one side, which is not a party to the contract reserve the right to annul it.

Q. Do you not believe that in society generally the injury of one is the concern of all?—A. Oh, I do not know. I have not followed that very much.

Q. You do not believe in that?—A. I do not think I could follow that very much.

Q. (By Mr. PHILLIPS.) Do you think that labor has properly shared in the development of the wealth and growth of the country? Do you think their wages have kept advancing in proportion to the amount of wealth that has been accumulated in the last 20 years?—A. Yes, I think they have. I do not profess to be an expert on it except in the building trades.

Q. You said a short time ago that the wages were not much in advance of what they were 30 years ago?—A. Well, no. What I said was I did not think they had been advanced by their organization.

Q. Do you think labor would get as good wages if not organized as it does in its organized form?—A. I think they would in the building trades—that is, for the year, I mean. I do not mean the months or hours, and the opportunities for working 3 days in the week, perhaps.

Q. You would not be willing to assert that in the rolling-mill business and manufacturing business generally labor would get the wages it does, if it was not organized?—A. I do not know anything about that business.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) Is there not an analogy between their business and yours?—A. There is a great difference; there may be an analogy. The difference is that in theirs a great deal of capital has to be invested before anybody can start; in ours a man can start almost without any capital.

Q. What protection to labor is it where a man can start without any capital?—A. Protection for what?

Q. For his wages.—A. The same protection there is to anybody else.

Q. Is there any protection for his wages when a man has not capital sufficient to do his business?—A. No.

Q. And the workman has to take that risk?—A. People who trust anybody who is irresponsible have to take that risk. As a matter of fact I think that under the law of the State of Illinois a laborer suing for wages and maintaining his suit is entitled to reasonable attorney's fees and costs, which does not apply to anybody else.

Q. Do they not also have a law making wages a first lien on the property?—A. I think there is such a law.

Q. Do you not know that those laws were put on the statute books of your State through the influence of labor organizations?—A. I do not know that they were.

Q. Are you aware of the fact that in the main such laws favorable to labor in the different states have been put on the statute books as a result of the power of labor organizations?—A. I think they may be.

Q. You admit that those laws are good laws to protect the rights of labor?—A. Some of the laws are good laws.

Q. Take the one we cited: Is not the law for the mechanics' lien a fair and just law?—A. Well, I am sure I do not know about it. I have heard a good many arguments on both sides. For instance, we are entitled under the law of the State of Illinois to a lien for the material furnished in the building.

Q. If an opportunity comes to use that law it may be a good law?—A. It may be a good law. But on the question of justice, I hardly think that the man that furnishes material or labor for a building should have a different kind of a law from the man who furnishes dry goods and groceries.

Q. Is it not on the general proposition that the State has a right to protect the weaker member of society?—A. I am sure I do not know.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) You spoke about a union outside of the trade union. Is that what is called the industrial union sometimes, that is incorporated?—A. There was an Industrial union formed. I have not said anything about it here, so I could not have referred to it. It gradually went to pieces, and what was left of it joined the old Building Trades Council. The independent unions I spoke of were unions in special trades, the carpenters and the hoisting engineers and the plumbers, which were formed by men who were dissatisfied with the action of the Building Trades Council, and as their union would not withdraw they withdrew from their union.

Q. The Industrial union, then, is not cutting any figure at the present time?—A. No; it has lost most of its members, and what was left went to the Building Trades Council.

Q. The unions you speak of are formed on trade lines?—A. Yes.

Q. And incorporated, as I understand?—A. A good many of them are incorporated—some of them.

Q. It is local to your State, is it?—A. Local entirely. There is no national affiliation.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) I would like to ask you about the first clause of the principles enumerated in the agreement you submit [see appendix]:

[Reading:] "There shall be no limitation as to the amount of work a man shall perform during his working-day." Is not that rather a drastic rule in a contract of this kind, if they expect workmen to accede to it?—A. I do not know of a single objection that has been made to that particular clause where we have offered it to the unions.

Q. You know it was testified in Chicago that some contractors were in the habit—A. (Interrupting.) I do not doubt it was.

Q. Of working the men to death, putting the youngest and ablest workers in the lead and insisting on everybody else coming up to them. Now, ought not the workmen to have some voice in a matter of that kind, to see that they shall not be driven in such a way as that?—A. I think they would have a voice if they would. They would stop working for anybody that tried to get two days' work in one. But I think the unions have seen so much of the harm of the limitation of work that they are perfectly satisfied to have it this way, and they have made no objection to that part of it at all.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) The witness has used the word "union" very frequently. Do you know of any of these new associations incorporated under the laws of Illinois that use the word "union" at all?—A. I do not know whether they use the word "union" or not.

Q. You call them "new unions" in your testimony. Now, is there really one of those organized and called a union at all in its title? Are they not called associations?—A. I do not know what they are called.

Q. (By Mr. PHILLIPS.) Mr. Miller, have you anything to state that you have not covered, on any line at all?—A. Nothing that I think of, except to say that I think the whole thing will have to be fought out in the courts before we ever get final peace and satisfaction.

(Testimony closed.)

EXHIBIT ATTACHED TO TESTIMONY OF MR. JAMES A. MILLER.

The following agreement was submitted by Mr. Miller as an example of the form of agreement demanded from the unions of their employees by members of the Building Contractors' Council of Chicago:

Agreement and working rules entered into between the Chicago Masons and Builders' Association and the United Order of American Bricklayers and Stone Masons' Union of Chicago, No. 21, of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union.

[June 27, 1900, to April 1, 1903.]

This agreement, made this 27th day of June, 1900, by and between the Chicago Masons and Builders' Association, party of the first part, and the United Order of American Bricklayers and Stone Masons' No. 21, of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union, party of the second part, for the purpose of preventing strikes and lockouts and facilitating a peaceful adjustment of all grievances and disputes which may from time to time arise between the employer and mechanics in the mason trade, witnesseth:

That both parties to this agreement hereby covenant and agree that they will not tolerate nor recognize any right of any other association, union, council, or body of men not direct parties to this agreement to order a strike or lockout, or otherwise interfere or dictate, and that work can be stopped only by an order signed jointly by the presidents of the association and union, parties hereto, or the joint arbitration board elected in accordance with this agreement; and that they will compel their members to comply with the arbitration agreement and working rules, as jointly agreed upon and adopted; and that where a member or members affiliated with either of the two parties to this agreement refuse to do so they shall be suspended from membership in the association or union to which they belong.

In conformity with the following principles, adopted by the Building Contractors' Council under date of April 24, 1900, both parties hereto this day hereby adopt said principle as an absolute basis for their joint working rules and to govern the actions of the joint arbitration board, as hereinafter provided for, to remain in full force and effect until April 1, 1903.

No limitation of work.—There shall be no limitation as to the amount of work a man shall perform during his working day. (Explanation: This means that men employed in the different lines of work shall each do a fair and honest day's work.)

Use of machinery.—There shall be no restriction of the use of machinery or tools. (Explanation: This means that all tools or machinery of whatsoever kind may be used in all trades or in the manufacture of any material entering into the construction of buildings.)

Unrestricted use of material.—There shall be no restriction of the use of any manufactured material, except prison-made. (Explanation: This means that any material may be used, no matter where or by whom it is made, except prison-made.)

No interference with workmen.—No person shall have the right to interfere with the workmen during working hours. (Explanation: This means that no person shall have the right to give orders to the men during working hours on the building except the employer or his representative.)

Apprentices.—The use of apprentices shall not be prohibited. (Explanation: This means that in each trade a fair agreement as to the number of apprentices shall be entered into, it being understood that apprentices shall not be subject to union rules, and shall at all times be under the control of the employer.)

Foreman.—The foreman shall be the agent of the employer. (Explanation: This means that the foreman shall not be subject to union rules while acting as foreman, and that no fine shall be entered against him by any union, for any cause whatever, while acting in such capacity; it being understood that a foreman shall be a competent mechanic in his trade, and subject to the decisions of the joint arbitration board.)

Right to work.—All workmen are at liberty to work for whomsoever they see fit. (Explanation: This means that a man can work for any employer who will give him work in his trade, it being understood that he shall demand and receive the wages agreed upon by the joint arbitration board, in his trade, under all circumstances.)

Right to employ.—Employers are at liberty to employ and discharge whomsoever they see fit. (Explanation: This means that the employer shall have the right to employ union or nonunion men, but all men shall receive the full wages agreed upon in their trade, and that any employer may employ or discharge any man he sees fit, without interference by any union.)

Arbitration board.—Both parties hereto agree that they will at their annual election of each year elect an arbitration committee to serve for 1 year or until their successors are elected and qualified. In case of death, expulsion, removal, or disqualification of a member or members of the arbitration committee, such vacancy shall be filled by the association or union at its next regular meeting.

Number of members.—The arbitration committee for each of the 2 parties hereto shall consist of 6 members, and they shall meet not later than the fourth Thursday of January, each year in joint session, when they shall organize a joint arbitration board by electing a president, secretary, treasurer, and umpire.

Qualifications of arbitration board.—No member who is not actively engaged in the mason trade, or occupies any other office in his association or union except the office of president, or holds a public office, either elective or appointive, under the municipal, county, State, or National Governments, shall be eligible to act as the representative in this trade joint arbitration board; and any member shall become disqualified to act as member of this trade joint arbitration board and cease to be a member thereof immediately upon his election or appointment to any other office in his association or union, or to any public office or employment.

Umpire.—An umpire shall be selected who is in no wise affiliated or identified with the building industry, and who is not an employee nor an employer of labor nor an incumbent of a political elective office.

Power of board.—The joint arbitration board shall have full power to enforce this agreement entered into between the parties hereto, and to make and enforce all working rules governing both parties. No strikes or lockouts shall be resorted to, pending the decision of the joint arbitration board.

Time of meeting.—The joint arbitration board shall meet to transact routine business the first Wednesday in each month, but special meetings may be called on 3 days' notice by the president upon application of three members.

Rules for procedure.—When a dispute or grievance arises between a journeyman and his employer (parties hereto), or an apprentice and his employer, the question at issue shall be submitted in writing to the presidents of the two organizations, and upon their failure to agree and settle it, or if one party to the dispute is dissatisfied with their decision, it shall then be submitted to the joint arbitrator board at their next regular meeting. They shall hear the evidence and decide in accordance therewith. All verdicts shall be decided by majority vote, by secret ballot, be rendered in writing, and be final and binding on both parties.

If the joint arbitration board is unable to agree, the umpire shall be requested to sit with them, and after he has heard the evidence, cast the deciding vote.

Power to summon members.—The joint arbitration board has the right to summon any member or members affiliated with either party hereto against whom complaint is lodged for breaking this joint arbitration agreement or working rules, and also appear as witnesses. The summons shall be handed to the president of the association or union to which the member belongs, and he shall cause the member or members to be notified to appear before the joint board on date set. Failure to appear when notified, except (in the opinion of the board) valid excuse is given, shall subject a member to a fine of \$25 for the first default, \$50 for the second, and suspension for the third.

Salary.—The salary of a representative on the joint arbitration board shall be paid by the association or union he represents.

Stopping of work.—No member or members affiliated with the second party shall leave his work because nonunion men in some other line of work or trade are employed on the building or job, or because nonunion men in any line or trade are employed on any other building or job, or stop or cause to be stopped any work under construction for any member or members affiliated with the first party, except upon written order signed by the presidents of the association and union (parties hereto) or the joint arbitration board under penalty of fine.

Penalties.—A fine of not less than 25 nor more than 100 dollars. Any member or members affiliated with either of the 2 parties hereto violating any part of this agreement or the working rules established by the joint arbitration board shall be subject to a fine of from 10 to 200 dollars, which fine shall be collected by the president of the association or union to which the offending member or members belong, and by him paid to the treasurer of the joint arbitration board not later than 3 days after the date of the levying of the fine.

Collection of penalties and suspensions.—If the fine is not paid by the offender or offenders, it shall be paid out of the treasury of the association or union of which the offender or offenders were members at the time the fine was levied against him or them, and within 60 days from date of levying same or in lieu thereof the association or union to which he or they belong shall suspend the offender or offenders and officially certify such suspension to the joint arbitration board within 60 days from the time of fining; and the joint arbitration board shall cause the suspension decree to be read by the presidents of both the association and union at their next regular meetings and then post said decree for 60 days in the meeting rooms of the association and union. No one who has been suspended from membership in the association or union for neglect or refusal to abide by the decision of the

joint arbitration board can be again admitted to membership except by paying his fine or by unanimous consent of the joint arbitration board.

Division of fines.—All fines assessed by the joint arbitration board and collected during the year shall be equally divided between the two parties hereto by the joint arbitration board at the last regular meeting in December.

Quorum.—Seven members present shall constitute a quorum in the joint arbitration board, but the chairman of each of the 2 arbitration committees shall have the right to cast the vote in the joint arbitration board for any absent member of his committee.

Steward.—The steward shall represent the journeymen. He shall be elected by and from among the men in his trade working on the same building, and shall, while acting as steward, be subject only to the rules and decisions of the joint arbitration board. No salary shall be paid to a journeyman for acting as steward. He shall not leave his work nor interfere with workmen during working hours. He shall always, while at work, carry a copy of the working rules with him.

The presidents shall be allowed to visit jobs during working hours to interview the contractor, steward, or men, at work, but they shall in no way hinder the progress of the work.

Number of apprentices.—Each employer shall have the right to teach his trade to apprentices, but no contractor or firm shall take more than 1 new apprentice each year, and they shall serve for a period of not less than 3 years, as prescribed in the apprentice rules attached hereto, and be subject to the control of the joint board of arbitration.

Working hours.—Eight hours shall constitute a day's work, except on Saturdays during the months of June, July, and August, when work may stop at 12 o'clock noon, with 4 hours' pay for that day.

Night work.—Eight hours shall constitute a night's work, which shall commence at 7 p. m. when 2 gangs are employed only, but when 3 gangs are employed 1 shift may follow the other immediately, and in that way work may be continuous.

Overtime.—Time and one-half to be paid for overtime. Work done between the hours of 5 p. m. and 8 a. m., and also Saturday afternoons during the months of June, July, and August, shall be paid for as overtime when only one shift of men are employed on the job.

No contractor shall work his men overtime except in case of actual necessity, the contractor to be the judge of the necessity, and for such overtime time and one-half shall be paid.

Double time.—Double time to be paid for work on Sundays throughout the year, and also for work done on the following 4 holidays (or days celebrated as such): Decoration Day, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving Day, and Christmas Day. Where work is carried on with 2 or 3 shifts of men, working 8 hours each, then only single time shall be paid for both night and day work during week days, and double time for Sundays and the above-mentioned holidays. No work shall be done on Labor Day.

Work done between the hours of 12 o'clock Saturday night to 12 o'clock Sunday night shall be considered as Sunday work and be paid for at the rate of double time. This applies also to the four holidays before mentioned.

Wages.—The minimum rate of wages to be paid bricklayers and stone masons shall be 50 cents per hour, payable in lawful money of the United States.

Hereafter when more than the minimum rate of wages is paid, no employer shall make a reduction in the wages of a bricklayer or stone mason without giving said man or men due notice previous to making said reduction.

Pay day.—It is hereby agreed that the journeymen shall be paid once every 2 weeks and not later than Tuesday, except when a contractor's work is widely scattered, when he will be allowed Wednesday to complete paying his men. When a journeyman is discharged he shall be paid in full, and also when he is laid off, if he demands it, except when the lay-off is caused by bad weather or story-high. When a journeyman quits work of his own accord he shall receive his pay on the next regular pay day.

Time checks.—Time checks, payable at the office of the employer, shall be considered valid, provided the journeyman be allowed a half hour extra time for each mile he has to travel to get to the office. If he is not paid promptly upon his arrival at the office, and if he shall remain there during working hours until he is paid, he shall be paid the regular wages for such waiting time.

No by-laws or rules conflicting with this arbitration agreement or working rules agreed upon shall be passed or enforced by either party hereto against any of its affiliated members.

It is earnestly recommended by the joint arbitration board that the fullest leniency be extended to members of both association and union for violations of rules during the lockout or strike.

It is agreed by the parties hereto that this agreement shall be in force between the parties hereto until April 1, 1903.

This agreement shall only become operative when the union withdraws permanently from the Building Trades Council and agrees not to become affiliated with any organization of a like character during the life of the agreement.

Apprentice rules.—Apprentices shall be under the jurisdiction of the joint arbitration board, which has the authority to control them and protect their interests subject to approved indentures entered into with their employers and the rules adopted by the joint board.

The applicant for apprenticeship shall be under 18 years of age.

The contractor taking an apprentice shall engage to keep him at work for 9 consecutive months in each year and see that during the remaining 3 months of the year the apprentice attends school. The first 2 years the apprentice shall attend a public school during the months of January, February, and March, and a certificate of attendance from the principal of any public school in Cook County will be accepted by the joint arbitration board as a compliance with this requirement. Three months of the last year he shall attend a technical school acceptable to the joint board, and a certificate that he has done so will be required before he is allowed to work during the coming year.

A contractor taking an apprentice shall keep him steadily at work, or failing to do so shall pay him the same as though he had worked for him. In case an apprentice at the end of his term for some cause is not a proficient workman, he may be required to serve another year if the joint board after a thorough investigation, so decides.

A contractor entitled to an apprentice may take one on trial for 2 weeks, provided the applicant holds a permit from the joint board, and if after trial the boy is unsatisfactory he need not enter into indentures, but shall pay the boy \$5 per week for the 2 weeks. No boy will be allowed a trial with more than 2 contractors.

The minimum wages of an apprentice shall be not less than \$250 for the first year, \$300 for the second year, \$350 for the third year, and \$400 for the fourth year, payable semi-monthly.

The issuing of permits for an apprentice to work for another contractor when the one to whom he is indentured has no work shall be left for decision to the joint arbitration board.

All apprentices indentured to members of the C. M. and B. A. shall report to the joint arbitration board on the first Wednesday in January, April, July, and October to receive their new quarterly cards. Apprentices not carrying the proper quarterly card will not be permitted to work.

WASHINGTON, February 12, 1901.

TESTIMONY OF PROF. GRAHAM TAYLOR,*Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary and President Chicago Commons.*

The commission met at 12.35 p. m., Mr. Phillips presiding. At that time Prof. Graham Taylor was introduced as a witness, and, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Please give your name and post-office address.—A. Graham Taylor, 140 North Union street, Chicago.

Q. Are you a professor in the Chicago University?—A. No; I am a professor in the Sociological Department of the Chicago Theological Seminary, 81 Ashland boulevard.

Q. Have you made a special study of sociological conditions in Chicago and particularly concerning the labor classes and the building trade strikes in the last year or two?—A. Yes; I have for 8 years done so, and in order to do so have lived among the industrial classes in what is called the Chicago Commons, which is one of the "social settlements" of the city, making my home there for these 6 years with my family and a group of 20 other people who have established this neighborhood center.

Q. Will you please proceed in your own way to give the commission information concerning your studies?—A. I should like, if the commission is agreeable, to speak first of the effect of the proposed agreement between the carpenter contractors and the carpenter unions, if ratified by a referendum vote of the unions, on the building trades lockout.¹ That is the latest phase of the struggle and is likely to be the final phase; and I brought with me a manuscript copy of the agreement provided for me by the officials, which I will submit in evidence.

The following is a copy of the agreement [afterward adopted] submitted by the witness:

This agreement, made this seventh day of February, 1901, by and between the Carpenters and Builders' Association of Chicago, and the Master Carpenters' Association of Chicago (employers), parties of the first part, and the Carpenters' Executive Council, party of the second part, for the purpose of preventing strikes and lockouts and facilitating a peaceful adjustment of all grievances and disputes which may, from time to time, arise between the employer and mechanics in the carpenter trade.

II. *No outside interference.*—Witnesseth that all the parties to this agreement hereby covenant and agree that they will not tolerate nor recognize any right of any other association, union, council, or body of men, not directly parties hereto, to interfere in any way with the carrying out of this agreement, and that they will use all lawful means to compel their members to comply with the arbitration agreement and working rules as jointly agreed upon and adopted.

III. *Principles upon which this agreement is based.*—All the parties hereto this day hereby adopt the following principles as an absolute basis for their joint working rules, and to govern the action of the joint arbitration board as hereinafter provided for.

1. That there shall be no limitation as to the amount of work a man shall perform during his working day.

2. That there shall be no restriction of the use of machinery or tools.

3. That there shall be no restriction of the use of any manufactured material, except prison-made.

4. That no person shall have the right to interfere with the workmen during working hours.

5. That the use of apprentices shall not be prohibited.

6. That the foreman shall be the agent of the employer.

7. That all workmen are at liberty to work for whomever they see fit.

8. That all employers are at liberty to employ and discharge whomever they see fit.

IV. *Hours.*—Eight hours shall constitute a day's work, except on Saturdays, when work shall stop at twelve o'clock noon, with four hours' pay for the day.

V. *Overtime.*—Time and one-half shall be paid for overtime. Work done between the hours of 5 p. m. and 8 a. m. shall be paid for as overtime when only one shift of men are employed on the job.

VI. *Holidays.*—Double time shall be paid for work done on Sundays throughout the year and on Saturday afternoons, also for work done on the following five holidays (or days celebrated as such): Decoration Day, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, and New Year's Day. Sunday and holiday time to cover any time during the 24 hours of the said calendar days.

VII. *Extra shifts.*—Where work is carried on with two or three shifts of men, working eight hours each, then only single time shall be paid for both night and day work during week days, and double time for Sundays and the above-mentioned holidays. The same men shall not be worked on two consecutive shifts.

VIII. *Labor Day.*—No work shall be done on Labor Day except by consent of the two presidents.

IX. *Wages.*—The minimum rate of wages to be paid until April 1st, 1902, shall be 42¢ per hour, and 45¢ per hour from said date until April 1st, 1903, payable in lawful money of the United States.

The party of the second part hereby agrees that no member affiliated with the party of the second part shall work for anyone for less than this rate of wages in Cook County, Illinois.

And it is further agreed by the parties of the first part to hire no one in this trade except to whom he or they shall pay the wages agreed upon by the joint board of arbitration.

X. *Pay day.*—It is agreed that journeyman shall be paid every week, and not later than 5 p. m. Wednesday.

XI. *Time and method of payment of wages.*—The wages are to be paid on the work in full up to and including the Saturday night preceding pay day.

¹This agreement was afterwards adopted by the carpenters' unions.

When a workman quits work of his own accord, he shall receive his pay on the next regular pay day. When a man is discharged or laid off, if he so requests, he shall be either paid in cash on the work, or given a time check, with one hour added for travelling time, which shall be paid at once upon presentation at the office of employer, and if he is not paid promptly upon his arrival at the office, and if he shall remain there during working hours he shall be paid the minimum wages to such waiting time, Sundays and holidays excepted.

XII. Piecework.—No member of the parties of the first part shall sublet or piece out their carpenter work, neither shall any journeyman who is a member of the party of the second part be permitted to take piecework in any shape or manner from any owner or contractor, whether he be a member of the parties of the first part or not.

XIII. Working with nonunion men.—The party of the second part shall not work with carpenter except they are affiliated with the Carpenters' Executive Council, and no member or members affiliated with the second party shall leave his work because nonunion men in some other line of work or trade are employed on the building or job, or because nonunion men in any line or trade are employed on any other building or job, or stop, or cause to be stopped, any work under construction for any member or members affiliated with the first parties, except upon written order signed by the presidents of the associations and union (parties hereto) or the joint arbitration board.

XIV. Foreman.—The foreman, if a union man, shall not be subject to the rules of his union while acting as foreman, and no fines shall be entered against him by his union while acting in such capacity. It being understood that a foreman shall be a competent mechanic in his trade, and be subject to the decisions of the joint arbitration board. There shall be but one foreman on each job.

XV. Steward.—Whenever two or more journeymen, members of the second party, are working together, a steward shall be selected by them from their number to represent them, who shall, while acting as steward, be subject to the rules and decisions of the joint arbitration board. No salary shall be paid to a journeyman for acting as steward. He shall not leave his work or interfere with workmen during working hours and shall perform his duties as steward so as not to interfere with his duty to his employer.

He shall always, while at work, carry a copy of the working rules with him.

XVI. Apprentices.—Each employer shall have the right to teach his trade to apprentices, and the said apprentices shall serve for a period of not less than three years, as prescribed in the apprentice rules to be agreed upon by the joint arbitration board, and shall be subject to control of the said joint arbitration board. No apprentice shall be over 21 years of age.

XVII. Arbitration.—All the parties hereto agree that any and all disputes between any member or members of the employers' association on the one side and any member or members of the union on the other side, during the life of this agreement, shall be settled by arbitration in the manner hereinafter provided for, and for that purpose all parties hereto agree that they will at their annual election of each year elect an arbitration committee to serve one year (except the Carpenters' and Builders' Association, see section 3 of article 6 of their constitution) and until their successors are elected and qualified. In case of death, expulsion, removal, or disqualification of a member or members on the arbitration committee, such vacancy shall be filled by the association or union at its next regular meeting.

The arbitration committee of each of the three parties hereto shall consist as follows: Five members from the Carpenters and Builders' Association, three from the Master Carpenters' Association, and eight from the Carpenters' Executive Council, and they shall meet not later than the fourth Thursday of January each year in joint session, when they shall organize a joint arbitration board by electing a president, secretary, treasurer, and umpire.

The joint arbitration board shall have full power to enforce this agreement, entered into between the parties hereto, and to make and enforce all lawful working rules governing both parties. No strikes, lockouts, or stoppage of work shall be resorted to pending the decision of the joint arbitration board. When a dispute or grievance arises between a journeyman and employer (parties hereto) or an apprentice and his employer, the question at issue shall be submitted in writing to the presidents of the two organizations, and upon their failure to agree and settle it, or if one party to the dispute is dissatisfied with the decision, it shall then be submitted to the joint arbitration board at their next regular meeting. If the joint arbitration board is unable to agree the umpire shall be requested to sit with them, and after he has heard the evidence, cast the deciding vote. All verdicts shall be decided by majority vote, by secret ballot, be rendered in writing, and be final and binding on all the parties to the dispute.

XVIII. Who are disqualified to serve on arbitration committee.—No member who is not actively engaged in the trade nor holds a public office, either elective or appointive, under the municipal, county, State, or National Government, shall be eligible to sit as the representative in this trade arbitration board, and any member shall become disqualified to act as a member of this trade joint arbitration board and cease to be a member thereof immediately upon his election or appointment to any public office or employment.

XIX. Umpire.—An umpire shall be selected who is nowise affiliated or identified with the building industry, and who is not an employee or employer of labor, nor an incumbent of a political office.

XX. Meetings.—The joint arbitration board shall meet to transact routine business the first Thursday in each month, but special meetings shall be called on three days' notice by the presidents of the two organizations, or upon application of three members of the joint arbitration board.

XXI. Fines for nonattendance as witness.—The joint arbitration board has the right to summon any member or members affiliated with any of the parties hereto, against whom complaints are lodged for breaking this agreement or working rules, and also appear as witness. The summons shall be handed to the president of the association or union to which the member belongs, and he shall cause the member or members to be notified to appear before the joint arbitration board on date set. Failure to appear when notified, except (in the opinion of the board) valid excuse is given, shall subject a member to a fine of twenty-five (\$25) dollars for the first offense, fifty (\$50) dollars for the second, and suspension for the third.

XXII. Salaries.—The salary of each representative on the joint arbitration board shall be paid by the association or union he represents.

XXIII. Quorum.—Seven (7) members present shall constitute a quorum in the joint arbitration board.

XXIV. Fines & result of arbitration.—Any member or members affiliated with either of the three parties hereto, violating any part of this agreement or working rules established by the joint arbitration board, shall be subject to a fine of from ten (\$10) to two hundred (\$200) dollars, which fine shall be collected by the president of the association or union to which the offending member or members belong, and by him paid to the treasurer of the joint arbitration board, not later than thirty (30) days after the date of the levying of the fine.

If the fine is not paid by the offender or offenders it shall be paid out of the treasury of the association or union of which the offender or offenders were members at the time the fine was levied against him or them, and within sixty (60) days of date of levying same; or in lieu thereof the asso-

ciation or union to which he or they belonged shall suspend the offender or offenders and officially certify such suspension to the joint arbitration board within sixty (60) days from the time of fining, and the joint arbitration board shall cause the suspension decree to be read by the presidents of both the associations and union at their next regular meeting, and then post said decree for sixty (60) days in the meeting rooms of the association and union. No one who has been suspended from membership in the associations or union for neglect or refusal to abide by the decisions of the joint arbitration board can be again admitted to membership except by paying his fine or by unanimous consent of the joint arbitration board.

All fines assessed by the joint arbitration board and collected during the year shall be equally divided between the two parties hereto by the joint arbitration board at the last regular meeting in December.

XXV. *Rules for arbitration board and for parties hereto.*—All disputes arbitrated under this agreement must be settled by the joint arbitration board, and in conformity with the principles and agreements herein contained, and nothing herein can be changed by the joint arbitration board. No by-laws or rules conflicting with this agreement or working rules agreed upon shall be passed or enforced by either parties hereto against any of its affiliated members in good standing.

XXVI. *Termination.*—It is agreed by the parties hereto that this agreement shall be in force between the parties hereto until April 1st, 1908.

XXVII. *Withdrawal from the Building Trades Council.*—This agreement shall become operative when the union withdraws permanently from the Building Trades Council. It being understood and agreed that after so doing affiliation with a new central body, composed solely of mechanic trades employed on buildings, will in no way effect the terms of this agreement, provided that the constitution, by-laws, and rules of such central body are not in conflict at any time with the terms of this agreement and that the said central body shall not be called "The Building Trades Council."

I would then like to proceed, after discussing this agreement, to the matter of an assertion of the rights of the public to have the issue settled and the efforts made to arbitrate it.

By the way, I have carefully looked over the pages of your testimony and have made every effort to avoid referring to, or repeating rather, what you have had already, and to touch upon such points as, it seemed to me, by looking over the digest, you have not had brought before you, at least fully.

As a third point I would discuss some reasons for the disturbance in industrial relations that obtain especially in the city of Chicago; and as a fourth point I would like to describe movements and efforts to better the industrial relationships between the parties at issue. And if it be your pleasure, I will proceed in that order.

MR. PHILLIPS. We would be pleased to have you take your own course, Professor.

EFFECT OF CARPENTERS' AGREEMENT.

The WITNESS. First of all, the effect of the proposed agreement between the carpenter contractors and the unions, if ratified by a referendum vote of the unions, upon the building trades lockout in Chicago.

From official figures drawn from the books of the Building Trades Council and acknowledged by the officials of the Building Trades Council last Saturday to be official, I make the following statement (submitting the full figures in evidence and giving a little classification of them): If the carpenter unions vote to ratify this agreement which has been passed upon by the contractors' committee and the carpenter unions' committee, it will withdraw a representation of 4,300 members from the Building Trades Council, which, added to the 8,645 members of 12 unions previously withdrawn, and 1 union which has been previously suspended, make a total withdrawal of 12,945 members of the largest and most influential unions constituting the trades most essential to the building interests.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) When you speak of the carpenters there, do you speak of the two associations, the Amalgamated and the United Brotherhood?—A. Yes; it is the Carpenters' Executive Council which combines those two. It will leave in the Building Trades Council 19 unions with a membership of 6,480.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) It is not so large an organization as we were told it was when we were in Chicago.—A. You must recollect, however, that these enumerations are made at the time of the withdrawals, and thousands and thousands of men were forced out of the city and the unions shrank, I presume, 10,000 men.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) Those are the figures as of last Saturday, I understand?—A. Yes; let me say also they differ from some of the figures which I found in the Chicago papers on Friday, but I am assured by the Building Trades Council men that these are the official figures.

Of these 19 unions remaining in the council, the largest and most important are the painters and decorators, with 2,950 members; the stonecutters, with 700 members; the stone sawyers, with 155 members; the stone carvers, with 100—they are important, though small; the stone derrick men, again, are important, though they only have 100 members; the sheet-metal workers, with 880; hoisting engineers, 150; boiler makers, 200; architectural ironworkers, 175. That is all I need to enumerate. The other unions beside these that are left in the Building Trades Council are those the legitimacy of whose inclusion in the council has long been

against the protest of the contractors and more or less questioned by the most conservative union men.

Now, my conclusion upon the effect of the ratification of this agreement upon the numerical strength and the existence of the Building Trades Council is that, while not necessarily absolutely destroying the existence of the council, the withdrawal of the carpenter unions will so deplete its strength as to make it practically ineffective.

Some of the officers assured me that the principal bodies remaining had assured them of their intention of standing by the council; but I think that my conclusion would be that of everybody knowing all the facts. Let me just add, I have the particulars in regard to the names and members of the unions remaining in the council and the unions withdrawn, and submit them as a part of my evidence. I can not swear as to their being correct, but as to the assurance of their correctness.

(The witness submitted the following statement:)

Statement showing (February 12, 1901) which unions, with their numerical strength, had withdrawn from the Chicago Building Trades Council as a result of the building trades strikes in that city; also which unions remained in the council, with their numerical strength.

UNIONS WITHDRAWN FROM THE BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL OF CHICAGO.		UNIONS REMAINING IN THE BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL OF CHICAGO.	
	Members.		Members.
Carpenters' Executive Council.....	4,300	Sheet Metal Workers.....	350
Tile Layers.....	100	Boiler Makers.....	200
Tile Layers' Helpers.....	100	Architectural Iron Workers.....	175
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	100	Painters and Decorators.....	2,950
Hod Carriers.....	3,500	Elevator Constructors.....	175
Bricklayers.....	2,225	Gravel Roofers.....	150
Plumbers.....	400	Holisting Engineers.....	155
Plasterers.....	360	Italian Mosaic Helpers.....	100
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.....	700	Marble Cutters.....	100
Steam Fitters.....	300	Marble Setters' Helpers.....	100
Junior Steam Fitters.....	230	Lathers.....	300
Gas Fitters.....	250	Paper Hangers.....	150
Electricians (suspended).....	400	Stone Cutters.....	700
		Stone Sawyers.....	155
		Stone Derrick Men.....	100
		Stone Carvers.....	100
		Tunnel Miners.....	300
		Steam Pipe and Boiler Curvers.....	100
		Marble, Enamel & Glass Mosaic Workers.....	100
	12,945		6,480

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) I would like to ask if the statements made to the commission as to the membership of the Building Trades Council last March were correct? They were various—I think from 40,000 to 60,000.—A. Who made them, please?

Q. Well, different persons, I believe, who were before the commission; and I believe I read in the Chicago papers that they were stated to be all the way from 40,000 to 60,000. I would like to ask, in view of the figures you submit and the probable number you say left the city, if these figures were exaggerated?—A. Very much; and, in order to confirm my judgment in that matter, let me cite from the Times-Herald of February 8, where the recapitulation is different from mine, and, I think, not official, as mine is. They say the former strength was 30,000—that is all they can make—and they allow that there have been 6,537 withdrawals to other cities. However, they say only 3,881 remained, which, I think, is an underestimate. Of course, that is simply some reporter's work. You will find statistics are exceedingly uncertain in all these lines.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) Your figures are taken from immediate contact with the officers?—A. They are taken right from the books of the Building Trades Council—not by myself, but by others whose report they acknowledged or recognized to be true, the Building Trades Council officers—on Saturday.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Here is the statement [referring to printed testimony] made by Cargoll, Gubbins, and others—from 45,000 to 60,000 men.—A. Just think of saying 45,000 to 60,000. That of itself shows how uncertain they are. Of course it is a question of judgment anyhow. There is no real census taken.

Turning now to consider the effect of the terms of this proposed agreement upon the issues involved in the struggle. This has been the greatest point of resistance throughout the whole struggle which was included in the list of the so-called conditions in what is commonly known as the "contractors' ultimatum," issued April 30, 1900, to wit: "That the agreement shall only become

operative"—that is, the agreement between the contractors and any trade of the building trades unions—"when the union withdraws permanently from the Building Trades Council and agrees not to become affiliated with any organization of a like character during the life of the agreement." That was the last condition, insisted upon invariably in every utterance of the contractors until this carpenters' agreement, and this point is compromised in the final article of that agreement, namely, Article XXVII, which reads: "This agreement shall become operative when the union withdraws permanently from the Building Trades Council"—that is, just as it was before—"it being understood and agreed that after so doing affiliation with a new central body composed solely of mechanic trades employed on buildings will in no way affect the terms of this agreement, provided that the constitution, by-laws, and rules of such central body are not in conflict at any time with the terms of this agreement and that the said central body shall not be called 'The Building Trades Council.'"

In this article the unions agree to withdraw from the present Building Trades Council, and the contractors concede their right to affiliate in another, provided that the other does not bear the name of this and that it consists only of the mechanic trades employed on buildings.

Now the bridge and structural iron workers also, I am reminded, had a similar clause in their agreement: "This agreement shall become operative when the union withdraws permanently from the Building Trades Council, it being agreed that after so doing affiliation with a new central body composed solely of mechanic trades employed on buildings will in no way affect the terms of this agreement, provided that the constitution, by-laws, and rules of such central body are not in conflict at any time with the terms of this agreement." That is evidently there for the same reason. That is evidently a concession made by the Contractors' Council on this point of most fatal disagreement throughout the entire struggle. Now I wish to conclude by this assertion, proof of which will appear in another part of my testimony, that had this point been conceded earlier by the contractors to the unions the principal obstacle between the parties at issue would have been eliminated, because it was the most irritating difference, making more friction than any other single point of the discussion. In all the efforts to arbitrate everything hinged on that. If this action had been taken earlier, in my judgment thousands of dollars would have been saved to the city of Chicago and much of this valuable time, although it would not have settled the whole thing, as I will go on to show.

ADVANTAGES GAINED BY EACH SIDE.

Advantages gained by the contractors: (1) The dissolution of the present Building Trades Council and the elimination of the very name of the objectionable body from any central body of the affiliated building trades that may be formed in its place. (2) The practical elimination of the sympathetic strike. (3) Disputes between employers and employees are to be arbitrated. (4) There is no limitation on the amount of a day's work. (5) The use of apprentices is allowed. (6) The walking delegate or business agent is supplanted by a steward appointed by the men in any trade actually working on the job. He is to be the employers' agent, and is not to be held to the rules of his union, though he is to belong to the union. (8) The elimination from any new affiliation of building trades of all unions, except those of the mechanic trades employed on buildings, and of the trade vote, which latter was very justly complained of by the employers and seriously doubted, in my judgment, by many of the most conservative of the building trades men.

It has wrought a change in the articles of the Building Trades Council constitution. For instance, it provided that "The unit rule shall prevail in all such cases." This is what has been eliminated. "Trade vote shall be ordered on call of four trades without consent of the house." You can easily see how, for instance, the carpenters with 4,300 men would have no more voice than the mosaic setters with 100 men. It is precisely on the same basis as the United States Senate, giving an equal representation to the several trades, as to the several States. But that trade vote has been eliminated from the constitution by the Building Trades Council as it now stands.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.)—You spoke about some unions that were obnoxious to the contractors, I believe; that they did not think were properly in the Building Trades Council. Did you say something about that?—A. Yes; not because they were obnoxious, but because they were irrelevant.

¹ The text of the contractors' ultimatum is printed at p. 568.

² Adopted in October, 1900, and practically identical in general provisions with that of the carpenters.

Q. They were properly building trades people?—A. They were so loosely attached to the building trades—on the ornamental side, such as the mosaic setters.

Q. I just wanted you to enumerate those unions.—A. Tile layers, tile helpers, marble-setters' helpers, and marble-cutters, steam-pipe and boiler helpers—those that were more loosely attached—trades that as you see were more or less irrelevant to the structural work of the building.

Q. Under this agreement these unions are to be excluded from any central body that shall be built up out of the building trades?—A. Yes; only the mechanic trades employed on buildings. You see the contracts with these men are often subtle and they do not come directly in contact with the contractor, and it greatly complicated questions of disagreement or agreement.

Q. Would it be objectionable to the contractors, do you think, if they had representation in the central body according to their numbers?—A. Yes, I think it would.

Now, the advantages to the unions in this proposed agreement are as follows: (1) They retain the Saturday half holiday, with double pay if obliged to work. And let me say here the men do not want the money; they want to prevent contractors unnecessarily making them work on these Saturday half holidays. (2) The 8-hour day. (3) 42½ cents per hour until April 1, 1902, and thereafter 45 cents per hour. (4) Piecework prohibited. (5) Weekly pay day. (6) Not obliged to work with nonunion men of the same trade though they are not to object to working with nonunion men of other trades. (7) Nonunion men are to have the union scale of wages. As far as I can balance them, those are the advantages to either side of the controversy.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) The scale you read is the carpenters scale?—A. Yes; I do not know as it is wise at all to read this, especially as you will be able to read it in the evidence if you care to print it; but this is likely to be the basis of the final settlement. This was supplied to me by the president of the Carpenters' Executive Council.

Q. That is the agreement now on referendum vote?—A. Yes; and that will be decided in two weeks. They are now discussing it.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) I would like to ask wherein particularly this contract which is about to be submitted to the carpenters differs from that between the bricklayers and contractors?—A. The bricklayers have never been very closely identified with the Building Trades Council, and their withdrawal was no great surprise to the representatives of the other trades. There was nothing to correspond to this final agreement—that the bricklayers' unions could affiliate with any other central body. They stick to the rules of the old ultimatum (reading): "This agreement shall only become operative when the union withdraws permanently from the Building Trades Council and agrees not to become affiliated with any organization of a like character during the life of the agreement."

Q. You state they were not strongly affiliated with the Building Trades Council?—A. No; they have never been considered as closely identified with the Building Trades Council as, for instance, the carpenters or steam fitters or structural iron workers. For some reason or other they have always been a more independent body in their policy and action than any of the other large unions in Chicago.

Q. It seems to me when I was in Chicago their president was as brazen a Building Trades Council man as anybody before the commission.—A. Yes; he was.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Do you think the fact of the partial lack of sympathy or affiliation may have been due to the existence, some years previously, of a working agreement between the bricklayers and the contractors somewhat like that in Boston and New York?—A. Yes; for a period of not less than 8 years I think they never had any strike or lockout in the trade. They met and thrashed out their differences in council and kept it up until the end, and I think they were in closer affiliation with their employers. Furthermore, quite a large number of employers of bricklayers had been members of the union—risen from the ranks and had more or less knowledge of the working of the union.

I wish briefly now to speak of the assertion of the rights of the public to have the issue decided, and of efforts to arbitrate, and in evidence I will submit an article written by myself and printed in the trades journal, "Domestic Engineering," which accounts for my special interest and my vantage point in giving evidence that is not ~~ex~~ parte. I might explain that the Chicago Commons' Association, of which I am president, was erecting a \$60,000 building just at this time, and all work stopped on that building the 5th day of February, and was not resumed until the latter part of August. I was responsible for the money that was being invested in that building. It was a building for the social settlement, and, consequently, I was thrown directly between the lines of the contractors and the building trades' unions in the period of their sharpest contention.

I was asked to write on the ethics of the situation for this trade journal, which has to do with the plumbing, ventilating, and heating branches of domestic work. Before I published it I thought I would like to see whether it was fair and just, as it was a critical time in the controversy, and I submitted my copy for the printer to some workmen—labor leaders not directly identified with the building trades and yet closely affiliated with them—and likewise to certain employers not directly identified with the Contractors' Council and yet in very friendly affiliation with them, and, securing the approval of these representatives of two main issues involved, I then took counsel with two prominent editors and proprietors of newspapers of the city as to whether I, in their judgment, would do any public service by accepting the invitation to address a convention of all the trades unions of the city; called to consider the building trades lockout. Upon their advice, and upon their assurance that they would publish my speech as written by me, I accepted the invitation to address the convention of all the trades unions, called at the request of the Allied Printing Trades Council, on May 13, in the Building Trades Council Hall, and I delivered an address which was published by all the papers in the city, and which for a time was the center of controversy, and I will submit this in evidence, as it has to do with the effort subsequently made to arbitrate the matter. The address criticises, let me say, as impartially as I could, the weak points in the position of both parties, the injustice in the demands of both parties, and pleads the right to have this issue settled, the public being the third and greatest party to the controversy. In any event, it paid the bills and had to suffer; and because of my judgment that they were not near enough to each other yet to arbitrate, I proposed a commission of inquiry as to the obstacles standing in the way of arbitration, and in the argument that I made for that went so far on one side as to deny the right of the building contractors to prevent the Allied Building Trades from forming a central body which would not be detrimental to the interest of both sides and the building interests of the city; and on the other side I pointed out the injustice of many of the demands of the unions, and intimated that the weakness of their position before the public lay in the fact that they had allowed their officers to accept appointive offices at the hands of the city administration, which more or less cast suspicion upon the integrity of their standing.

(The address above mentioned, as it appeared in the Chicago Times-Herald, May 14, 1900, was, in part, as follows):

Professor Taylor said:

To this convention of all trades unions I have come, not only in response to the invitation of personal friends in your leadership, but the more as one of those in sympathy with the general labor movement to whom the call for this convention was also addressed. My sympathy with the fundamental principles and ideals of organized labor has been growing with the years in which I have been a student of industrial history and relationship. The cause of human brotherhood, for which organized labor has in the main stood through the past 600 years of English history, is more sacred than any labor organizations. That sacred cause is at stake in Chicago to-day. Its right to be heard transcends every other issue of mere policy or personal interest at stake. Its appeal must at last be made to the public. For it is the jury of public opinion which always returns the final verdict in this and every other issue. As the third and greatest party to this controversy, the public has the right to be heard. Whatever the cost of these struggles to either side, the public always pays the heaviest bills.

DAMAGE TO THE CITY.

From the damage to the industrial reputation of Chicago, due to the wide advertisement of the insecurity of labor and capital, of person and property here, it will take the people of the whole city years to recover. If both contestants in this fateful struggle value what either of them may save out of its wreckage they will make haste to recognize the public to be a party to their controversy and make way for its right to be heard. If heard in the dim of conflict, it must be voiced by one who has the confidence of both sides and who stands between the lines of battle. Such standing may not be denied one whose avowed sympathy with the principles and aims of organized labor, at not a little sacrifice, have been maintained and used where no other voice has been raised in its behalf; whose many personal friends on both sides of this fratricidal strife have given him in their confidence, and one whose disinterested effort to erect a building for the free social use of workmen and their families has been arrested just short of the roof line these 4 months, because of his unwillingness even to roof it at the sacrifice of union labor and to make this temple of peace a seat of war.

RIGHTS OF THE PUBLIC.

What I have to say, therefore, is in the exercise of the right of the public to interfere, to know and make known the facts, to criticise impartially both sides, and to demand such concessions as make it possible for the greatest single group of industries to resume business.

Thus far the right of the public to interfere in the struggle has been very inconsequentially asserted and almost contemptuously ignored. The "Congressional commission" happened along and took "testimony" that consisted in large part of violently expressed ex parte opinions from both sides. The city council appointed a committee of reconciliation. This the Contractors' Association declined to meet, with a mild-mannered rebuke to well-meaning persons to whose "interference" the prolonging and intensity of the struggle were charged. The discussion of the situation in some of the industrial clubs has been characterized, with a few notable exceptions, by the special pleadings of those who were avowedly advocates of personal interests immediately at stake in the contest. The grand jury rightfully instituted its investigation of the situation. Its power to indict was only another point of advantage to be struggled for or against, and it was had, therefore, little or no judicial value in disclosing the real facts in the case.

SIDE OF THE CONTRACTORS.

Public opinion on the one hand holds the Contractors' Association responsible for its part in the critical situation. It is, however, widely conceded to have had just cause of complaint and even exasperation, which mitigates the criticism of its inconsistencies. A fair-minded man can not see its consistency in insisting upon disbanding the council while resolutely maintaining its own association; in demanding the cessation of the sympathetic strike while busily organizing a sympathetic lockout; in protesting, with not a little justice, against the interference of organized labor with the liberty of contractors to purchase union-made material from whom they please while aiding and abetting, if not compelling, a boycott by building-material producers against the employers of union labor allied with the Building Trades Council; in charging the unions with refusing to keep their agreement while, in some instances at least, locking the men out for taking the Saturday half holiday granted in the agreement between them; in complaining against what may have been too great a limitation of the amount of a day's work while failing to recognize the complaint of the men against the "pusher" being allowed to set the pace for a fair day's wage; in avowedly waging their warfare for industrial liberty and free labor while curtailing the small contractor's freedom to compete, if they refused to join the association, by cutting off their supply of material and labor.

CRITICISM FOR UNIONS.

Public opinion on the other hand claims the right to criticize frankly and fearlessly the policy of the Building Trades Council. It criticizes the policy that tolerates the acceptance of appointive political offices as the most disastrous policy that has ever paralyzed the power or menaced the future of organized labor in Chicago. These offices are offered as subsidies. Their incumbents are really held as hostages for the delivery of the labor vote. This policy keeps even the best and most incorruptible union officers under a cloud of suspicion; tempts the worse and weaker leaders to pervert both their labor leadership and their political office from the public service to their personal advantage; destroys the confidence not only of the public but of the rank and file of the unions in the integrity of the movement and breeds the foul fear that mercenary motives, and even blackmailing methods, characterize the fairest and most sacrificial struggles for economic justice and industrial rights. If organized labor would really have and exercise political power, why does it not come out into the open to nominate and elect its own representatives to elective offices, through which its principles can be carried into public policy by the enactment and administration of legislation in the interests of the whole people?

DEcriES VIOLENT ACTS.

The resort to violence is in the public mind not only indefensible but suicidal to the best interests of union labor. It costs the cause of organized labor not only the deeper alienation of nonunion labor, which is its only source of growth and power, but also the support and even the fair hearing of the public, which is the only hope of the ascendancy of its principles. If organized labor would win its case before the jury of public opinion it must abandon its partisan political affiliations. It must abjure and to the utmost of its ability prevent violence. It must purge itself from any just suspicion of being bought and sold for blackmailing.

The one hope of a permanent solution of the present intolerable situation lies in a fair and effective effort by impartial men, who have the confidence of the people, to inform and arouse the public to take the settlement of this issue into its own hands. The findings of such an independent investigating commission would at this point of the struggle arouse an irresistible public opinion that would see justice done and overwhelm any selfish class interests that dared to withstand its verdict. The suggestion for which I believe the feeling is ripe is that the choice of such an investigating commission be committed to the Allied Printing Trades Council in cooperation with some commercial body.

I was the only man admitted, by the way, to the Building Trades Council that day, except as a delegate. The demand I made for an investigation of these things met with apparently almost universal approval on the part of the rank and file, though some of the Building Trades Council leaders objected very strongly, and were bitterly attacked on the floor of the convention by the members of the building trades, who insisted upon it that if those charges had any foundation they should be sifted to the bottom, man after man declaring he would have nothing to do with an organization that was subject to such suspicion. As a result of that meeting, the following motion was passed:

"That the chairman be authorized to appoint one member from three different trade unions not affiliated with the Building Trades Council, who, together with three members to be appointed through or by Prof. Graham Taylor from some commercial or real-estate body, Professor Taylor being the seventh man, shall constitute a commission of inquiry for the purpose of investigating the causes of the lockout of the building trades by the building contractors and to publish the facts."

In accordance with that resolution, I addressed the following letter to Mr. W. D. O'Brien, chairman of the Building Contractors' Association, 92 La Salle street:

"MY DEAR SIR: The resumption of the building industries of Chicago being imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole city, an effort is being made to secure a judicial statement of whatever stands in the way of a just, permanent, and speedy settlement of the outstanding issues.

"In behalf of those enlisted in this endeavor, may I inquire whether the Building Contractors' Association will present facts answering this inquiry to a committee of citizens representing the labor and commercial interests of the city not directly involved in the controversy? It is understood that the investigation is intended to ascertain and report to the public a basis of facts, which may make possible an equitable and final adjustment of conflicting interests, without committing either party to the acceptance of the findings of the inquiry. A prompt reply will greatly oblige."

The following reply was received:

Prof. GRAHAM TAYLOR,
140 North Union street, Chicago.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your favor of the 17th instant would say, that the same was read to the council at its meeting this morning. I am instructed to call your attention to the inclosed circular, adopted by this council April 30, which clearly states the conditions upon which a settlement of the present difficulty can be made, whenever any union affiliated with the Building Trades Council chooses to accept the same. We feel that to comply with your request would only tend to indefinitely postpone an adjustment of the matter, and having up to the present time declined to enter into any discussion of the controversy with committees to, and appointed in like manner to the one you suggest, we must, in justice to our actions to the previous cases, reiterate that we still believe our principles indorsed by the press of the city and a large number of its most influential citizens, are such as to need no explanation or defense, inasmuch as they stand for all that is just and right, both for the employer and employee.

Respectfully, yours,

E. M. CREIG, *Secretary.*

Notwithstanding this declination I presented this matter before the real estate board through its officers and requested them to appoint a committee. The action of the board after reciting certain declarations concluded with the following paragraphs:

"This board believes that all differences existing or hereafter arising not contrary to these constitutional rights" (aforesaid, of course), "are proper subject for arbitration between the respective representatives in the same craft of the parties to the difference."

"This board believes that a plan of arbitration can be easily agreed upon, that shall be adaptable and easily available at any time. And to this end is willing to lend its aid, and hereby authorizes the board of directors, in their discretion, to act in this matter, whenever it may be requested so to do by both parties to the controversy, as hereinbefore defined."

Now, I would like to submit for evidence part of a brief report I made to the convention of delegates of all trades unions in Chicago. This is my report of the matter that they put in my hands:

Prof. Graham Taylor's report as convener of the proposed committee of inquiry.

"To the convention of delegates of all trade unions in Chicago.

"GENTLEMEN: At the first meeting of this delegated body of trade-unionists, held at Building Trades Council Hall Sunday, May 13, 1900, the following action was taken:

"That the chairman be authorized to appoint one member from three different trade unions not affiliated with the Building Trades Council, who, together with three members to be appointed through or by Prof. Graham Taylor from some commercial or real estate body, Professor Taylor being the seventh man, shall constitute a commission of inquiry for the purpose of investigating the causes of the lockout of the building trade by the building contractors and to publish the facts."

"In accordance with this resolution I have the honor to report that after the chairman of the convention, Mr. J. H. Bowman, had appointed George W. Perkins, of the Cigar Makers' Union, and Alexander Spencer, of the Typographical Union, he was himself chosen as the third labor representative on this commission by vote of the convention at the adjourned session, held May 10, in Bricklayers' Hall.

"In accordance with the above action I immediately endeavored to secure the nomination of the three members of the commission to be appointed 'by or through' me by the real estate board, which authorized its board of directors 'in their discretion to act in this matter whenever it may be requested so to do by both parties to the controversy.' To secure the completion of the commission of inquiry a request was at once preferred upon the Building Contractors' Council to take advantage of the offer of the real estate board by agreeing to cooperate with your committee 'in ascertaining and reporting to the public a basis of facts which may make possible an equitable and final adjustment of conflicting interests, without committing either party to the acceptance of the findings of the inquiry.' * * *

[This offer, as I stated, was declined.]

"Repeated efforts subsequently made failed to secure the consent of the Contractors' Council to join in the proposed investigation. The offer of the real estate board therefore never became available.

"Meanwhile the conference of conciliation between the Contractors' Council and representatives of the building trades having been initiated in good faith by the latter, your committee held further consideration of the proposed investigation in abeyance upon the issue of this conference, doing all in its power to make this more direct way of settlement effective by constant effort to influence to this end contractors' and public opinion through the city press.

"The negotiations of the parties directly involved having failed and the responsibility for failure having been assumed by the contractors, your committee thought the proposed investigation at present uncalled for, and advised the calling of this convention in the hope that, as a last effort to effect a permanent and equitable adjustment, it would inaugurate a new effort to have the main points still at issue submitted to some impartial tribunal of arbitration, which may command the confidence of both sides to the controversy and of the public."

I submit as an exhibit the official stenographic report of this conference of conciliation, held June 12, 13, and 21, between representatives of the Chicago Building Trades Unions and the Building Contractors' Council.¹

I would like to submit, in conclusion, on this point one other exhibit bearing upon the assertion which I made, that had the concession been made earlier by the contractors and building trades, viz, the point at issue in the last article of the ultimatum of the contractors which was conceded in the last article of the agreement of the carpenters, this thing might have been brought to a satisfactory termination earlier. In evidence thereof I wish to submit a letter written by me June 4 to one member of the Contractors' Council, which is as follows (I prefer to omit his name):

LETTER OF JUNE 4.

"I trust one more suggestion will not be regarded as intruding. I am glad to see the action of the Contractors' Council reported in this evening's paper, because there is a clear possibility in it of preparing the way for a permanent and satisfactory solution of the present situation. In my judgment the 'full purport' of one phrase in the final clause of your circular of April 30 'must have been clearly comprehended,' namely, 'any organization of a like character.'

"Now, if you can personally fulfill 'the purpose of clearly interpreting the full meaning' of this phrase, I feel sure that it will mark the beginning of the end of this misunderstanding. For your circular plainly intimates that the Contractors' Council has no objection to the unions affiliating with any organization which is not 'of a like character' with the present organization of the Building Trades Council. Of course the contractors' objections justly aim at the use of the sympathetic strike by the Building Trades Council. I am sure that not only the rank and file, but even some of the leaders of the building trades are at the point of imposing prohibitive restrictions upon their unions in employing the sympathetic strike. In proof of this the following provisions have been presented by one of the most influential men, and are concurred in heartily by almost everyone whom I have consulted about it in the unions, namely, 'no strike or lockout shall be called by either party to this agreement until after the points at issue have been referred to the arbitration committees of the trade and association interested, said committee to make and give its decision within 48 hours after complaint has been lodged,' 'or any disputes arising during the life of this agreement shall be referred to the arbitration committee of the trade wherein the dispute occurred, and work shall continue pending the adjustment by said committee.'

"It will in my judgment, and that of many influential men with whom I have conferred, be a very grave mistake at this juncture for the contractors to insist that the unions withdraw permanently from a central body of any kind. Public opinion will certainly judge that position to be indefensible. Even if the contractors could force this condition now upon the unions, it would be the surest prevention of any final and satisfactory adjustment of the intolerable situation that has so long injured the building interests of Chicago. But your ultimatum when 'clearly interpreted' in the light of the words above quoted, namely, 'organization of a like character,' happily does not commit you to any such extreme position. Limitations upon the powers of the reorganized central body can easily be prescribed by the conference now pending."

That is precisely what they have done. That was proposed the 4th day of June, with the concurrence of the principal labor leaders of the city of Chicago, and could have been carried.

¹ This exhibit is on file with the commission.

LABOR MEN AND POLITICS.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) Do you know of any pressure brought to bear upon the city through refusal to grant temporary loans?—A. Upon the authorities?

Q. Yes.—A. Only by rumor.

Q. You do not know of your own knowledge?—A. No.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) Do you intend to say anything as to whether politics had anything to do with this trouble in bringing it on and keeping it up after it was started?—A. Well, I think that there has been in Chicago an attempt to secure the delivery of the labor vote by successive administrations through the distribution of small appointive offices among labor leaders. I believe that that has very seriously impeded the growth of the legitimate influence of organized labor in the city of Chicago. I have often told the men that if they wanted office of any kind they should seek elective offices, which would mean something, and not allow their officers to take appointive offices. Now, on the other hand, perhaps in this particular instance, there has been an exaggeration of the effort to subsidize the unions by the appointment of their officers to these appointive positions. Many of these appointive offices, perhaps, should have been given to men in the several trades involved. For instance, in the building department naturally plumbers would be appointed as inspectors of certain work, and so with certain branches of the water department. Now, to what extent that was done is more or less a matter of dispute. I have never seen any list made, giving the actual facts, that came up to the charges as to the extent of the political influence. Of course Mr. Carroll's appointment to the civil-service commission was the most notorious of those appointments.

Q. Was it an appointment that ought not to have been made?—A. You mean was he incapable?

Q. Yes.—A. The appointment was not such as would have been expected by friends of the civil-service law, to say the least.

Q. (By Mr. PHILLIPS.) Was he a labor leader?—A. Yes, he was the president of the Building Trades Council. Personally I know nothing against the character of Mr. Carroll, except what I have read in the papers. I do not take him to be, so far as I can judge, the man for such an exceedingly important position, not, however, because he was a workingman, because I think it was very well to have some representative of the working class on the commission.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) The trouble having been started, did political influence in the Building Trades Council and the jealousy of political parties as to who should have the credit for the settlement of the trouble have anything to do with prolonging that trouble in Chicago?—A. Indirectly, yes. As a matter of mere opinion, however, I should say it was thought that if the struggle was maintained longer something of advantage to the Building Trades Council might come from the direction of the city hall.

But to answer your question fully I beg leave to repeat what I said on this point in my speech to the trades union convention quoted above. (Reading:)

"Public opinion, on the other hand, claims the right to criticise frankly and fearlessly the policy of the Building Trades Council. It criticises the policy that tolerates the acceptance of appointive political offices as the most disastrous policy that has ever paralyzed the power or menaced the future of organized labor in Chicago. These offices are offered as subsidies. Their incumbents are really held as hostages for the delivery of the labor vote. This policy keeps even the best and most incorruptible union officers under a cloud of suspicion; tempts the worse and weaker leaders to pervert both their labor leadership and their political office from the public service to their personal advantage; destroys the confidence not only of the public but of the rank and file of the unions in the integrity of the movement and breeds the foul fear that mercenary motives and even blackmailing methods characterize the fairest and most sacrificial struggles for economic justice and industrial rights.

* * * * *

"If organized labor would really have and exercise political power, why does it not come out in the open to nominate and elect its own representatives to elective offices, through which its principles can be carried into public policy by the enactment and administration of legislation in the interest of the whole people?"

Then I proceeded further, on the matter of violence. (Reading:)

"The resort to violence is in the public mind not only indefensible, but suicidal to the best interests of the union labor. It costs the cause of organized labor not only the deeper alienation of nonunion labor, which is its only source of growth and power, but also the support and even the fair hearing of the public, which is the only hope of the ascendancy of its principles. If organized labor would win

its case before the jury of public opinion it must abandon its partisan political affiliations. It must abjure and to the utmost of its ability prevent violence. It must purge itself from any just suspicion of being bought and sold for black-mailing."

Now, I submit, gentlemen, that nothing could have been a fairer blow at the corruption of the labor movement than I tried to give there, and I was allowed to do it.

Q. (By Mr. PHILLIPS.) Did it receive approbation from the audience?—A. There was applause all over the hall.

Q. (By Mr. KENNEDY.) I would like to know whether the politicians of Chicago are not in a large measure responsible for this great loss which Chicago has suffered as a result of this strike: and before you answer that question I will tell you what came to me in the way of information under that head, namely, that Mr. Madden initiated a movement to bring about arbitration: that the politicians opposed to Mr. Madden, of the Building Trades Council, not wishing Mr. Madden and his political friends to have the credit of settling that strike, blocked Mr. Madden's efforts. Then Mayor Harrison was thrown into the breach by those people that he might settle it, and then Mr. Madden's friends in the contractors' council and elsewhere blocked his efforts and prevented Mayor Harrison settling the difficulty.—A. I know nothing about it. I have heard the assertion very stoutly made by labor leaders that the politicians in the city administration were very largely responsible for the sympathetic strike in the railway trouble, and the charge was made just as directly as it could be, that had they not done what they did that strike would never have assumed anything like the proportions it did. Personally I believe that the responsibility for that situation rested nearer the city hall than anywhere else.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Some of the labor witnesses testified before the subcommittee in Chicago last spring that they had no confidence in legal methods for obtaining the rights of workmen; that their sole dependence was on the union, and on their means or ability of self-defense; and one even went so far as to state that he had a revolver in his pocket then. Have you discovered in your studies any such prevailing opinion among the workmen of Chicago?—A. There seems to be a deep disappointment and discouragement even among the more intelligent workmen of irreproachable character in the relief to be expected from the courts.

Q. Do you think that is due to any defect in law or in the organization of the instrumentalities of justice?—A. I think it has root in the long abuses that have inhered in the justice of the peace courts and the police courts of Chicago, whose administration of the law is nearest to the people. The great mass of people take their judgment of law and its administration from these courts, and they have been notoriously incompetent and corrupt. Then injunction proceedings have also seriously disturbed the men, as well as the imprisonment of men, or the decision of cases on what they think to be side issues. I recollect a discussion between a lawyer representing the railroads and a man representing the American Railway Union. The lawyer of course had the legal points of the argument all the way through, but the railway union man, who had been imprisoned with Debs, brought up such questions as this to the lawyer: "If guilty of the offense with which I am charged, I should be in prison instead of here. I have a right to be either acquitted or convicted, but in the contempt proceedings, which was a question of evidence, I was adjudged guilty and the original charges were never pressed. Now," he added, "no matter how legal that was, it was not fair, it was not just." I only cite that illustration to show you how temperately and with what deep moral judgment he viewed the matter. There is a feeling that it is difficult to get your rights, but of course the lawyer made good the right of the court to defend its own dignity, and the man conceded that right.

Q. (By Mr. PHILLIPS.) Is there not quite a large money loss on account of this trouble in the courts in Chicago? That is, do men prefer to lose the pay rather than to sue?—A. I could not speak definitely of that.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Is it not true that there has been a good deal of effort made by political leaders and labor leaders to prejudice workmen against courts and legislators and lawful methods generally?—A. Well, I never have happened to hear anything that would seem to me to indicate that that was the line of policy, but I have frequently heard an outbreak of more or less spontaneous criticism. Next to the corruption of the police and justice of the peace courts (which, by the way, is being remedied), I think that special legislation in matters pertaining, for instance, to franchises in the city of Chicago, has very seriously aroused suspicion as to the integrity of the source of legislation. It is suspected to be simply a weapon in the hands of the class that can get it.

Q. Has there not been a great deal of special labor legislation also?—A. In the direction of antichild labor legislation and the protection of women, etc., but not to the same extent accruing to the financial interest of the working people. They have been more in the direction of humanitarian conditions. I have no reason to think, from my intimate and wide acquaintanceship with the rank and file—of course I know perhaps the better men, the more conservative men, better than I know the more radical labor leaders—yet I have never failed to find among the rank and file an instinct of deprecation of violence, and a general consensus that they must keep within the bounds of law. I think that one labor leader who is more or less radical somehow is taken unjustly to be the type of the class, and I have not thought that it was just. It has not accorded with my observation of the facts. Think of an occasion when, between the 5th day of February and the 1st of August, there were said to be 50,000 men in Chicago without any visible means of support. Well, when you think of the vast numbers engaged, and the fact they were of so many different nationalities, and that they were more or less excitable and were touched at their most vital interests, it is surprising that that tremendous crisis was passed anywhere nearly as peaceably as it was. Of course there were brawls, and too many personal assaults, but there was nothing like a riot of any kind, and there was very little occasion for calling out the police force. I think if the police had been a little more prompt in those cases there would have been even less violence than there was, but I submit it was a remarkable instance of popular self-control.

SOME REASONS FOR THE DISTURBANCE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN CHICAGO.

When we regard labor troubles in Chicago we must realize two facts which go far toward accounting for much of the excitement and the radicalism that is noted there. First, the cosmopolitanism of our population, and second, the transient residences of our people. Men do not stay long enough to adjust themselves well in their associated capacity. It requires a good deal of adjustment to run any organization steadily, much more a labor organization. The employing classes know too little of the reason for the organization of labor. I have been greatly surprised at the entire lack of information among employers as to the history of labor organizations. A great many of them seem to think that they began to exist with the Pullman strike, or something disagreeable in their own experience. They forget that there is a great history of nothing less than a mass movement for the last 6 centuries of English progress. Of this movement Professor Marshall, of Cambridge University, in his volume on Political Economy, says: "The brilliant though checkered career of English trades unionism is one of the most interesting developments in English history." Well, now, we lack in Chicago, in our newness and in our rush, we lack what is called "the geologist's time sense." We do not stop to think of the antecedents of these consequences. Now, the fact of the matter is it would seem that upon the slightest reflection the organization of labor must be considered to be an economic necessity, if the organization of capital is conceded so to be. As long as employers insist upon collective bargaining labor is, by an economic necessity, simply forced to insist upon collective bargaining. That is the soul of the labor movement, namely, the right to bargain collectively. This is being recognized commonly by the newer political economy. As long as it is necessary for firms and corporations to exist so long we will have to admit the necessity of labor combinations, and it seems to me to be the duty of right-minded people to assist in every way in their power the organization of labor to its legitimate function and development.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) How far can it be encouraged and protected by State legislation?—A. Well, I believe that, as a standing historical evidence that it can be, the Factory Acts of England should be cited as proving to the workmen that the law-making power, in the long run, can be trusted, and that when they have trusted their interests to legislation those interests have been, in the long run, fairly conserved, though it has taken longer than those who were suffering under the process could patiently endure. For instance, it took 50 years to bring in the Factory Acts from the time that the abuses of child labor were called to the attention of the English public.

Another reason that makes the Chicago situation intense is the very quick resort to the threat and use of physical force. I do not mean violence, but refer to the sentiment to "let them fight it out," or, as one man said just at a time when such words would inflame the mass more than anything, "We will starve them out—starve them out." Of course, the more conservative and generous-hearted citizens do not resort to such language, yet there is such an intemperate and unjudicial frame of mind prevalent on both sides that the situation at times

is highly precarious. Those who calmly try to step in between and ask for patience and for impartiality, if they do not side either one way or the other in the times of high tension, are at once placed in the opposite camp, and a man's efforts to mediate are always looked upon with suspicion. But, of course, that is likely to be the case anywhere in times of high excitement.

I will relate one episode that possibly is of unique value. One day during the heat of this strike I received a telephone message asking me to come to a certain prominent business office in the city. I met there a gentleman who said he was connected with the firm. I had never seen him before, and I have never seen him since. He said to me, "You are interested in the settlement of this building trades trouble?" I said, "Yes, sir; on public as well as on private grounds." "Well," he said, "I think I know how to settle it." I said, "Do tell us." He said, "It is simply a question of providing for men who would lose their salaried positions in the labor unions." And then and there, without asking any confidence whatever, he offered to put in my hands \$10,000 for that purpose, and offered also to raise more if it was necessary to take care, as he said, of the leaders who he thought were fomenting this trouble, and who, if provided for, would immediately bring about an adjustment. I asked him if he knew the rank and file of the trades unionists in the city of Chicago. "Oh, no," he said, "but I do not need to. This is the situation and you might as well admit it." I said, "I do not admit it. I do not believe trades unionism in the city of Chicago can be purchased for \$10,000 or any sum you can raise, and you are very much mistaken in regard to the situation if you think it can be settled in any such way."

Now, while there may have been certain reasons for certain men suspecting other certain men of accepting bribes and blackmail—and there was a great deal of hinting at such facts with very little evidence forthcoming to prove it—yet I still maintain that that trouble could not have been settled in that way, and that such an estimate of the venality of the rank and file or even of the officials I think was unwarranted. Of course I never carried any such proposition to them, and I would not have thought myself quite safe in doing it. But as long as such opinions are entertained by one side or the other you can easily see how fuel is added to the fire.

Q. Reverting again to the question of legislation, have you given any thought to the advisability of a law establishing a minimum rate of wages?—A. I do not see how that could be a law. Do you mean in all trades or in any given trade?

Q. Well, of general application, for that matter. The history of labor legislation shows that laws have been adopted fixing a maximum rate, does it not?—A. Yes; I know that.

Q. Well, there can be no difficulty then as to the legal right, can there?—A. Well, I should think that that end would be better brought about by organization of labor and refusal to work for less than a living wage.

Q. That brings the strike, does it not?—A. Oh, yes; nobody is denying the right of men not to work when they can not earn their living by it. I think there is another great misapprehension of the situation in Chicago as to the existence of allied trades councils and the reason for them. While there was no objection to national organizations in the several trades, yet there was a very stout denial that there is any valid reason for the existence of any such organization as a central council of closely federated or closely allied trades. Now, I would refer, in evidence to the contrary to a little pamphlet, *The History of Labor Unions*, by William Maxwell Burke, published by the Columbia University in its series of "Studies in history, economics, and public law," pages 90 to 98, which gives the reasons for the existence of allied trades councils.

Repeatedly it was said by the contractors that this situation in Chicago was wholly illegal and did not obtain anywhere else. Well, while in the formidable character of the Building Trades Council and perhaps the lengths to which that council went in its rules with regard to the several trades, I presume the situation was unique. It is, however, to be paralleled in other cities unquestionably, and that fact some of our gentlemen did not seem to have any consciousness of at all.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) You spoke of imprudent expressions in the early part of this trouble. Did not a great deal of that imprudence originate from the contractors' side?—A. Well, in all fairness, it came from both sides; there were excitable men on both sides; but I think in conferences with the contractors' council there was an unnecessary degree of rudeness and roughness in receiving delegations from the Building Trades Council; and upon the floor of the Building Trades Council there was a wholly unnecessary violence of language used with reference to the contractors. I am not sure that the preponderance of blame is to be placed on either side in that matter.

Q. Is it not really true in the history of trade unions since 1850 in this country

that at least one-third, if not 40 per cent, of the whole of these troubles have come from employers not recognizing an organized body?—A. I would not like to answer affirmatively your question in just that phrase. I have not investigated the percentages. But I think the whole contention is by long odds due to the unwillingness to recognize men in their corporate capacity; and, on the other hand, the forcing of the men to recognize the employers in their corporate capacity. For instance, all the while this building contractors' council has insisted upon the absolute disbanding of the Building Trades Council, never once have they been willing to affirm that they would disband their own council, although they have repeatedly said that their council was due to the existence of the other. The effect upon the part of the building contractors for a long while prior to this trouble was to force the smaller contractors into some form of alliance with them; and when they stood in with the unions, the larger contractors would try to get the unions to refuse to work for other contractors than those who belonged to their body. In other words, they tried to shut the smaller contractors off from the labor market. Then only when they fell at odds with the unions, was there a very obvious attempt to shut these same contractors, who would not come into the council, out from the material market.

Now, in regard to the matter of machinery, it is not easy to be just, because it is a very complicated thing, and both sides have great grievances. Nevertheless it can hardly be disputed that the objection to machinery was raised by the stone-cutters, and that the stone-cutting contractors who did not own machinery really were at the bottom of the labor unions' objection to machinery. Now, the carpenters have never objected to machinery, as far as I can learn. The objection to machinery was almost wholly in the stone-cutting trade, and as far as I can trace that it came from the suggestion of the contractors. Yet the whole blame is placed on the other side. Now, that is not fair, and a man's sense of justice repudiates that. On the other hand, let me say that while the men were justified in taking the position that they should not be "rushed," as they call it—that is, that the speediest men, who turned out the most work, should not be taken as the standard for the whole trade—yet they put a limit on the amount of a day's work, which was too low. The mantel builders, for instance, were allowed, I believe, to erect two mantels and a half—I do not know just what the number was. If they laid half a mantel more they were fined—I do not know just what amount. They grew arbitrary, and some of the best men in the labor unions themselves admitted that the unions had become too mandatory—they had gone too far. But just at this time, at the early part of this struggle, if the contractors had made the concessions that I spoke of in the beginning, namely, that they had no objection to having those trades which were so closely allied affiliated in some sort of a council—if that point had been yielded and the contractors had sided in with the more conservative men in the union, the radical men would have been overthrown and the Building Trades Council would have been, in my opinion, reconstituted, and the personnel would have been changed. But, as a matter of fact, as the thing went on the worst labor leaders were given the best rallying cries by what appeared to the rank and file an arbitrary and unjust exaction in the matter of their right to have some sort of central body; and that was the nub of the whole controversy from beginning to end. Now, they yielded that at the end, and although, of course, the contractors, by holding off so long, probably got some of these other concessions. Let that be fairly and squarely admitted. Yet, if that point had been taken out of the way, irritation and friction would have been so allayed, in my judgment, that these other things would have been very much more likely to have been amicably adjusted.

Q. (By Mr. FARQUHAR.) You are well aware that the Building Trades Council is an experiment in trades unionism?—A. Yes.

Q. In other words, it has a jurisdiction of a wheel within a wheel, that the local bodies have to surrender their rights which they hold by charter from national bodies, to become affiliated with this sympathetic body?—A. Do you mean quite that—surrender?

Q. You have got to use your Building Trades Council card; it is a surrender of means of work; or, rather, the jurisdiction over the individual work is in two bodies; a man owes loyalty to his own union as a bricklayer and to the Building Trades Council. Do you not think that with an experimental body of that kind, built on sympathetic lines; the dangers lay in the first inception of this council, and your troubles accrued from that?—A. Yes.

Q. In other words, you can not go back to your parent body to have settled each trade difficulty in its own way by the vote of each member of the union. Was not that the difficulty, that they had surrendered so much of their own rights?—A. Yes; but yet there are these two considerations to the contrary. These trades

in a given place and on the same jobs were so closely affiliated with each other actually that they needed some agreement between each other to conserve the interests of the whole body of workmen. Now the building tradesmen say that the employers would have found it harder to have had to refer every little objection or obstacle in their way in this agreement to each trade, and often up to the national body, than to have had what they maintain the Building Trades Council has all along intended to be, namely, a sort of clearing house of troubles. And I heard one of these Building Trades Council men say to a large employer who had had trouble in other ways, "If you had had a council similar to the Building Trades in your business, could not you have settled that difficulty that has troubled you for 2 or 3 years quicker than you did?" And this employer drew out his notebook and said: "I declare that is a good point." He had not seen that. However, I think as you say, that in very many cases it would be better undoubtedly to keep the settlement in the line of the trade where the men have the technical knowledge sufficient to arbitrate, and where other men in other trades simply do not know enough about the question at issue to arbitrate it at all. But on the other hand, there are classes of disagreements where a central body like this could act exactly like a clearing house. Now the Building Trades Council men say that trouble came not because they had too much authority, but because they had too little authority. They insist upon it that if they had had more authority they could have settled so many more disturbances which, in the lack of authority, they had held off so long that it increased the difficulty and complexity. Of course, I am not sufficiently aware of the technicalities of each given trade to decide, but arbitration in the nature of the case has got to be rendered by experts in the line where the difference occurs, and outsiders can not be considered competent to judge except on general matters where a lawyer's judgment on contracts, or a man of affairs generally, could decide on the exigencies of the case.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) Supposing it was a struggle between employers and employees as to the recognition of a union. Does it require technical skill in any branch of trade to decide that?—A. No; not very much.

Q. In your experience, what is the proportion of difficulties between employers and employed that practically turn on that very question?—A. Oh, it is not a question of proportion. I think there is an increasing proportion of employers—I am sure there is in Chicago—who come right out and admit the right, and on the whole the advantage, of dealing collectively with the men instead of individually.

Q. Has not that been brought about by the assemblies and the trade unions insisting that they should be recognized?—A. Oh, yes; there has to be a close and continuous movement in respect to it.

Q. Now let us go right back to where we were again. Suppose the system of arbitration by committees that prevails in Great Britain and other countries and in this country also had been in effect there and a dispute had happened on any building with, say, the bricklayers, and the bricklayers had their committee of three and the employers their committee of three and they called in a referee possibly, and it was settled on the spot without involving 15 or 20 trades; is not that the best way?—A. In certain classes of cases. We all know this, when Judge Tuley was called in as referee in the bricklayers' trade, there can be no question that it was the best way, and for 8 years kept them out of strike or lockout. But again I say that when the case is such that the unions are more or less affiliated, when the interest of the one involved is the interest of all, it seems to me there is more use for a central clearing house or somebody to exercise all the functions of each, if it does not exceed its functions.

Q. You are willing to say that it did not exceed its functions?—A. I do not think there is any doubt about it.

ARBITRATION.

Q. (By Mr. PHILLIPS.) Will you give your views in regard to arbitration? Do you believe in compulsory arbitration?—A. No; I do not, for this reason, that I never have been able to see how you could offset the penalty of a fine upon the employer except by the imprisonment of the employee. This pits liberty against money. And if the employer pays for his breach of a settlement by a fine and the labor unions have nothing to forfeit, except their liberty, the American workmen will never in this wide world pit their liberty against the money of their employers.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) Take this situation, however: Suppose there is a dispute and a refusal on the part of the employer to in any manner meet and discuss

the question, would you sanction a law that would compel a hearing of the difference by some State board?—A. Yes; I believe that is what are called the councils of conciliation in France. They have settled quickly, cheaply, and satisfactorily and permanently a very large per cent of labor difficulties there. We ought to have something to correspond with them in America; but the trouble of it is if things are brought into court, we have no courts that are adapted to quickly and equitably settle these questions. I think there ought to be courts of conciliation.

Q. Do you see any difficulty in the establishment of such courts?—A. No; I do not. I think that all parties to the disagreement ought to be summoned. I think there should be a compulsion in summoning them before a court of inquiry.

Q. That is what I mean.—A. But my trouble is in finding a legal sanction. I do not see how they can enforce their decisions.

Q. Now let us go one step further, if you please. Having summoned the different parties to the controversy into such a court and a decision having been made as to the rights or wrongs of either side, do you not think that public sentiment would be a very powerful factor?—A. (Interrupting.) Very.

Q. In carrying out the decision of that board of conciliation?—A. But I am not sure that compulsory exactions could not be made in quasi-public corporations.

Q. I was coming to that later.—A. There, it seems to me that you risk the infringement of liberty. When you say a man must work whether he will or not, you come dangerously near to the loss of all liberty. Now, on the other hand, the interests of the whole people ought to have the right of way pending the decision of some adequate jurisdiction.

Q. (By Mr. PHILLIPS.) Could you frame a law compelling the employer before he makes a lockout to submit to arbitration and, on the other hand, compelling or requiring the employees to appeal to arbitration first, under a penalty—not to make the decision binding, but to require both parties before there is a strike or lockout at least to attempt a settlement?—A. Yes, I would. I think that the public has a right to that.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) And the right grows larger and more grave as you approach lines of industry where the public at large are innocent sufferers from the strike between employers and employees?—A. Yes. Now, just take my own instance. Here was a building worth \$50,000, without a roof on it from the beginning of February to the first of September. I never got a brick or a beam laid. I thought I had some rights. On the other hand, my radical friend says, "There is no third party." I said, "There is; there is the public, and I belong to it; I had business to interfere." And that is what threw me headlong between these two contending lines, and I felt justly wronged all the way through because those men made my building suffer while they were adjusting their difficulties. Now, that illustrates this point. I should say go on with that building pending your discussion, submit it to some competent jurisdiction, and do not cause innocent people to suffer. So with street railroad strikes. It is an outrage on the public that those two quarreling groups of men should not recognize that the public has rights that they are bound to respect, and I think the public should formulate its demand very unequivocally in that matter.

Q. Have you found as a rule any disinclination on the part of men employed to submit their grievances in that manner?—A. They are very unwilling to admit the right of compulsory penalty. The fact of the matter is I have seen a great deal more willingness to submit to arbitration on the part of the unions than I ever have from the other side. They scarcely ever say, "We have nothing to arbitrate," but in almost every other case I have seen committees on the other side say, "We have nothing to arbitrate."

EFFORTS FOR THE BETTERMENT OF INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS.

I suppose your attention has been called to employers' efforts for the betterment of their employees' condition. Two volumes have come out descriptive of those efforts which are in the highest degree encouraging and really inspiring: One, Gilman's *A Dividend to Labor*, and the other, Shuey's *Factory People and their Employers*. In both of these volumes there is shown a very marked and encouraging increase of what we may call social consciousness on the part of employers, who begin to realize that they owe something more than wages to their men. For instance, the National Cash Register Company, at Dayton, Ohio—I never saw such consideration to sex, to the social needs of employees. The head of that firm told me that so much humanity as he had invested in industry paid him in dividends. On the other hand, I think that caution should be taken in considering specific instances in this line. The men who are most conspicuous in

these provisions for the betterment of employees are in almost every instance protected by some patent right; they are not in the rough struggle of unrestricted competition. If they were, I doubt very much if they could go to the extent they do in alleviating the conditions and ameliorating the hardships without being driven out of the market by men who did not go to that expenditure of capital. But to the credit of the men who can do so be it said they are doing so to a very large extent all over the country.

Now, it seems to me that in view of the fact of political democracy and the strong tendency toward industrial democracy, the efforts toward a social democracy, that is, to promote the acquaintance and affiliation of people of different classes, should be urged as a patriotic duty; and that centers should be established where people of different classes, of different nationalities and different ideas, should meet, mingle, and exchange ideas. The practicability of the establishment of such centers and their very wide usefulness is proved by the very great success of the "social settlement" movement in Chicago. For instance, we have 18 such centers, of which Chicago Commons is one. A little group of people representing the more resourceful and more privileged classes voluntarily took up their residence among people who are less privileged, and there opened their house to all kinds of educational and social occasions until in our house we have 3,775 average attendances weekly on about 60 different occasions. The people have met us more than half way. They come scarcely at all for charity, but chiefly for social privileges and the interchange of educational views. We have a series of classes adapted to every age, from very little children in the day nursery all the way up through the kindergarten and boys' clubs to young men's and men's gatherings, and then for the women in the same way, and with ramifications out into the necessities of home life, of cooking, and the things that underlie the tremendous persistency of the saloons. In districts as large as ours, gentlemen, there is no provision for human need in many directions except by the saloons.

Q. (By Mr. PHILLIPS.) Perhaps in making this statement it would be well to describe your building.

Mr. LITCHMAN. Also, allow me to say, Mr. Chairman, supplement it with some information as to the expense attendant and how it is met.

The WITNESS. Well, 6 years ago a dozen of us just took up our home in the densest part of that river ward. We live cooperatively at our own expense. We became from the beginning and have remained a self-sustaining group. All being people of moderate means, we could do no more than to keep up our home life there, and we ask others to help us in two ways: First, by volunteering services, coming down and helping us with the social and educational work of the center at our private home; and, secondly, by contributing money which was needed to light, heat, and maintain it, and for the equipment, apparatus, and everything of that kind, lathe work, and such things. The expense now runs about \$6,500 a year. We have erected a building which cost \$35,000; a section of it has now been erected. In that building we have rooms for boys' clubs, manual training and cooking schools, lunch rooms, a children's floor, kindergarten, boys' clubs, girls' clubs, women's clubrooms, men's clubrooms, sheltering three different organizations, one of which has probably 15 different nationalities represented in the membership, fusing and affiliating people who but for that action would have absolutely nothing in common; and then we have a large hall capable of seating about 500, in which we gather the people for musical and artistic purposes, for recreative and amusement occasions, for the discussion of labor and political problems. We have a gymnasium for the use of both men and women, and boys and girls, and then under the same roof comes the group of living rooms, and the soul of the whole thing is the family residence. Without it it would lose the spirit of the movement. It is the family life at the center, the personnel that is gathered there, and the class and club is principally the medium by which the more reserved personality meets the less reserved one, and they interchange values. Now, I would not say that we gave everything and got nothing, for I think our own satisfaction in the comparative values we have received compensates amply for the gratuitous service which we are thus rendering.

Let me give you a concrete illustration. Six years ago I published in the Chicago Daily News a notice that there would be a free-for-all discussion at Chicago Commons, where there would be no favor shown and all sides would be considered. From that day to this that room has been thronged on almost every occasion with an average probably of 100 men—a small room—the extremes of radical thought had met there. We never have abridged the liberty to speak. We have respected every man's opinion. The rule imposed upon men and women who meet there is that the one who opens the discussion shall speak for about 45 or 50 minutes, shall then be questioned and be followed by absolute freedom of

speech and discussion. Now, we have had the extremes of the most radical thought in Chicago there, a very aggressive group of communistic anarchists, followers of Peter Kropotkin, the Russian. In other words, we have had, and marked with equal ability and always in the sharpest conflict with the philosophic individualists who are called anarchists, many people, and they get together and they modify each other's opinions. They knock off the sharp edges that otherwise would be more or less dangerous. We have supplied a safety valve for the expression of opinion freely, and I have seen a most marked modification of views. I used to preside myself. And between these two extremes there is a strong group of the conservative classes; and there is a great group of trade unionists with a great mixture of nationality; and there are individual citizens, students, lawyers, employers, and professors, with their classes, will come from universities 10 miles off, and stay for a whole evening just to get the views and the sentiments of the people.

Now, gentlemen, in 6 years I have never had to appeal to the house for order except once, and instantly order was observed—when a man simply in his excitement interrupted a speaker. I am simply confirmed in my belief in the safety and value and advantage to all concerned of absolute and unrestricted freedom of thought and freedom of speech; and I think that we have demonstrated on that little patch of mother earth on which every man is equal that the acknowledgment of the mere human recognition of the right of some of these proscribed people to their own convictions has been overwhelmingly beneficent. And I want to say that scarcely has any one of them taken advantage of it. I have heard a great deal of radical talk, but you can stand anything for 3 minutes, and they impose a 3-minute rule on everybody who takes part in the discussion, and extend the time by vote if the crowd wants to hear him, and if they do not, my gavel falls and that ends it. We have had all sorts of questions. As I say, we have not restricted anybody's rights. For instance, last Tuesday night there was a sharp and really able debate on the efficiency of the individualist and the anarchistic philosophy and solidarity and socialism, and it was a dignified and altogether profitable debate. Now, I venture to say that those same people that took part in that discussion, if they had been forced into the back part of some saloon and shut up to their own coterie, would have been far more radical and at least more menacing than they were out in the open. One man who had not been there before said he had traveled all over Europe and America, and he said, "I never saw the equal of this. I never saw any other place where any man could speak his own conviction." I really think that in a republic that is an important lesson to learn; and however deep the prejudices of people who have not seen it, I scarcely ever heard anybody object to it. They came there and heard and saw and felt for themselves—although now and then there is a hue and cry about the license of my administration of that free floor; but I am prepared to say that it is a safety valve of value to the entire city.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) Your own individual time is given exclusively to this work?—A. No. I am a professor in the Chicago Theological Seminary, and this is purely leisure time, gratuitous.

Q. (By Mr. PHILLIPS.) Do you live there?—A. I live right there.

Q. What are your surroundings there? What are the people?—A. They are hard working, manual, and craft laborers. Right around and very near to us is the very lowest grade of Italians, and a little way off in another direction there is a strong German element, but the great preponderance of our ward is made up of Norwegians.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) Is the work carried on by day or by night, or both?—A. Principally evening. Of course, the people are all engaged in the day.

Q. Your kindergarten work?—A. That is in the daytime; and let me say that there is nothing more important in America than the social extension of the public school in the effort to promote just this social unification—the extension of the public school to adult life. There we have a little piece of ground that all of us own. We have equal rights on the public-school property and there, it seems to me, we have centers scattered all over the community which could be used for some such purpose if there was a social provision and proper control.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) I would like to inquire about these debates, whether conservative and educated men ever oppose this radicalism from different elements?—A. On the floor?

Q. Yes.—A. Oh, yes; and the working men do. By the way, the leaders of these discussions are not always of the radical type. For instance, I had Mr. John W. Eila there defending the civil service, and he was pitched into by those who do not like that sort of thing, and the worse things are off the better they like it, but I think Mr. Eila went out that night and the great majority of the men with him in the conviction that the civil service is a good thing.

Q. Do you not think it is a great mistake for American citizens generally, in our popular government, to neglect opportunities for the discussion of public questions with the newer elements of our population?—A. Why, when you think of the congestion, the vast congestion of foreign populations in our cities, I fail to see how anybody can regard it except as a menace. Now, far be it from me to say that the foreign elements have not added some of the finest as well as the strongest fibers of our American composite citizenship. But when you think of 60,000 to 70,000 Poles being massed in one great solid mass, so much so that when a native American passes through the street he makes a sensation; and 40,000 Bohemians to the south of us—blocks of south European Slavic nationalities, who fuse least readily—why, the duty of this social unification, the duty of showing the foreigners in pictorial ways, by stereopticon and otherwise, the meaning of our political history and of our republican institutions, is mandatory. I saw a parade through the streets of our ward the last Presidential election in which from 150 to 250 Italians marched around the streets, virtually offering their votes for sale, with transparencies inscribed, "This club is open to political engagements." Now, gentlemen, it is absolutely impossible to conduct ward politics fairly and justly, I submit, with that kind of an ignorant vote. We entered into a political effort—I say "we;" I mean the better elements of both parties—to rescue that ward from one of the most disreputable gang rules that both parties had inflicted upon it. Why, one employer of 400 Italians snapped his fingers in our faces and said, "I employ 400 men here; they vote as I say. What are you going to do about it?" That was the condition when we entered into this effort. Now, by gathering on this neutral floor the better elements of the different nationalities and the different parties, we entered into ward politics asking respectfully the managers of parties in the ward to put up honest clerks and judges of election and reputable candidates. We were laughed to scorn, but it went on until 3 years ago when we had good reason to believe that the tally sheets were tampered with, and we accused one of the judges; he admitted that 70 votes had been taken on the tally sheet from one party and put to the credit of the other by the connivance of both bosses, or the bosses of both parties, to count the independent candidate out. With incredible trouble we arrested the clerks and judges of election; they were tried and convicted, and they were sent to Joliet State prison for 8 years. Since that time there has been liberty at the polls and safety in the exercise of one's franchise. But I am prepared to say, from my experience in ward politics as one of the executive committee of the Municipal Voters' League, that some very radical reform of the nominating system has got to come before we can get real democratic rule—that is, the people must have a chance to nominate whom they want as well as to vote for whom they please. I do not see any other way of initiating or maintaining such efforts except by rallying in these neutral centers the better elements of both parties to get the balance of power and wield it heavily to the improvement of the party methods, and in failure of that, to an independent movement in civic politics. Had it not been that I had lived there and been in everyday contact with men in the natural informal relationships of life, I no more would have had entrée to that trade-union convention than anyone in the world. I do not believe many persons in the city of Chicago would have been allowed in that convention at all. The fact of the matter is, I had won the confidence of a large number of the workmen by according them this liberty to speak and by being perfectly fair with them. I never struggled with them. I had no right to belong to the labor unions, but I never failed to rebuke the labor movement where I had a fair chance to make it effective and to make it worth while to try. Of course, my position is misunderstood. But in times of struggle and strife the more hot-headed think that I, living so close to the mass life, am not likely to be fair to the class that feels injured, and as if injustice was done them; but I am not conscious of having been warped, and it seems to me that employers should rather be grateful to people who, at no small cost or inconvenience, live where they can get some influence over those with whom they are in such contact as to be able to influence them as a third party outside of their ranks. I do not think that ought to be a cause for depreciation but rather for recognition of a public service rendered at no small cost. I wish to say that in those six years, personally, I have not only paid my own way, but have been very glad to contribute to the work, and am in no sense dependent upon it for a livelihood or any other personal use.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) This pamphlet you have here speaks of applying for membership in the new or old building. Does that imply a fee for membership from those who join your society?—A. Why, it is on the cooperative basis, and almost everything has a self-imposed fee of 25 cents; for kindergarten, 25 cents for ten weeks' instruction; 25 cents for ten weeks' instruction in mathematics; it

is just nominal, and nobody would be kept out for lack of it. In fact, comparatively few of the poorest will bring 25 cents. They promise 25 cents when they get work. All I have to say is that these centers in Chicago are getting to be of more and more recognized value, and while they are ignorantly and mistakenly thought by some to tend toward radicalism, I really think they are perhaps the greatest conservators of peace and promoters of public unity of feeling that we have in the city.

Q. (By Mr. PHILLIPS.) Do you think that the nihilists and others make converts?—A. Why, I think that they probably interpret themselves so that they are understood better. Now, take, for instance, an anarchist; you will think of him in a very different connection if you hear him say, as I heard the editor of an anarchist paper say the other night, that there was nothing, no motive except self-interest, that impelled him, and when asked what motive it was that would urge him to interfere in protecting a weak person from the aggressions of the strong, he said, "To see that weaker man wounded hurts me so much that in self-defense I would interfere." I asked a German anarchist not long ago what he would do if a house was burning up and there was a mother and child on the top floor. Said I, "Your big Dutch heart would run in there the first thing, would it not?" Said he, "Why, of course." "Well, what would you call it?" "Self-interest." "How do you make that out?" "Well, I would rather do that at that particular minute than anything else." Then he turned around to me and said, "What for do you live in Chicago Commons? Because you do not want to?" Well, of course he had me. On the other hand, if the definition of self-interest is so broad that it takes in the other fellow and these men are promoting individualism, why they move out more than half way, it seems to me, toward the socialist who insists upon it that the individual must make way for the right of the many. I have seen a great modification on both sides, and approach from those two apparently mutually exclusive postulates, the solidarity idea on the one hand and the individual idea on the other, and I may go so far as to say that I never would have seen it myself unless I had got those two men before me talking rationally and tolerantly of each other's differences.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) Are these 13 different places under your control?—A. No.

Q. Separate and distinct?—A. Only one.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) Is it your opinion that such discussions lead them to a comprehension of the necessity of government?—A. I would rather put it in a concrete illustration. When I interrupted the speaker last Tuesday evening and said, "What would you do in case of the aggression of the strong upon the weak?" it was his reply that a committee would be organized to stop that. "What would you call that committee?" "Voluntary association." "Wherein does that committee differ from the committee the sheriff organizes, the posse comitatus?" "Oh, well, there is no coercion in it." "Yes; but you restrain that person from doing that thing?" "Oh, well, even if we did have this philosophy of individualism, we are yet human, and we would have to resort to such methods." You see, there is no question of definition. They eliminate the coercive nature of the State's interference and let this be a mere matter of voluntary association. On the other hand, the socialist would make rejoinder, "That is simply law; that is the State, only you call it by another name." I am profoundly interested in the practical expression by plain people of their thoughts and convictions. They are thoughtful and they are worth hearing.

Q. Do you think that most of these anarchistic ideas, or the philosophy of individualism, comes from men brought up under monarchical governments, or do they come from men who have been raised under a popular system?—A. Most of the men that I know who are in the anarchist groups are from abroad, and there are a large number of Russians and some Germans; but one of the most unreasonable and rabid of them all is an Englishman—an English anarchist brought up in England. I know very few Americans. I know a great many American socialists and I know a great many Jewish socialists—a great many; indeed, I should be obliged to say that the tendency of workingmen is, in a broad sense, toward collectivism—not so much yet toward State socialism—but there is a growing, and very rapidly growing, sentiment toward the municipal ownership of public utilities.

Q. Do you know whether or not many of these so-called anarchists have become naturalized as citizens of the United States?—A. They care very little about that; they are utterly indifferent to their local citizenship. Their citizenship, as they are wont to say, is in the world. "My fellow-citizens are all mankind." I wish to state this, however, that I think I have observed in the last 6 years a very great decrease of their reference to or defense of the use of force or violence. I have seen a very great decrease in that respect; and, indeed, I have

heard it deprecated a great deal more often than I have heard it advocated, and more and more so as the years have gone on; and when advocated, it is advocated only as a matter of self-defense.

Q. (By Mr. PHILLIPS.) With regard to your religious service, is that undenominational?—A. We do just as other people would do; we do our distinctively church work at church. We joined a neighboring church, most of us—that is, those that live there in the group work, the resident workers—and we do our church work at church just exactly as anybody else does. But this new building is erected on the site of an old church, and we have granted the right to the church to hold its services in that building in view of the fact that they gave the land free of rent for its site. And now, let me say, that so far have we been able to unify that community that when I asked my Catholic neighbors if they would object to having the new settlement building erected on the church lot on the condition that the church services of a Protestant church were to be sheltered under the roof, they made no objection, but advised me to do it and contributed money to build the building. On the other hand, the secularists, who object to all services, Catholics especially, have made no objection; but I think if I had started the other way before I had disproved that I was there to proselyte, that I would have failed in my purpose; but having started out in an absolutely nonproselyting and neutral way they trust us, and there has been no sectarian matter about it. The fact of the matter is the only people whose ill-will we seem to have unavoidably gotten, are the bosses of the gang politics of the ward with whose trade we have been instrumental in interfering, but I do not know as that is very serious.

Q. Has crime ceased to some extent since your community was formed there?—A. Juvenile crime has to some extent. There was absolutely no provision for child life—no parks, no playgrounds, no place for boyhood or girlhood—and the pitiful condition surrounding childhood in that section of Chicago beggars description.

Q. How is it going to and coming from your settlement after night?—A. Perfectly safe; women unattended come and go even to the suburbs, and in all the years we have been there—six years—we have suffered next to no loss from robbery—I think just 2 or 3 articles—and we have known of very little violence on the streets. I do not think in all the whole region there has been more than 2 or 3 cases of hold-ups. It has been quite surprising.

Q. Has that ceased since you have been there?—A. To an increasing extent.

Q. And has it improved?—A. I think it has; but we are, of course, only a drop in the bucket—a drop in an enormous bucket.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) Are your exercises all conducted in the English language?—A. No; there are some French people, and they have instruction in French; and some in German, and some in Scandinavian. We have people who speak these languages; and then we have a large number of workers from outside.

Q. Among the other settlements, are there any Jewish settlements?—A. Yes.

Q. Yours is the original one?—A. No; the Hull House, established by Miss Addams about a year before, was the first. If you were to ask me the principal result of the settlement, I should say the reflexive influence on the more resourceful and more privileged classes who come to them, take a different point of view, or get it from hearing about them, and go off and do differently with their employees, in their homes, and their clubs and universities. There is a very rapidly growing social sentiment in America which is very beautiful, leavening to a large extent the younger men in the homestead, the churches, and the student life to a very great extent. You know the settlement came out of the university life. For instance, the University of Michigan has a fellowship, and supports one or two students half the year at our house in order to give them laboratory practice in the study of real life. We picked one man, for instance, and put him to studying the social function of the saloon; kept him in the saloons of the ward for 6 months. He came out with an inventory of every article of furniture, and everything they did, and the effect they have upon the people. His report is being published in full by the committee of 50, who are making a scientific investigation of the liquor problem of the United States.

The number of people who wish to come and reside in our place always exceeds our accommodations. They pay their own expenses; only 5 out of the 25 receive even their board. The rest of us all pay our living expenses entirely, and gratuitously give all or a large part of our services.

Q. How many have you in service?—A. We have an efficient group of between 20 and 25. This publication, *The Commons*, is the representative of the settlement movement, and has a circulation of about 3,000; goes all over the English speaking world.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) What is your daily schedule of assignments?—A. I will submit it in print.

(The schedule submitted follows):

Schedule of appointments.

AT THE OLD COMMONS, 140 NORTH UNION STREET.

Daily.—All days, house open for neighbors and friends; 9 to 12 a. m., kindergarten (except Saturday and Sunday); 7 p. m., vespers (except Saturday).

Monday.—8.30 to 4.30 p. m., history; 8.30 to 5 p. m., kitchen garden; 7.30 to 8.30 p. m., girls' club; 7.30 to 8.30 p. m., algebra; 7.30 to 8.30 p. m., drawing; 7.30 to 10 p. m., English; 7.30 to 10 p. m., Shakespeare reading; 8.30 to 9 p. m., arithmetic; 9.30 p. m., library open; 9.30 p. m., loan collection of pictures.

Tuesday.—7.30 to 8.30 p. m., English reading for Italian beginners; 7.30 to 8 p. m., writing; 7.30 to 8.30 p. m., stenography; 7.30 to 8.30 p. m., boys' club; 7.30 to 9.30 p. m., mothers' club.

Wednesday.—4 to 5 p. m., junior club; 7.30 to 8.30 p. m., girls' clubs; 7.30 to 8.30 p. m., boys' club; 9.30 to 10 p. m., library; 9.30 to 10 p. m., loan collection of pictures.

Thursday.—4 to 5 p. m., piano lessons; 7 to 9 p. m., Italian mothers' club; 7 to 10 p. m., English; 7 to 8.30 p. m., algebra; 8 to 10 p. m., young men's self-culture club; 8.30 to 9 p. m., arithmetic.

Friday.—4 to 5 p. m., children's plain sewing, children's physical culture; 7.30 to 8.30 p. m., boys' clubs; 7.30 to 8.30 p. m., rhetoric; 7.30 to 8.30 p. m., grammar; 7.30 to 8.30 p. m., stenography.

Saturday.—4 to 5 p. m., piano lessons; 7 p. m., residents' meeting. Rooms for neighborhood occasions provided when possible.

AT THE NEW BUILDING, GRAND AVENUE AND MORGAN STREET.

Daily.—Kindergarten, every morning (except Saturday and Sunday); Matheon day nursery, open from 6 a. m. to 7 p. m., at 217 Grand avenue; cooking classes, afternoon and evening (except Saturday and Sunday); noon rest and lunch room (except Sunday); gymnasium exercise and games, for both men and women, afternoon and evening; the progressive club room (for young women), open every evening; men's club rooms, open every evening.

Monday.—1 to 4 p. m., Pestalozzi-Froebel kindergarten training class; 4 to 6 p. m., cooking; 7 to 9 p. m., dressmaking; 7.30 to 8.30 p. m., boys' clubs; 7.30 to 8.30 p. m., young people's literary club; 7.30 to 9.30 p. m., young men's club; 8 to 10 p. m., girls' progressive club; 8.45 to 10 p. m., adult elocution; 8 to 10 p. m., men's neighborhood league; 8.10 p. m., municipal club of the Seventeenth Ward.

Tuesday.—1 to 4 p. m., kindergarten training class; 2 to 4 p. m., women's club; 4 to 6 p. m., cooking; 4.30 to 5.30 p. m., girls' gymnasium class; 7 to 9 p. m., cooking; 7.30 to 8.30 p. m., girls' clubs; 8 to 10 p. m., forget-me-not club; 8.15 to 10 p. m., free floor economic discussions.

Wednesday.—4 to 6 p. m., cooking; 7 to 9 p. m., cooking.

Thursday.—2 to 4 p. m., kindergarten training class; 4 to 6 p. m., children's chorus; 4 to 6 p. m., cooking; 7 to 9 p. m., cooking; 8 to 10 p. m., adult chorus; 8 to 9 p. m., gymnasium basketball for young women.

Friday.—1.30 to 3.30 p. m., Washington School kindergarten mothers' meeting; 4 to 6 p. m., cooking; 7 to 9 p. m., cooking; 7.30 to 8.30 p. m., plain sewing.

Saturday.—Manual training.

Sunday.—3.30 to 4.30 p. m., pleasant Sunday afternoon.

Applications for membership in the social clubs, gymnasium groups, or educational classes may be made at any time, either at the old Commons, 140 North Union street, or at the new building, Grand avenue and Morgan street.

Tabernacle religious services.

Sunday.—10 to 12 a. m., Family service, Bible school, 10 to 11 a. m.; public worship, 11 to 12 a. m.; 2 p. m., sunshine circle; 7 to 8 p. m., children's meeting; 7.15 to 8 p. m., senior Y. P. S. C. E.; 8 to 9 p. m., people's hour.

Wednesday.—8 to 9 p. m., fellowship meeting.

Thursday.—2 to 4 p. m., ladies' aid and missionary society.

Friday.—7 to 8 p. m., junior and intermediate Christian Endeavor.

Saturday.—8 p. m., choir rehearsal.

Q. Are these other settlements nonsectarian in the same sense that yours is?—
A. I think most of them are.

Q. And they admit people of all nationalities?—A. Yes; and of all faiths.

Q. Even though Jewish or other sects?—A. Yes; and there is absolutely no discrimination on account of poverty. The poorest person in the neighborhood has the same right that anybody else has.

Q. Is there any consultation between your different groups as to methods?—A. Yes; there is what is called the Federation of Chicago Settlements, which meets three or four times a year.

Q. (By Mr. PHILLIPS.) Are the persons generally cleanly, and the persons who attend your meetings?—A. The improvement in the lower grade of Italians is very marked, but it has been brought about by insistence upon their cleanliness, although the housing conditions of our neighborhood are pitifully inadequate, even the water supply being very scanty, many of the houses not connected with the sewers and very few having adequate lavatory arrangements. I wonder that the people do as well as they do.

Q. Is there any spread of disease?—A. The singular fact is that in 6 years we have never had a contagious disease in the house except mumps and whooping cough, nor have we ever had a serious case of illness except several cases of pneumonia. My own family has never been better, although we have children.

We cooperate with all the municipal and State departments, especially with the schools, department of health, department of police, and with the building

department. I am a member of the small parks commission. Our policy is to get the city to do all we can, and not to do anything we can get the city to do, and not to duplicate agencies, but to be a kind of clearing house. We have summer camps out as far as Elgin, taking children that are so utterly divorced from nature that they have never seen flowers. We have taken many children 10 years of age to catch their first glimpse of Lake Michigan, although they had lived all their lives within 3 or 4 miles of it they had never seen it before. The divorce of child life and motherhood from nature is absolute. We took 1,285 people into the country last year at an expense of a little over \$600 for periods from 6 weeks to one day.

Q. How is your expense chiefly provided for?—A. By voluntary contributions sent in from all over the country, almost without any personal solicitation whatever, without any agency; principally through acquaintance with the work through the columns of this paper. I am very busy and am utterly unable to personally solicit, although I did solicit the money for this building personally in Chicago, though some came from outside of Chicago.

Q. (By Mr. LITCHMAN.) I would like to have you go a step farther and say how much of a community of interest and action there is between your settlement and similar settlements in Chicago?—A. Principally by way of fellowship and by way of helpful correspondence, comparison of methods, assisting each other, and standing together on certain issues of municipal reform, and such things.

Q. Is there perfect harmony of action between you?—A. Entirely so.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) I wish to inquire whether or not your settlement attempts to educate these people as to the great importance of the purity of the ballot?—A. We have sought to do that by the stand we took in punishing those who invaded the purity of the ballot. The effect of the imprisonment of many men and the overthrow of the bosses in the political parties has been widespread, more so than it could have been by education propaganda. We are forming the Municipal Club of the Seventeenth Ward, and we are going to institute a precinct educational movement, going from precinct to precinct in little groups, holding in the houses of the people discussions on the value of the ballot and educating them on the issues raised in municipal campaigns, such, for instance, as the street railroad franchise question that is coming up in the next mayoralty contest.

Q. Do you think that this corruption against which you have to work is confined to municipal politics?—A. It is quite sufficiently entrenched there to occupy most of my attention; I have not any attention left over for the State or nation; I am quite absorbed. I should hardly say it was so confined.

Q. (By Mr. PHILLIPS.) Did you say the question of the ownership of railroads was coming up?—A. The expiration of the franchises street railways of Chicago take place during the next incumbency of the mayoralty of the city, and the man elected mayor of the city will have the veto power on any ordinances that are passed.

Q. City ownership will not be made a question, will it?—A. Yes.

Q. By vote?—A. I do not know about that. That would have to come from the legislature; but the common council has had a commission on street railways and has just exhaustively reported in favor of the municipal ownership of the tracks, though not necessarily municipal operation.

In conclusion I would like to say just one thing. That is, after 6 years of residence among the common people in the ranks of labor, organized and unorganized, my respect for the average man and the average woman is a thousandfold more than it was before I knew them as well as I know them now. All I have to say is that in times of stress and distress they are more patient; in times of hard pressure with work they are more faithful and steady; less drunken; more law-abiding and peaceable; more desirous of earning their own support; less willing to get something for nothing than I think is commonly believed. I personally am exceedingly grateful for the bringing of my own life and that of my family—for the larger share of the race life, the mass life, that we have been privileged to enjoy since being emancipated, by living there, from a narrow class life. I never in this wide world could go back to the narrow class life after having gotten the taste I have of the larger life by being more closely identified with the masses of my fellow-men, irrespective of race or color or previous condition of servitude.

Q. (By Mr. CLARKE.) I would like to ask one question, which you can answer or not as you choose: After your experience in that life, wherein, in your opinion, lies the greater danger to our Government—from the ignorance and occasional corruption and frequent radicalism of those classes, or from the corruption of political bosses?—A. Well, I think the greatest menace in America is in the corrupt commercialism of politics, and education, and religion.

Q. In the use of the word commercialism.—A. (Interrupting.) I said corrupt. I believe in a legitimate commercialism, but I mean when it invades legislation or education or religion it is treasonable and most menacing, and personally, after a very great deal of experience both East and West, I am bound to state that I think the commercial corruption is the source of the political corruption, and that it is the great evil of the times. Now, I do not mean to asperse the character of men who are in the business of this great land, but I still affirm that corrupt commercialism in politics, and education and involving even religion, is the most serious evil of the day—in which pretty nearly all other evils find their taproot.

Q. (By Mr. A. L. HARRIS.) I would like to ask if this condition is getting worse day by day.—A. You mean this commercialism is getting worse?

Q. Yes; this corruption.—A. It is very hard as a student of history to tell. It looks to me as if things could not have been worse than they were at other epochs of history. No; I am an optimist. I think that while progress is spiral and dips to rise, yet I should say, taking it all in all, we are a great deal better off, taking the whole world over, than we have ever been in any age. All you have to do is to take a range of history 600 years long and you will see the wave marks of a higher conscience.

Q. Take a century, and comparing it in our own country, what have you to say?—A. Centuries are too short to judge by. As an old workman passed me in Dearborn street I said to him, "How are things?" He said, "Sometimes worse and sometimes better. We must not judge by the decades or centuries; we must judge by the millenniums." [Laughter.] I thought that was sublime.

Q. (By Mr. PHILLIPS.) But is it not a fact that most of the institutions for the lame, the halt, the blind, the poor, have been the outgrowth of the last 50 years?—A. Yes; but on the other hand some of our workmen insist that the substitution of charity for justice is not a wave mark of progress, and I am bound to say they are right—that we need less charity, or would need less charity, if we had more justice. I rather think they are right about that.

Take, for instance, the matter of the trust: Why that is a transition; looked at in the long reaches of things, that seems to be a transitional phase of development out of the unrestricted competitive system into more of a cooperative commonwealth; and that it is lodged in the hands of a few men and is massed in monopolistic power is a transient phase of the situation.

I was immensely amused at a discussion we held on our free floor when some merchants from the West Side came to us to get the workmen's support for antidepartment-store legislation at Springfield. The workmen said: "Don't you know that combination has been the law of trade? That it is one of the earmarks of progress? What do you want? To go back to the domestic system of industry—the farm-house forge, the little store on the street corner? The earmark of progress is combination." These men had never heard of any such wide-reaching philosophy on the situation, and insisted that they must be anarchists to talk that way. One of them immediately brought out a piece of paper and said, "Whereas, misery loves company, therefore: Resolved, that the organized labor of Chicago welcomes to the ranks of the unemployed the retail merchants of the city." The irony of the situation was rather hard on the retail merchants. I was really sorry for them, but it was nevertheless very amusing.

Q. Have you anything to suggest in the way of remedial legislation along these lines for the State or nation?—A. Why, I favor a gradual and somewhat restricted use of the referendum and initiative and imperative mandate. I believe in all these political expedients. I said restricted. I do not think it would be wise to have our representative government wholly done away with. I very strongly believe in the nomination of our officials by something that corresponds to the nomination by petition—something like what we are now laying before the legislature and people to prohibit the labeling of candidates by party names; simply putting them on the ballots alphabetically so as to make the partisanship a little less in municipal politics. Then I do earnestly believe in the municipal ownership of public utilities as fast and far as can be safely gone. I also believe in inheritance taxation.

Q. For the State or nation?—A. Well, I do not know; the State, probably. I do not like to take things out of the hands of the States any more than is necessary. Legislation is only a reflex of public opinion, and the greatest duty of the day is the education and unification of our heterogeneous composite citizenship and the socializing of our views of our relationships. I do not mean now socialistic socializing at all; I mean the socializing of our views of our human relationships. As we are growing close together, we must be taught how to live and work together; that must be learned like any other lesson. That can be done only

patiently and deliberately, and consequently I think the educator holds the scepter. That is the reason I am a teacher, and that is the reason I do not want to be confined in my teaching to any class, but I want to be a teacher just as far as I can be of the masses; and I believe that the teaching of life is more effective than the teaching of words. Therefore, in order to be taught and in order to teach, I and my family prefer to share as nearly as we can the life of the whole people rather than that of any isolated class or little isolated section; and our 6 years' experience has confirmed us in the belief that it is the best for us, and it has been the best for our children.

Q. Do you or do you not believe the city could do work somewhat similar to yours?—A. In the public schools?

Q. In the public schools.—A. Yes, I believe so.

Q. You would change the way of teaching?—A. No; only I would extend it in the line of university extension. I would have public-school extension.

Q. You said the city was doing all it could in the community in which you live. Could not the city have done this itself?—A. Let me say Lyman J. Gage and a number of other gentlemen established in Chicago about 10 years ago economic discussions very similar to the ones that we maintain at the Chicago Commons. Those were before my residence in Chicago, but ever since I have been there I have come across many instances of the great value—evidences of the great value—of these gatherings on people of different conditions and points of view. I think they lasted only one or two winters, but the influence has extended over the 10 years since they were held.

(Testimony closed.)

APPENDIX.

CONSTITUTION OF THE CHICAGO BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL AS REVISED JANUARY 1, 1897.

PREAMBLE.

The object of this council is to construct a central organization which shall subserve the interests of all the labor organizations engaged in the erection or alteration of buildings; for the purpose of assisting each other when necessary; thereby removing all unjust or injurious competition, and to secure unity of action for their mutual protection and support.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—*Name.*

This organization shall be known as the Building Trades Council of Chicago and Cook County.

ARTICLE II.—*Membership.*

SECTION 1. This council shall be composed of delegates duly chosen as herein-after prescribed by any bona fide labor organization, whose membership is composed of men engaged in the building trades.

SEC. 2. Delegates eligible to membership in order to be admitted shall produce credentials, duly signed by the presiding officer and recording secretary of their organization with seal affixed. The council reserves the right to reject any or all delegates.

SEC. 3. No person shall be eligible as a delegate to this council who holds a political office, either elective or appointive; or who is not a citizen of the United States; or has not declared his intention to become such. (A political office shall be defined as being employed in any capacity by the nation, State, county, or city.)

SEC. 4. No person who is engaged in any business other than his trade or who is a contractor of any description shall be eligible as a delegate.

ARTICLE III.—*Basis of representation.*

SECTION 1. The basis of representation to this council shall be as follows: Five (5) delegates for each organization, consisting of a membership of 100 or less; one additional delegate for each 100 members, or major fraction thereof, up to and including 500 members, and one delegate for each 250 members, or major fraction thereof, up to and including 1,000; one delegate for each 500 members, or major fraction thereof, up to and including 5,500; no trade organization shall have more than 20 delegates.

SEC. 2. Delegates to this council shall be elected for a term of six months; new delegates to be seated the first meeting in January and July.

SEC. 3. Absentees may be represented by proxy in case of sickness or absence from the city. In all such cases special credentials must be presented.

ARTICLE IV.—*Officers of the council.*

SECTION 1. The officers of this council shall consist of a president, vice-president, recording secretary, secretary-treasurer, reading clerk, sergeant-at-arms, three trustees, and three directors.

SEC. 2. Nominations and election of officers shall take place at the last meeting in January and July of each year. In voting the secretary shall read off the name of each organization in good standing and the number of votes they are entitled to, and only delegates present are entitled to vote.

SEC. 3. If more than two candidates are running for one office and none receive a majority vote, the lowest vote shall be dropped from the list, and so on until only two candidates are left.

ARTICLE V.—*Qualifications for office.*

SECTION 1. To qualify for office, the organization represented must be in good financial standing with this council, and no charges pending or preferred against the organization or delegate.

SEC. 2. No trade shall fill more than one of the offices of this council.

SEC. 3. Should any officer absent himself three (3) successive meetings, unless excused, the office shall be declared vacant and a new officer elected.

SEC. 4. Any officer of this council who shall violate any of the rules or regulations of this council, or any lawful order made in relation to aforesaid rules and regulations, or who shall commit any act tending to injure the council, impair its efficiency, or bring it into disrepute, shall be deemed guilty as an offending officer and put on trial, and upon conviction thereof shall be suspended or expelled or fined as the council may determine; *provided, however*, that punishment proportionate to the offense shall always follow conviction.

ARTICLE VI.—*Duties of officers—President.*

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the president to preside at all meetings of the council; preserve proper order and decorum therein; and strictly and faithfully enforce obedience to the constitution, rules of order, and rules and regulations that may be made from time to time; he shall exercise a general supervision over the officers of the council, and see that each performs his specified duties according to law; to see that none of the funds of the council are improperly or unlawfully expended; to sign all orders on the treasurer, or such other documents as the laws or usages of the council may require, and to see that the bond of the treasurer is properly signed, and put to the council for acceptance; he shall put in the usual parliamentary manner all questions coming before the meeting and announce the decision thereof; to appoint all the committees according to law and as instructed by the council, and in the absence or disqualification of any officer appoint some member to temporarily fill the duties of the office; he shall not have the right to vote on any occasion except in case of a tie, when he shall cast the deciding vote.

Vice-President.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the vice-president to occupy a seat beside the president during the meetings, and shall assist the president in preserving order and decorum during meetings; to preside over the meeting in the absence or disqualifications of the president, or when called upon by that officer, and in such cases to perform all the functions and duties of president, and he shall be subject to the same rules of discipline while acting as such.

Recording Secretary.

SEC. 3. The recording secretary shall keep an accurate record of the proceedings of this council in a suitable book provided for that purpose, and shall enter into the same a statement of the receipts and expenditures of each meeting; he shall prepare and keep an accurate roll of the delegates to the council with their residence, and shall call such roll at each meeting, noting the absentees, and shall notify the council when any delegate has been absent three consecutive meetings; he shall also conduct all official correspondence, issue all summons for meetings, have charge of the seal of the council, and affix the same to all official documents; he shall draw and sign all orders on the treasurer, authorized by the council. He shall be at the office of the council from 8 a. m. to 5 p. m. to represent the council, answer the telephone, and transact such other business as he may be directed to do; to have control of the halls and offices, subject to the trustees, must see they are kept clean and ready for use; to collect the rent, giving receipt for same; to turn over at each meeting of council all moneys to secretary-treasurer; send a copy of all minutes to all organizations affiliated. He shall receive one hundred and sixty-five dollars (\$165.00) per month for his

services, and shall give a guarantee bond of \$1,000. At the expiration of his term of office he shall give a correct report of his office to the council, and deliver to his successor in office all books and properties in his possession belonging to the council.

Secretary-treasurer.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the secretary-treasurer to receive and hold all moneys paid into this council; he shall furnish the recording secretary at the close of each meeting with a statement of the receipts of the evening on a blank which shall be provided for that purpose; he shall keep an account of the standing of the different organizations with this council, and whenever any organization falls in arrears he shall notify the council of the same; he shall have charge of the working cards issued by this council; he shall make no disbursements without the sanction of this council, upon an order signed by the president and recording secretary; he shall make a financial statement at the end of each quarter of all moneys received and paid out by him during the quarter, and shall submit his books to the trustees for inspection whenever called upon by them to do so. He shall, before assuming office, file a guarantee bond with the board of trustees, for the safe-keeping of the money, in such sum as the council may fix upon; he shall not be allowed to keep more than \$100 on hand at one time, all money in excess of that sum to be placed in a bank to be designated by this council. Whenever it may be necessary to draw any sums of money from the bank, the signatures of the president, recording secretary, and secretary-treasurer must be attached to any check or order before any sum whatever can be withdrawn from the bank where the funds may be deposited. He shall receive the sum of \$3 per week for the performance of his duties and receive pay for all time that he is taken away from his business at the rate of 50 cents per hour, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver to his successor all books and other properties in his possession.

Reading clerk.

SEC. 5. It shall be the duty of the reading clerk to read all communications which may come before the council.

Sergeant-at-arms.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of the sergeant-at-arms to guard the door during meeting hours and admit none but delegates, except otherwise ordered by the council; to examine membership cards of the delegates at the opening of the meeting, and to enforce order under the direction of the president; he shall take the name and address of all coming in after roll call, also name and address of all new delegates. Blanks for this purpose shall be provided. He shall announce the names of all visitors.

Board of trustees.

SEC. 7. The board of trustees shall have supervision over all funds and property of the council. They shall have control of renting and repairing of halls. On all improvements and repairs they must receive estimates and submit same to the council for approval before awarding any contract, and transact such other business as the council may instruct them to do. At the expiration of their term of office they must make a full report in writing of the condition of halls, etc., and turn over to their successors all properties in their possession.

Board of directors.

SEC. 8. It shall be the duty of the board of directors to audit the books of the recording secretary, secretary-treasurer, and all committees handling funds of the council, and to report quarterly in writing the financial standing of the council. A copy of same shall be sent to all organizations in good standing. All bills contracted by the council must be OK'd by majority of the board and approved by the council before warrant is drawn to pay same. No delegate of the same organization to serve more than one term a year.

• **ARTICLE VII.—Committees.**

SECTION 1. There shall be appointed by the president immediately after his election, with the consent of the council, the following standing committees, to consist of five members each: Credential committee, organization committee, grievance committee, and legislative committee. •

SEC. 2. No trade shall be entitled to more than one representative on any standing committee.

SEC. 3. When it is actually necessary that a committeeman lose time from his labor in performance of his duty, he shall be paid by this council for such time at the rate of 50 cents per hour for such time lost.

SEC. 4. Committees having sessions in evening shall receive car fare only. All committees shall report in writing, on stationery furnished by the council for that purpose.

SEC. 5. Any delegate appointed with his consent on a committee who shall refuse or neglect to perform his duty shall be fined fifty cents.

ARTICLE VIII.—*Duties of standing committees.*

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the credential committee to wait upon the delegates in the vestibule and ascertain if they are eligible for admission as laid down in Article II, sections 1, 2, 3, and 4.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the organization committee to investigate all applications of any trade seeking affiliation and report on same to the council. They shall seek out every branch of unorganized industry in the building trades, use every effort to organize them into unions, to instruct and enlighten them on all questions relating to their advancement as workmen, and render all assistance possible to increase the membership of all the different organizations affiliated.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the grievance committee to investigate all grievances that may be referred to the council from time to time by organizations or delegates affiliated with this council, said grievances to be presented in writing to the council. All grievances must be referred to the grievance committee without debate.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the legislative committee to determine what legislation will be best for the interest of the laboring man, draft bills for such legislation, present them to the proper legislators, and report from time to time the best methods of securing the passage of the same, providing that no bill shall be presented to any legislative body without the sanction of this body.

ARTICLE IX.—*Board of business agents.*

SECTION 1. There shall be established as part of this council a board of walking delegates or business agents, composed of the properly elected business agents of the various unions represented in this council.

SEC. 2. The board shall elect a president and vice-president, and adopt such rules as shall be necessary for its guidance, subject to the approval of the council. It shall be the duty of the recording secretary of the council to act in the same capacity for the business agents at their meetings.

SEC. 3. They shall meet not less than three times per week for the purpose of rendering all assistance necessary for the enforcement of the various trade rules and working cards of this council.

ARTICLE X.—*Meetings and quorum.*

SECTION 1. The regular meeting of this council shall be on Friday evening of each week at 8 p. m., if a quorum be present, and adjourn not later than 11 p. m., except otherwise ordered by a majority vote.

SEC. 2. Special meetings may be called by the president on the written request of delegates of (5) five or more trades in good standing, with their signatures attached, which request shall clearly specify the object for which the special meeting is called. No other business shall be transacted at such special meeting than set forth in the aforesaid call, and no business transacted at a regular meeting shall be reconsidered.

SEC. 3. A majority of organizations in good standing shall form a quorum to transact business.

ARTICLE XI.—*Revenue.*

SECTION 1. The revenue for the maintenance of the council shall be derived from the subrenting of halls and the sale of working cards issued quarterly by the council to the trades herein represented. One side of the card shall represent the council, the other the trade to which the holder belongs.

SEC. 2. The price of said cards to the various unions shall be regulated from time to time as the council may deem necessary, but can not be increased or reduced without one month's notice to all organizations affiliated.

SEC. 3. One of the following colors shall be used on a white card each quarter, the stripes not to conform with any previous card: Red, blue, yellow, green, purple, and brown.

SEC. 4. All trades applying for admission to this council shall be required to pay the sum of twenty-five (\$25) dollars as an initiation fee before being admitted.

ARTICLE XII.—*Assistance and strikes.*

SECTION 1. Agreements or demands for an advance in wages, or an abridgment in the hours of labor, shall be presented to this council in writing between the 1st of October and 1st of April for their approval and indorsement.

SEC. 2. Said agreement or demands shall give full particulars and shall be read at two meetings before final action is taken. The recording secretary shall notify all organizations to have delegates present, when, if concurred in by two-thirds (2/3) vote of all trades present in the council, the action shall be binding. This does not prevent any trade from acting on its own responsibility.

SEC. 3. All trades must be affiliated and in good financial standing for six months before said agreement or demands shall be considered by the council. *The unit rule shall prevail* in all such cases. Trade vote shall be ordered on call of four trades without consent of the house.

ARTICLE XIII.—*Grievances and arbitrations.*

SECTION 1. Any organization or delegates having a grievance shall present the same to the council in writing; no delegate shall sit in judgment on any case affecting the trade to which he may belong.

SEC. 2. When trouble occurs on any building or job affecting any trade represented in this council, it shall be the duty of the business agent to immediately endeavor to settle same with contractor or owner in accordance with the trade rules and to the satisfaction of the trade involved. Failing in this and a strike being necessary, the business agent shall have power to call a general strike, but before doing so he shall lay the matter before the council or board of business agents at their next meeting and be governed by their action or decision, which shall be equally binding on all trades in this council engaged on the job or building. When a trade has no business agent, the chairman of the board shall have power to call members of said trade off when strike is ordered. It shall require a majority of the trades voting to order a strike. Unit rule to prevail.

ARTICLE XIV.—*Suspension of organizations.*

SECTION 1. Any trade belonging to this council failing to have delegates present at the meetings of the council for the space of three months, or failing to take out quarterly cards, shall stand suspended; provided, however, the organization does not appeal to the council before the expiration of such term, in which case the council shall have discretionary power.

SEC. 2. Any trade standing suspended may be reinstated by two-thirds vote of this council on first paying for all cards or other indebtedness for which they may be in arrears, also such fines as this council may hereinafter provide for.

SEC. 3. A failure of any trade to comply with the constitution or other rules and regulations of this council shall be punishable by a fine, reprimand, suspension, or expulsion, when reported upon by the grievance committee and acted upon by this council; such action to be taken by a majority trade vote. Unit rule to prevail.

ARTICLE XV.—*Suspension of delegates.*

SECTION 1. When any delegate absents himself from three consecutive meetings of this council, without the consent of the council, he shall stand suspended and the recording secretary shall notify the organization to which such delegate may belong to send new credentials for his reinstatement or a new delegate.

SEC. 2. When any delegate is fined by this council, such fine must be paid in two weeks or the delegate shall stand suspended until fine is paid.

SEC. 3. Any delegate who shall persist in a course of conduct degrading of itself or calculated to bring this council into odium shall be excluded from the hall, and his organization shall be notified by recording secretary to have the offending delegate withdrawn.

ARTICLE XVI.—*Trade rules.*

SECTION 1. It shall be the special duty of this council to use the united strength of all trades represented herein to compel all nonunion men to conform to and obey the laws of the trade to which they should properly belong.

SEC. 2. Any trade that is not represented in this council shall not be protected on any building or job until affiliated with this body, except by the unanimous vote of the council.

SEC. 3. Members of a trade seceding from the parent organization and forming a separate organization shall not be recognized by this council.

SEC. 4. No member of any trade affiliated with this council shall be permitted to work on any building or job under police protection or be permitted to handle any material that is the product of convict labor.

SEC. 5. It shall be unlawful for members of one trade to do work pertaining to that of another without their consent. No member of any organization affiliated with this council can carry working cards of any two building trades.

SEC. 6. Eight hours shall constitute a day's labor.

SEC. 7. All members of affiliated organizations are compelled to show their cards when requested by business agents or other member working on job, irrespective of trade, who is himself in possession of a card.

ARTICLE XVII.—*General laws.*

SECTION 1. Any organization belonging to this council and wishing to withdraw shall give two weeks' notice in advance, with seal of body attached, and its pro rata tax paid up to date on the reception of the notice of withdrawal.

SEC. 2. Each organization shall be supplied with a correct copy of the minutes of each meeting of the council by the recording secretary.

SEC. 3. When a salaried officer of this council neglects his duties and does not give satisfactory reasons therefor, he shall forfeit his salary for such time as may be deemed just by the council.

SEC. 4. Partisan politics or religious subjects shall not be permitted to be discussed at meetings of this council.

SEC. 5. Regular order of business shall not be suspended except for admission of delegates or by a two-thirds vote of all delegates present.

SEC. 6. Any delegate who shall become indebted to this council in any manner shall not be allowed a voice or vote until such debt shall be paid and the same reported to his organization.

SEC. 7. When the unit rule shall prevail, a majority vote of each delegation shall carry the delegation. When the delegation is equally divided, each side shall be recorded as a one-half vote and all trades present not voting shall be counted in the affirmative.

SEC. 8. No dissolution of this council shall take place so long as five (5) trades in good standing shall desire to remain.

SEC. 9. All delegates reported favorable by the credentials committee and approved by this body shall be furnished by the recording secretary with a membership card. Color to be changed every six months.

SEC. 10. No person shall be allowed to the council meetings except delegates of organizations holding membership cards of this council.

SEC. 11. The funds of this council shall not be used for any purpose other than the legitimate expenses required by the constitution.

SEC. 12. All organizations affiliated with this council in making and amending their constitutions and by-laws shall not in any way conflict with any rules or regulations of this council.

SEC. 13. This constitution and rules of order may be altered or amended at any stated meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the delegates present, providing that said alterations or amendments are in writing and all organizations notified two weeks previous. All alterations or amendments made from time to time are to be kept by the secretary in a book provided for the same and have said book present at each meeting.

RULES OF ORDER.

1st. When the president has called the meeting to order, there shall be perfect silence, and no person admitted during the reading of minutes.

2d. The rules of order may on motion be suspended by two-thirds vote.

3d. The president shall preserve order and pronounce the decisions of the meeting on all subjects. He shall decide all questions of order without debate, subject, however, to an appeal to the meeting by any member, when the question shall be put by the vice-president: "Shall the decision of the chair stand?"

4th. An appeal from the decision of the chair shall not be debatable, provided the appellant shall be given one opportunity to state his reasons for taking the appeal and the chair one opportunity to defend his decision. Majority vote shall rule.

5th. No member shall be interrupted while speaking, except it be to call him to order, and the chair shall decide the point of order without debate.

6th. If a member while speaking be called to order, he shall, at the request of the president, take his seat until the question of order is determined, when, if permitted, he may proceed.

7th. If two or more members shall rise to speak at the same time, the president shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

8th. A motion shall not be subject to debate until it has been seconded and stated by the chair. When making or seconding a motion the member must rise and address the chair.

9th. After having stated the motion the president shall ask, "Are you ready for the question?" and if no one rise to speak he shall put it to vote. After it has been put to vote no member shall be permitted to speak upon it.

10th. When a question is before the meeting no motion shall be in order except—

- (a) Lay on table;
- (b) The previous question;
- (c) Postpone to a certain day;
- (d) Commit or refer or recommit;
- (e) Amend;
- (f) Postpone indefinitely;

Which motions shall severally have precedence in the order herein named, and the first two shall be decided without debate.

11th. Any member, having made a motion, can withdraw it by consent of his second; but a motion once debated can not be withdrawn except by a two-thirds vote.

12th. Any member may call for a division of the question when the sense will admit of it.

13th. A motion to amend an amendment shall be in order.

14th. A motion to adjourn shall not be in order before the regular business is disposed of or before 11 p. m., if there is any business before the meeting, except under a suspension of the rules; then never when a member has the floor, or when members are voting, or when the previous question has been decided on.

15th. A motion to put the previous question, being seconded, shall immediately be put to the meeting, and if carried debate upon the subject before the house shall cease, provided the author of the motion or resolution be allowed five minutes, if he has not already spoken on the subject and requests the privilege.

16th. On a call for the previous question the president shall present the same in this form: "Shall the main question now be put?"

17th. A motion to reconsider can not be entertained until some other business has been transacted. A motion to reconsider must be made at the same or next regular meeting, and every member must vote. A motion to reconsider shall not be received unless made by a member who voted with the majority.

18th. When a question is indefinitely postponed, it shall not be acted on again except by a two-thirds vote.

19th. No delegate shall speak to a question longer than five minutes nor more than once until every person who desires has spoken. By consent of the body he may be granted more time.

20th. It shall not be in order for any member who has spoken to a question to move the previous question at the close of his remarks, nor until he is again recognized as having the floor by the presiding officer.

21st. The effects of a measure may be deprecated in strong language, but motives shall not be impugned or personalities allowed.

22d. All resolutions and resignations must be submitted in writing.*

23d. The presiding officer shall not speak on any subject unless he retires from the chair, except on points of order. In case of a tie he shall have the deciding vote.

24th. If a question has been amended, the question on the amendment shall be put first; if more than one amendment has been offered, the question shall then be put as follows: (1) substitute, (2) amendment to the amendment, (3) amendment, (4) original proposition.

25th. Every member present shall vote on all questions before the council unless personally interested or excused by the council.

26th. All questions unless otherwise provided shall be decided by a majority of all votes cast.

27th. All questions of a parliamentary nature not provided for in these rules shall be decided by Roberts's Rules of Order.

CONSTITUTION, BY-LAWS, AND RULES OF THE BUILDING CONTRACTORS' COUNCIL OF CHICAGO.

RULE 1. This organization shall be known as the "Building Contractors' Council," and its objects shall be to foster, protect, and promote the welfare of the building interests in Cook County, Illinois.

RULE 2. The membership shall be constituted of representatives from each association of employers engaged in the construction of buildings in Cook County, Illinois, as follows:

Each association shall be entitled to two (2) representatives for the first fifty (50) members or fraction thereof and one additional representative for every additional fifty (50) members or major portion thereof, but no association shall have more than five (5) representatives in all.

Representatives shall be elected to serve for a term ending December 31st following the date of their election, or until their successors are elected and duly qualified.

Each association must supply their full quota of representatives.

Representatives at large may be appointed by the president to serve a period covering the current year of their appointment, subject to the approval of the council at any regular meeting. Such representatives shall have all the powers and privileges of a regular representative.

RULE 3. The officers of the council shall be a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, sergeant-at-arms, and the following committees, consisting of three (3) members each: On finance, rooms, legal action, auditing, membership, grievance, architects, and material.

The chairmen of the above committees, together with one member from each association not represented by a chairman, shall constitute an executive committee, to be presided over by the president.

The members of these committees shall be appointed by the president from among the representatives and representatives at large to the council within two (2) weeks after the annual election each year.

Seven (7) members of the executive committee present shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

RULE 4. The annual dues for each association shall be twenty (\$20) dollars for each representative to the council, which shall be payable in advance.

The further income of this association shall be provided for by the executive committee in such manner as may be deemed best, which income shall also include the creation of a permanent defense fund for defense purposes only.

RULE 5. Any association of employers engaged in the erection of buildings when desiring to join this council must apply in writing to the secretary, and can be admitted only on the recommendation of a majority of the members of the membership committee and a two-thirds vote of all the members present at a regular meeting of the council, and upon payment of the annual dues.

RULE 6, Sec. I. The president shall preside in all meetings and perform such duties as are incumbent on his office.

The vice-president shall perform the duties of the president in his absence.

Sec. II. The secretary shall perform the usual duties of his office, keeping record of the members, their addresses, calling meetings, collect all dues, and pay them over to the treasurer not later than thirty (30) days after receipt of same, taking his receipt therefor.

Sec. III. The treasurer shall receive all moneys due the association, keeping a correct account of all receipts, expenditures, making a report to the council the first meeting each month.

No moneys shall be paid out except on the approval of the chairman of the finance committee, countersigned by the president.

Sec. IV. The committee on finance shall have a general supervision of the finances, making reports to the council the first meeting of each month, and shall investigate and report on all matters referred to it.

Sec. V. The committee on rooms shall look after the council's rooms and property, and such other matters as may be referred to it.

Sec. VI. The committee on membership shall investigate all applicants for membership and report to the council, through the secretary, their findings in each case, at the next regular meeting.

Each applicant must be indorsed by two (2) representatives in good standing.

Sec. VII. The committee on legal action shall have charge of all legal and legislative matters referred to it by the council, and shall conduct all such proceedings for the best interests of and subject to ratification by the council.

Sec. VIII. The sergeant-at-arms shall guard the door and not admit anyone not qualified to enter, and he shall be subject to the orders of the president.

Sec. IX. The auditing committee shall audit the accounts of the secretary and treasurer monthly, and report their findings to the council at the annual meeting, or at such other times as the council may request.

Sec. X. The committee on grievances shall have charge of all grievances and other matters of the council that may be referred to it.

Sec. XI. The committee on architects shall have charge of all matters pertaining to architects and other matters the council may refer to it.

Sec. XII. The material committee shall have charge of all matters pertaining to materials and other matters the council may refer to it.

RULE 7. No association allied with this council shall hereafter enter into an agreement with their journeymen except with the approval of this council.

Sec. II. The meetings of this council shall be held on Tuesday of each week, at 1.30 p. m.

Sec. III. Special meetings may be called by the president at any time he may think necessary, or upon the written request of five (5) members in good standing.

RULE 8. A majority of the associations represented shall constitute a quorum, excepting for the amendment to the rules when a majority of the membership must be present, and a two-thirds vote of those present shall be required to pass the amendment, one week's notice in writing having been previously given.

RULE 9. Should any differences arise between employer and employee or association of employers, whereby the interests of any association shall be impaired, the association so affected shall discipline the member or members for any violation; and failure to correct the violation, said association may appeal to this council for a remedy. It will be the duty of this council at once to discipline the offending party or parties, as the case may demand.

RULE 10. The suspension of each and any of the rules can only be made by unanimous consent of the members of the organization present at any regular meeting.

RULE 11. All motions to receive consideration must be put in writing, if the presiding officers request it.

RULE 12. The officers of the council shall be elected annually on the fourth Wednesday of December to hold office for one (1) year or until their successors are elected and duly qualified.

All elections shall be by ballot, and the candidate receiving a majority of all votes cast shall be declared elected.

Any vacancy occurring during a term may be filled in the manner herein stated at any regular meeting of the council.

The meetings of the council shall be conducted according to parliamentary usage as laid down in Roberts' Manual.

RULES OF ORDER.

Roll call.	Reports of committees.
Reading of minutes.	Reports of officers.
Proposals for membership.	Unfinished business.
Election of members.	New business.

PROPOSED FORM OF AGREEMENT AS CONTAINED IN ULTIMATUM OF THE BUILDING CONTRACTORS' COUNCIL, APRIL 30, 1900.

1. This agreement, made this — day of —, by and between the — (Employers' Association), party of the first part, and —, party of the second part, for the purpose of preventing strikes and lockouts and facilitating a peaceful adjustment of all grievances and disputes which may, from time to time, arise between the employer and mechanics in the — trade.

2. *No outside interference.*

Witnesseth that both parties to this agreement hereby covenant and agree that they will not tolerate nor recognize any right of any other association, union, council, or body of men, not directly parties hereto, to interfere in any way with the carrying out of this agreement; and that they will use all lawful means to compel their members to comply with the arbitration agreement and working rules as jointly agreed upon and adopted.

3. *Principles upon which this agreement is based.*

Both parties hereto this day hereby adopt the following principles as an absolute basis for their joint working rules, and to govern the action of the joint arbitration board, as hereinafter provided for:

1. That there shall be no limitation as to the amount of work a man shall perform during his working day.
2. That there shall be no restriction of the use of machinery or tools.
3. That there shall be no restriction of the use of any manufactured material except prison-made.
4. That no person shall have the right to interfere with the workmen during working hours.
5. That the use of apprentices shall not be prohibited.
6. That the foreman shall be the agent of the employer.
7. That all workmen are at liberty to work for whomsoever they see fit.
8. That all employers are at liberty to employ and discharge whomsoever they see fit.

(EXPLANATION TO 7 AND 8.—This means that these are rights of the individual workman and the individual employer, and are not to be interfered with by any rule, regulation, or threat of fine or punishment by either party hereto.)

4. *Hours.*

Eight hours shall constitute a day's work, except on Saturdays during the months of June, July, and August, when work may stop at twelve o'clock noon, with four hours pay for the day.

5. *Overtime.*

Time and one-half shall be paid for overtime. Work done between the hours of 5 p. m. and 8 a. m. and also Saturday afternoons during the months of June, July, and August shall be paid for as overtime, when only one shift of men are employed on the job.

6. *Holidays.*

Double time to be paid for work done on Sundays throughout the year and also for work done on the following four holidays (or days celebrated as such): Decoration day, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving day, and Christmas day. Sunday and holiday time to cover any time during the 24 hours of the said calendar days.

7. *Extra shifts.*

Where work is carried on with two or three shifts of men, working eight hours each, then only single time shall be paid for both night and day work during week days and double time for Sundays and the above mentioned holidays.

8. *Labor day.*

No work shall be done on Labor day.

9. *Wages.*

The minimum rate of wages to be paid shall be ——— cents per hour, payable in lawful money of the United States.

10. *Pay day.*

It is agreed that journeymen shall be paid at least once every two weeks and not later than ———.

11. [Here insert any additional rules that may be required as to time and method of payment of wages.]

12. [Here insert working rules or any matter which is specially applicable to each trade and not in conflict with anything else herein.]

13. *Working with nonunion men.*

No member of or members affiliated with the second party shall leave his work because men, not members of the second party hereto, are employed on the same building or job or on any other building or job or stop or cause to be stopped any work under construction for any member or members in good standing, of, or affiliated with the first party.

14. *Foreman.*

The foreman—if a union man—shall not be subject to the rules of his union while acting as foreman, and no fines shall be entered against him by his union for any cause whatever, while acting in such capacity; it being understood that a foreman shall be a competent mechanic in his trade and be subject to the decisions of the joint arbitration board.

15. *Steward.*

Whenever ——— journeymen members of the second party are working together, a steward may be selected by them from their number to represent them, who shall, while acting as steward, be subject only to the rules and decisions of the joint arbitration board. No salary shall be paid to a journeyman for acting as steward. He shall not leave his work or interfere with workmen during working hours and shall perform his duties as steward so as not to interfere with his duty to his employer. He shall always, while at work, carry a copy of the working rules with him.

16. *Apprentices.*

Each employer shall have the right to teach his trade to apprentices, and the said apprentices shall serve for a period of not less than ——— years, as prescribed in the apprentice rules to be agreed upon by the joint arbitration board, and shall be subject to control of the said joint arbitration board.

17. *Arbitration.*

Both parties hereto agree that any and all disputes between any member or members of the employers' association on the one side, and any member or members of the union, on the other side, during the life of this agreement, shall be settled by arbitration in the manner hereinafter provided for, and for that purpose both parties hereto agree that they will, at their annual election of each year, elect an arbitration committee to serve one year and until their successors are elected and qualified. In case of death, expulsion, removal, or disqualification of a member or members on the arbitration committee, such vacancy shall be filled by the association or union, at its next regular meeting. The arbitration committee for each of the two parties hereto shall consist of five members, and they shall meet not later than the fourth Thursday of January each year in joint session, when they shall organize a joint arbitration board by electing a president, secretary, treasurer, and umpire. The joint arbitration board shall have full power to enforce this agreement entered into between the parties hereto, and to make and enforce all lawful working rules governing both parties. No strikes, lockouts, or stoppage of work shall be resorted to pending the decision of the joint arbitration board. When a dispute or grievance arises between a journeyman and employer (parties hereto) or an apprentice and his employer, the question at issue shall be submitted in writing to the presidents of the two organizations, and upon their failure to agree and settle it, or if one party to the dispute is dissatisfied with the decision, it shall then be submitted to the joint arbitration board at their next regular meeting. If the joint arbitration board is unable to agree, the umpire shall be requested to sit with them, and after he has heard the evidence, cast the deciding vote. All verdicts shall be decided by majority vote, by secret ballot, be rendered in writing, and be final and binding on all the parties to the dispute.

18. *Who are disqualified to serve on arbitration committee.*

No member who is not actively engaged in the trade, or occupies any other office in his association or union except the office of president, nor holds a public office, either elective or appointive, under the municipal, county, State, or National Government, shall be eligible to act as the representative in this trade arbitration board, and any member shall become disqualified to act as member of this trade joint arbitration board and cease to be a member thereof immediately upon his election or appointment to any other offices in his association or union, or to any other public office or employment.

19. *Umpire.*

An umpire shall be selected who is in nowise affiliated or identified with the building industry, and who is not an employee nor an employer of labor, nor an incumbent of a political elective office.

20. *Meetings.*

The joint arbitration board shall meet to transact routine business the first Wednesday in each month, but special meetings may be called on three days' notice by the president upon application of three members.

21. *Fines for non-attendance as witness.*

The joint arbitration board has the right to summon any member or members affiliated with either party hereto against whom complaints are lodged for breaking this agreement or working rules, and also appear as witness. The summons shall be handed to the president of the association or union to which the member belongs, and he shall cause the member or members to be notified to appear before the joint arbitration board on date set. Failure to appear when notified, except (in the opinion of the board) valid excuse is given, shall subject a member to a fine of twenty-five dollars for the first offense, fifty for the second, and suspension for the third.

22. *Salaries.*

The salary of each representative on the joint arbitration board shall be paid by the association or union he represents.

23. *Quorum.*

Seven members present shall constitute a quorum in the joint arbitration board, but the chairman of each of the two arbitration committees shall have the right to cast the vote in the joint arbitration board for any absent member of his committee.

24. *Fines as result of arbitration.*

Any member or members affiliated with either of the two parties hereto, violating any part of this agreement or working rules established by the joint arbitration board, shall be subject to a fine of from ten to two hundred dollars, which fine shall be collected by the president of the association or union to which the offending member or members belong, and by him paid to the treasurer of the joint arbitration board not later than thirty days after the date of the levying of the fine.

If the fine is not paid by the offender or offenders, it shall be paid out of the treasury of the association or union of which the offender or offenders were members at the time the fine was levied against him or them, and within sixty days of date of levying same; or in lieu thereof the association or union to which he or they belonged shall suspend the offender or offenders and officially certify such suspension to the joint arbitration board within sixty days from the time of fining, and the joint arbitration board shall cause the suspension decree to be read by the presidents of both the association and union at their next regular meeting and then post said decree for 60 days in the meeting rooms of the association and union. No one who has been suspended from membership in the association or union for neglect or refusal to abide by the decisions of the joint arbitration board can be again admitted to membership except by paying his fine, or by unanimous consent of the joint arbitration board.

All fines assessed by the joint arbitration board and collected during the year shall be equally divided between the two parties hereto by the joint arbitration board at the last regular meeting in December.

25. *Rules for arbitration board and for parties hereto.*

All disputes arbitrated under this agreement must be settled by the joint arbitration board, in conformity with the principles and agreements herein contained, and nothing herein can be changed by the joint arbitration board. No by-laws or rules conflicting with this agreement or working rules agreed upon shall be passed or enforced by either party hereto against any of its affiliated members in good standing.

26. *Termination.*

It is agreed by the parties hereto that this agreement shall be in force between the parties hereto until April 1st, 1903.

27. *Withdrawal from the Building Trades Council.*

This agreement shall only become operative when the union withdraws permanently from the Building Trades Council of Chicago, and agrees not to become affiliated with any organization of a like character during the life of the agreement.

28. On behalf of the party of the first part:

29. On behalf of the party of the second part:

30. In accordance with the power created by our union, we have this day withdrawn from the Building Trades Council of Chicago, and agree not to become affiliated with any organization of a like character during the life of this agreement.

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